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THE  
ANNUAL REGISTER,  
OR A VIEW OF THE  
HISTORY,  
POLITICS,  
AND  
LITERATURE,  
Of the YEAR 1762.

The FIFTH EDITION.



L O N D O N :

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# P R E F A C E.

**T**HE reader will observe, that, though the negotiations by which the war has been so happily terminated, were not entirely closed until the beginning of the present year, we have nevertheless brought all these transactions into the Register for 1762. We thought it more advisable to delay our publication for some days, than leave incomplete an object, which appeared to us so extremely interesting. Accordingly, the reader has before him, in this volume, every thing of moment relative to the last year's part of the war, except the taking of the Manilas, the account of which came very late.

We return our thanks to those gentlemen, who have been so obliging as to favour us with hints, towards rendering our work more complete. Of some we have been already in a condition to profit; of others we shall take advantage hereafter; some few, though



## P R E F A C E.

though very judicious in themselves, could not be serviceable in the plan we had adopted.

The peace, which has contributed so much to the happiness of Europe in general, has taken something from the entertainment of the curious and idle part of it. We are now deprived of those mighty events, of those astonishing revolutions of fortune, of those matters of anxious hope and fear, which distinguished the late troubled and glorious period. We do not, however, despair, by the continuance of our former industry, and the continuance of the public indulgence to it, of furnishing, from the occasional political transactions of each succeeding year both foreign and domestic, something, which may not prove altogether unworthy of the reader's attention; and which may supply the loss of the military materials.



THE  
ANNUAL REGISTER,  
For the YEAR 1762.



THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
PRESENT WAR.

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CHAP. I.

*State of Europe in the beginning of this year. Ill state of the British alliance. Condition of the northern powers. War reaches to the southern. Family compact. Some articles from it. Observations upon them. Consequences of this treaty to Europe. War declared against Spain. State of Spain and Great Britain at the beginning of the war between them. Advantages and disadvantages on each side.*

THE close of the year 1761 left the affairs of all Europe, both military and political, in the most interesting situation, in which they have stood, at perhaps any period of our modern history. The endeavours which had been made to bring about peace amongst the belligerent powers, served only to encrease their animosity. And at the same time they brought into light and exertion, those latent motives and dispositions

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to war, which had long lurked in other powers under the veil of a neutrality; and have only been kept down sometimes by irresolution of temper in persons, and sometimes by want of system in politics. These ineffectual endeavours for peace produced also many occasions of quarrel and debate, that were absolutely new.

To the north there was no appearance of relenting in any one of the powers engaged. It was

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not



not to be expected, that the confederacy, which had held together so long, and under such difficulties and disappointments, should now break to pieces, just at the moment when the states which composed it seemed in a condition to reap the mature fruits of their unanimity and perseverance. The king of Prussia was not in a state either to allure or to intimidate. Great Britain could not increase his subsidy, nor reinforce his armies. The allied army in Westphalia played a defensive, and, on the whole of the campaign, a losing game; and there was nobody so sanguine as to think that Great Britain could increase her strength in Germany, where she paid already one hundred thousand men, and expended five millions annually.

Although nothing seems more certain in a general view of the political system, than that the king of Prussia is not the natural and necessary ally of this nation; yet his fortune neither was, since the beginning of the war, nor is it now a matter of indifference to us.

The late Mr. Shippen was of opinion, that the power of France was become an object of much less terror since the growth of the power of Russia. But he never imagined it possible, that all the great continental powers of Europe should ever be united with France; and that they should conspire to load her scale, instead of balancing it. He never could foresee, what has actually happened in this war, that this very power of Russia could co-operate with France, and even with Sweden; and what is full as extraordinary, that both these latter could co-operate with Austria to destroy in effect the system, which had been established by the treaty

of Westphalia; that system, which it hath been the great drift of policy, and the great object of war to both France and Sweden in the last century to establish and to confirm, and to the house of Austria constantly to oppose. The destruction of the king of Prussia seemed to include the destruction of the treaty of Westphalia; because he is the only power in the empire capable of asserting the independency of its members, and supporting the declining credit of the Protestant cause.

The total ruin of Saxony, with such circumstances of unpardonable cruelty by that prince himself, and the exhausted state of all the other Protestant members of the empire, have narrowed that interest more and more to the single object of Prussia. As this interest was first formed in the empire, so its condition there cannot fail of having the most sensible influence on all the potentates of the same communion. Even in this light, England had an interest that the king of Prussia should not be entirely crushed by the prevalence of a combination composed in so extraordinary a manner, that its success must necessarily produce a total revolution in the system of Europe, and draw on a series of consequences, which, though it is impossible to particularize, must have undoubtedly been of the most important and alarming nature.

But there was an interest yet nearer to us, the fate of our own army in Germany, which could not survive the destruction of the king of Prussia for an hour. These circumstances rendered the prospect of the campaign in Germany very gloomy; as there was no sort of ground to suppose that this prince, upon whose fate so many important interests



interests immediately depended, could hold out till the middle of summer. Besides, Denmark shewed no favourable dispositions towards us: and Holland discovered evident marks of coldness, if not of absolute alienation. Such was the disposition of the powers in the north.

The southern powers of Europe, whose total unconnection with the causes, and whose great remoteness from the seat of war might appear sufficient to ensure their tranquillity, began to enter into action with a spirit equal to that of any of the parties who had from the beginning acted as principals; new fuel was heaped upon the fire of contention, which had wasted so many nations, just as it seemed to be on the point of expiring.

That alliance between the branches of the house of Bourbon, of which we have spoken last year, and which is so well known by the name of the Family Compact, is one of the most extraordinary transactions of this, or perhaps of any time. It has already produced some effects answerable to its design; it may produce others still more important; and on the whole must be considered as an event of the most extensive, lasting, and alarming influence.

The treaty of Vienna in 1756, between France and Austria, has certainly contributed not a little to give that new turn to affairs, by which almost all the discourses, that have hitherto been written on the interests of princes, are rendered erroneous, and of little use in future speculations. That treaty, however, though it seems entirely to have disjointed the ancient system of alliance by which France

was formerly counterpoised, may, possibly, not be so much a lasting change, as a temporary and eccentric deviation from the sphere in which the house of Austria had formerly moved, and into which it seems so suitable to her natural and permanent interest to return. The Bourbon Compact is of a different nature; and it seems to have at length produced that entire union between the French and Spanish monarchies, which was so much dreaded on the death of Charles II. and which it was the great purpose of the treaty of partition, and the war of the grand alliance, to prevent. We have seen it take place in our days, comparatively with very little notice; so much greater is our present strength; or so much greater was the apprehension in those days, than the danger of the actual event in the present.

It was a bold push in France to attempt, and an uncommon success to procure, towards the close of an unfortunate and disgraceful war, an alliance of this kind. France could not have expected from the most fortunate issue of her affairs, an advantage so great as that which she derived from her uncommon distresses. It is some time since the jealousy of her power has begun to abate. But in fact her security, and probably too her power, will be greatly increased by this very circumstance. Instead of forming such an object as alarmed mankind, and against which all Europe used to unite, she is herself become the centre of an alliance, which extends from the northern to the southern extremity of Europe; and she was, in this war, actually united with Russia, Sweden, Austria, the empire, Spain, and Naples; to say



nothing of Denmark, with which she had also some connections.

With other nations, however, her ties are comparatively slight: but the engagements of the Bourbon Compact form rather an act of incorporation than an alliance. It contains stipulations hitherto unheard of in any treaty. By the 23d and 24th articles, the subjects of the several branches of the house of Bourbon are admitted to a mutual naturalization, and to a participation of such privileges and immunities, as if they were natural born subjects of the countries of their respective sovereigns. The direct trade to America forms the only exception to this comprehensive community of interests. The tenor of this article is of infinite consequence to the general trading interests of Europe; all the states of which, by the 25th article of the same alliance, are excluded from any prospect of obtaining similar advantages.

This forms a civil union in almost the strictest sense; the political union is even more perfect. By the 1st and 16th articles, the two monarchs of France and Spain agree to look upon every power as their enemy, which becomes an enemy of the other; that a war declared against either, shall be regarded as personal by the other; and that, when they happen to be both engaged in a war against the same enemy or enemies, they will wage it jointly with their whole forces; and that their military operations shall proceed by common consent, and with a perfect agreement.

By the 26th article, they agree reciprocally to disclose to each other their alliances and negotiations.

By the 17th and 18th, they for-

mally engage not to make, or even to listen, to any proposal of peace from their common enemies, but by mutual consent; being resolved, in time of peace as well as in time of war, *each mutually to consider the interests of the allied crown as its own; to compensate their several losses and advantages, and to act as if the two monarchies formed only one and the same power.* The king of the Sicilies, and the infant duke of Parma are comprehended in this treaty.

Here is the model of the most perfect confederacy. There is but one restriction to the extent of this scheme; but this particular restriction is a key to the whole treaty; as it shews, in the most satisfactory manner, against what object it was principally directed. For by the 8th article it is provided, that Spain shall not be bound to succour France, when she is engaged in a war in consequence of her engagements by the treaty of Westphalia, or other alliances with the princes and states of Germany and the north, *unless some maritime power take part in those wars*, or France be attacked by land in her own country. This exception of the maritime powers indicates sufficiently that the tendency of this article is to affect England, and serves to point out clearly, though obliquely, to the other powers of Europe, that their connection with England is the great circumstance which is to provoke the enmity of Spain.

It should seem that this treaty alone, when once its true nature came to be discovered, if no other cause existed, would have been sufficient to justify Great Britain in a declaration of war against a monarchy, which had united itself in so intimate



intimate a manner with her enemy, that it was rendered impossible to distinguish the one from the other. In this point, however, prudence was to interpose, and circumstances to direct. It was not therefore, until every attempt to bring Spain to a clear declaration of pacific intentions had been tried, without success, in the manner we have already seen, the war was actually declared against her. This declaration was made, on our part, in London, the 2d of January of the present year.

Since great Britain was a kingdom, she never was in such a doubtful and dangerous situation; for at this time she was engaged, directly or indirectly, in a war, not only with all the great continental powers, but, what is more material, with the most considerable part of the maritime strength of Europe. According to the ordinary computations, the navy of Spain consisted of more than an hundred men of war; and though the French navy was greatly reduced, it became of consideration when added to the Spanish. Great efforts were made to render it respectable. Several communities in France engaged to fit out men of war at their own expence; and in general that whole people felt, after having been sunk under a long despondency, a momentary glow of hope and animation from this alliance, so powerful in its real strength, and in its principles so flattering to the national vanity. The glory of their royal house was, on this occasion, united with the safety of their country. They were reinforced by the most cordial amity of a power untouched in its resources of men, money, and stores; whilst Great

Britain was exhausted of men by her many victories, and her resources were sinking under a debt of more than one hundred millions.

Besides, a rude shock had been lately given to the system of the English ministry, which might be supposed, in some degree, likely to affect public credit. The part which Mr. P. might finally take, and the consequences which might result from his actions, were extremely undetermined; nor was it at all clear, what degree of harmony and real confidence continued amongst the several parts of the subsisting administration. All these considerations could not fail of inspiring France with great confidence.

Great Britain, under these circumstances, had, however, some things in her favour. The hope of plunder, which always attends a Spanish war, disposed the minds of many towards the present; and was sure to call forth a very vigorous exertion both of public and private strength. This circumstance also insured the supplies.

With regard to the administration, their delay in entering into this Spanish war, contrary to the ideas of Mr. P. his resignation in consequence of this delay; the necessity which so soon after appeared, of engaging in hostilities, and which, to the bulk of the people, seemed to justify the sentiments of that minister, together with a recollection of the singular spirit with which the French war had been carried on, must necessarily have excited them to the most strenuous efforts, and to every act of laudable emulation. There was a necessity of shewing, that the spirit of the nation, and the wisdom of its councils,



cils, were not confined to a single man; and it was shewn effectually.

We had, also, to ballance the great strength derived from the extraordinary combination of our enemies, that uniform tenor of success on our side which made our people believe themselves invincible. This was not an ungrounded presumption, or a dream of enthusiasm: their just opinion of superior courage, together with the solid experience derived from such a variety of services, and so many sharp conflicts by sea and land, all combined

to make our forces seem, and be, almost irresistible.

Spain, on the other hand, had, in the very constitution of her power, an essential defect, which exposed her on this, as upon all other occasions. Her resources, though very great, are not within herself; and consequently are not always at her command, being subject not only to be intercepted by the operations of the war, but to be destroyed or lost by the casualty of long voyages; and in every event, are liable to delay and disappointment.

## C H A P. II.

*Portugal threatened, Melancholy state of that kingdom. Arrogant proposition of the French and Spanish ministers to the court of Lisbon. Answer of that court. Several memorials. Resolution of the king of Portugal. French and Spanish ministers depart. War declared by those powers against Portugal.*

**S**UCH was our situation, both at home and abroad, at the breaking out of this new war. Something extraordinary was to be expected from the confederacy of the house of Bourbon. It was not, however, altogether certain where the storm, that was gathering, would fall. There were apprehensions for the peace of Italy; Holland had some cause of dread; and menaces were used in that quarter. But Portugal seemed to be most endangered, on account of her close and natural connection with Great Britain, her internal weakness, the ancient claims of the catholic king, and the opportunity of invasion; the kingdom being on all sides, except to the sea, in a manner inclosed by Spain.

Public conjecture was not mis-

taken in fixing upon Portugal. No mention was made, indeed, of the Spanish pretensions to that crown; but a resolution was taken not only to oblige her to renounce all friendship, but to violate her neutrality with Great Britain.

No attempt was ever designed with less appearance of justice; no proposition was ever made with more arrogance and despotism to an independent sovereign; and no scheme seemed, according to every human appearance, so certain of success.

The kingdom of Portugal on the recovery of her liberty, which happened in the year 1640, found herself stripped of the greatest part of those acquisitions, in both Indies, which had been the principal sources of her power, and the great monu-



ments of the capacity of her former kings and commanders. During the interval of her subjection, new commercial powers had risen, some on the ruins of her fortune, and others upon different, but not less substantial foundations. Though the Brazils were recovered, and Goa and some other places in India remained still to Portugal, her maritime power, and the share of trade, on which it depended, were not recoverable. Contrary to the fate of other nations, who have shaken off a foreign dominion, she did not owe her liberty to great abilities. Whilst the United Provinces were first freed, and afterwards aggrandized, by the capacity of the princes of Orange, and whilst Prussia, from an inconsiderable and dependant principality, grew into a formidable monarchy by the genius of her sovereigns, Portugal continued to languish in a state of mediocrity. Without any symptoms of danger to her existence, she suffered a gradual decay of her power and consideration. The character of her government was narrow and bigotted, and the whole system of her commerce preposterous. If, on the one hand, a long peace added to the resources of her revenue, it, on the other, absolutely annihilated her military; and no country in the world had an army so incomplete in numbers, so ill furnished with arms, so deficient in discipline, and so wholly unprovided of able and experienced officers.

In this condition she suffered a fatal blow from the earthquake in 1756. The wealthy and flourishing city of Lisbon was laid level with the ground; near thirty thousand of the inhabitants were buried in the ruins; and those who

remained, with the court itself, were reduced to the utmost distress and misery.

As if this earthquake, which overturned their capital, had also shaken and distracted the frame of their government, and the temper of their minds, the most dreadful distempers broke out in the state. A series of horrid crimes, and of cruel punishments, succeeded to this calamity. The most noble and wealthy family of Portugal, having engaged itself in a sacrilegious attempt on the life of their sovereign, was cut off at once, with little distinction of sex or age, by a bloody and dreadful exertion of justice. Many others, who were accused or suspected, suffered death, or exile, or imprisonment. Amongst these, and from the same causes, one of the most considerable religious orders for wealth, influence, and policy, was stripped of its possessions, and entirely driven out of the country.

All these circumstances left this unhappy kingdom in the utmost weakness and confusion. All those, and they were not a few, who were attached by connection of blood or interest to the nobles that had suffered, or by religious prejudice to the Jesuits who had been expelled, could never be cordially relied upon by the crown, and were probably as little inclined to any extraordinary efforts in favour of a government, which their resentments must have represented to them as no better than a bloody tyranny.

The Bourbon confederacy had some ground to suppose that Portugal, in this situation, would not have courage to withstand their menaces, and much less ability for any long time to resist their



efforts. The Spanish army over-  
spread the frontiers of Portugal;  
the commerce of corn between the  
two kingdoms was prohibited, and  
every thing threatened a sudden  
6th Mar. invasion. In the midst of  
these hostile preparations,  
the French and Spanish ministers  
presented a joint memorial to the  
court of Lisbon, which was follow-  
ed by several others. The purport  
of these memorials was to persuade  
his most faithful majesty to enter  
into the alliance, and co-operate  
in the measures of the two crowns,  
against Great Britain.

It was not easy to find very con-  
vincing arguments to induce Por-  
tugal to adopt so extraordinary a  
change of system. The united  
crowns, in a memorial which was  
signed by the ambassadors of both,  
insisted largely on the tyranny  
which Great Britain exerted upon  
all powers, especially the maritime,  
and upon Portugal among the rest;  
on the particular insult which had  
been offered to her jurisdiction, by  
Boscawen's attack on de la Clue's  
squadron in a Portuguese har-  
bour; on that affinity, by which  
the two monarchs of Spain and  
Portugal are as closely connected  
by their ties of blood, as all pow-  
ers are by a common interest, to  
oppose the ambitious designs of the  
English.

Whatever these arguments were  
deficient in reason, was made up by  
a strong insinuation of force. The  
memorial concluded with a decla-  
ration, that as soon as his most  
faithful majesty had taken his re-  
solution, which they doubted not  
would prove favourable, their army  
was ready to enter Portugal, and  
to garrison the principal ports of  
that kingdom, in order to prevent

the danger to which they might be  
exposed from the attempts of the  
English.

The two ministers added to this  
extraordinary memorial, that they  
were ordered by their courts to  
demand a categorical answer in  
four days; and that any delay, be-  
yond that time, should be confi-  
dered as a negative.

The situation of Portugal was at  
this time certainly worthy of com-  
passion. If, contrary to her known  
interests, contrary to her antient  
connections, and to the faith of  
treaties, she should engage in this  
offensive alliance, she must expect  
to see her territories and her colonies  
exposed to the formidable navies of  
England. This, however dangerous  
condescension, was not to secure  
her; by her own act, she would have  
put herself, bound hand and foot,  
into the power of the Bourbon al-  
liance; and having received foreign  
garrisons into all her places of  
strength, would have reduced her-  
self to the condition of a province  
of Spain. On the other hand, if she  
adhered to her faith, and attempted  
to maintain her independency, an  
army of sixty thousand men was  
ready to enter her territories, which  
contained no place of real strength,  
and which had not twenty thousand  
troops, and those ill armed, and  
worse disciplined, to defend it.

In this emergency, the firmness  
of the king of Portugal was emi-  
nent, and such as must deliver his  
name to posterity to the utmost dis-  
tinguished advantage. He resolved  
steadily to adhere to his antient and  
natural alliance, and to brave all  
dangers and difficulties, that he  
might preserve his fidelity invio-  
lable; following that generous  
maxim of king John of France,  
that



that if good faith were to be banished from all other parts of the world, it ought to be found in the breast of sovereigns.

His answer to this insulting proposition was humble and moderate, but firm: he observed, that the ties, which equally united him to Great-Britain and the two crowns, rendered him as proper a mediator to them all, as they made it improper for him to declare himself an enemy to any of them; that his alliance with England was antient, and therefore could give no offence at this conjuncture; that it was purely defensive, and therefore innocent in all its circumstances; that the late sufferings of Portugal disabled her (in case she were willing) from taking part in an offensive war, into the calamities of which, neither the love his faithful majesty bore to his subjects as a father, nor the duty by which he was bound to them as a king, could suffer him to plunge them. Finally, he reminded the catholic king of his pacific dispositions, by which, on former occasions, he had yielded so much, to preserve peace between the two kingdoms.

This reasonable and moderate answer drew on replies, which more and more disclosed the true character and spirit of the Bourbon confederacy. They denied that the alliance with England was purely defensive, or entirely innocent; and for this unheard-of reason, that the defensive alliance is converted into an offensive one, *from the situation of the Portuguese dominions, and from the nature of the English power*: the English squadron, said they, cannot keep the sea in all seasons, nor cruize on the principal coasts for cutting off the French and Spanish

navigation, without the ports and the assistance of Portugal; that these islanders could not insult all maritime Europe, if all the riches of Portugal did not pass into their hands; that therefore Portugal furnishes them with the means to make war; and their alliance with the court of Great-Britain is offensive.

Certainly, the *situation* of a country was never before given as a reason, however it might have served as a secret motive, for declaring war against it. Nor was it before heard, that the common advantages of trade, derived from a neutral nation, could be deemed an act of hostility. These were rather insults than arguments. And the whole proceedings of the united crowns were in the same strain: they undertook to judge for Portugal of the pretended yoke which was imposed upon her by England, and which she could not herself discover; to resent injuries for her, for which she had received and accepted satisfaction; and, as if this had not been indignity sufficient, they insultingly inform the king of Portugal, that *he ought to be glad of the necessity which they laid upon him to make use of his reason, in order to take the road of his glory, and the common interest*. This necessity was the immediate march of their army to take possession of his dominions.

So extraordinary a treatment neither intimidated the king from the firmness of his resolution, nor provoked him to change from the moderation of his language. He maintained, that the treaties of league and commerce, which subsisted between Portugal and Great-Britain, are such as the law of God, of nature, and of nations, have always deemed innocent. He intreat-



ed their most christian and catholic majesties to open their eyes to the crying injustice of pursuing against Portugal, the war kindled against Great-Britain: he desired them to consider, that they were giving an example which would produce the destruction of mankind; that there was an end of the public safety, if neutral nations were to be attacked, because they have defensive treaties with the belligerent powers; that a maxim so destructive would occasion desolation in all Europe, the moment a war was kindled between any two states; that, therefore, if their troops could enter his dominions, he would, in defence of his neutrality, endeavour to repulse them with all his forces, and those of his allies; and he concluded with this magnanimous declaration, that *it would affect him less, though reduced to the last extremity, of which the Great Judge is the sole arbiter, to let the last tile of his palace fall, and to see his faithful subjects spill the last drop of their blood, than to sacrifice, together with the honour of his crown, all that Portugal holds most dear, and to submit, by such extraordinary means, to become an unheard of example to all pacific powers, who will no longer be able to enjoy the benefit of neutrality, whenever a war shall be kindled between other powers, with which the former are connected by defensive treaties.* When this final resolution was thus spiritedly declared, passports were demanded for the ambassadors of the 27 April. two crowns, who immediately departed; and in a little

time after, France and Spain jointly declared war against Portugal.

We have dwelt some time upon this transaction: we hope the reader will not think the narrative drawn into a blameable length. The subject is interesting, the procedure uncommon, and the example alarming. This war against Portugal was the first fruit of the Bourbon compact: they shewed very early to the world, what it was to expect from the maturity of this league; when they were so elevated by the superiority they imagined they had attained, even in forming it, that they thought themselves dispensed from those decorums, and plausible appearances, which the most ambitious princes commonly make use of, in the execution of their most ambitious designs. If they had invaded Portugal without any declaration at all, it might, perhaps, be considered as a piece of convenient injustice, which they left the previous necessity, and subsequent success of their affairs, to justify as they could; but so many memorials and reasonings on the subject shew, that this oppression was deliberate, and they had not been driven to it by a sudden emergency, but that it became a regular and avowed part of their political system.

Having laid open the manner in which the southern part of Europe so surprisingly became engaged in this war, it is now our business to relate in what manner some of the northern parts were as surprisingly extricated out of it,



## C H A P. III.

*Death of the Empress Elizabeth of Russia. Her character. State of the power of Russia on her decease. Her nephew, Peter III. succeeds. Entire change of system. Peace with Russia. Peace between Prussia and Sweden. Prussian conquests restored. The Czar enters into an alliance with the king of Prussia. War with Denmark threatened. Its cause. Extorted loan from Hamburgh. Campaign between Prussians and Austrians opens. Prussians obtain advantages in Saxony and Silesia. Sudden revolution in Russia.*

WE have seen, in the close of last year, that, by the taking of Colberg, on one hand, and Schweidnitz, on the other, the king of Prussia's dominions were entirely at the mercy of his enemies; his forces were worn away, and even his efforts had gradually declined: a complete victory, though this was an event not at all probable, could not save him. The Russians, by wintering in Pomerania, and by the possession of Colberg, which insured them supplies by a safe and expeditious channel, were in a condition to commence their operations much earlier than usual, as well as to sustain them with more spirit and uniformity. No resource of policy could be tried with the least expectation of success. After such a resistance for five years, of which the world never furnished another example, the king of Prussia had nothing left, but such a conduct as might close the scene with glory, since there was so little appearance of his concluding the war with safety.

In the midst of these gloomy appearances, his inveterate and inflexible enemy, the empress of Russia, died, in the fifty-second  
Jan. 2. year of her age, and the twenty-second of her reign.

This princess was second daugh-

ter to Peter the Great, and a descendant not altogether unworthy of that illustrious founder of the Russian empire. From being little better than a prisoner, she became in a moment a despotic sovereign. At the accession of this princess, the Russian power, so newly created, seemed to be in danger of a decline, from the many revolutions to which the empire had been subject; and the institutions of Peter the Great, by which that extensive part of the world was drawn out of barbarism, began perceivably to decay, until her accession to the throne, when the former was put out of all question by the vigour of her government, and the latter cherished and promoted by the encouragement which she gave to every valuable art and science. The academy at Petersburg is at present one of the most flourishing in Europe, and has already enriched the learned world with considerable discoveries.

In fact, she governed the Russian empire with more lenity than any of her predecessors; and, perhaps, carried this amiable disposition to an impolitic excess. She regulated and increased her finances; kept alive, and even increased, the discipline of her armies; and in all her transactions with foreign states, and in  
the



the various faces which her politics assumed, she always supported the dignity and importance of her country at the highest point. For her private pleasures, indeed, she has been much censured; but, as they were merely pleasures, and of such a nature that sentiment had little in them, they had little influence on her public conduct, which was always manly and firm.

The part she took in this war, though it might in some measure have been dictated by resentment, was at the same time the result of the soundest policy. No power, but that of the king of Prussia, was capable of checking hers. He was, not only from his strength and character, but from the situation of his dominions, the only prince in Europe from whom it could be materially her interest to make conquests. By the retention of Prussia, and by the dominion which, in another name, she held over the duchy of Courland, she possessed a very great share of the Baltic coast, and thereby possessed the means of becoming a maritime power of the first order. With these advantages she might easily complete all that had been wanting towards establishing an uncontrollable power over Poland. By the same means she might entirely over-awe Denmark and Sweden; and also, by her vicinity, she would be enabled to interpose in the concerns of Germany with much more authority than she had hitherto possessed; although her intervention had always been of consequence.

In reality, the house of Austria, seemed to make far greater sacrifices of her interest to her resentment than Russia did, with whom those two principles went hand in hand,

and supported each other. For nothing is more evident, than that Russia would set up for a defender of the liberties of Germany, if ever she got any footing in its neighbourhood: that she would animate the powers there to assert a greater degree of independence than they do at present; that she would render, by her machinations, the empire in the Austrian family very precarious; and might even find means of setting some feeble prince on the imperial throne, in order to embroil the whole Germanic body, and to keep it in entire dependence upon Russia. On the whole, if the projects of Austria had succeeded in their full extent, she would have very soon found in Russia a more powerful restraint, than ever she had either in France or Sweden, even in the greatest heights of their power and credit in Germany. She would indeed have ruined the king of Prussia; but she would have purchased his ruin with her own independency.

These were the prospects that lay before all political reasoners at the time of the death of the empress Elizabeth. Charles Peter Ulric, of the house of Holstein, who had been created grand duke of Russia, and appointed heir apparent to that vast empire, by the late czarina, succeeded, under the name of Peter III. None but those who were intimately acquainted with the character and disposition of the new czar, could have any reason to imagine that he would abandon the system of his predecessor, which was certainly founded on the true interests of the country he governed. The king of Prussia himself seemed for some time to have entertained no great hopes from this change. The czar had, however, sometimes dif-



discovered marks of esteem for the character of this monarch. He had the black eagle, of which order the king of Prussia is grand master. But the king of Prussia could place very little confidence in this; however, with the air of pleasantry, which never entirely forsook him in all his misfortunes, he said in a letter to Mr. Mitchel, the British minister at the Russian court, "Is not this a very extraordinary knight, to feed 80,000 men at my expence? He is the only one of my knights that takes that liberty. If every knight of the garter did the same, your England (England though it is) would be devoured by them. I beg you would endeavour to make my knight more tractable, and tell him it is against the institutes of the order, for a knight to eat up his grand master."

The eyes of all Europe were now fixed upon the steps which the czar might take. With regard to the government of his country, nothing could be more popular and auspicious than his first measures. The earliest use he made of his absolute power, was, to set the Russian nobility and gentry free, and to put them on the same footing with those of their rank in the other more moderate governments of Europe. Almost all the exiles were recalled to court, and amongst the rest the unfortunate count Biron, who, from a sovereign prince, had been reduced to the most wretched condition, in the most wretched country on the globe. He had been many years a peasant of Siberia, and may very probably once more become a sovereign prince. It is in those despotic governments we see the most striking excesses, and dismal reverses of fortune: in

which one day a person is raised to something almost above man, and the next is perhaps in a moment degraded to the lowest station of humanity.

The new emperor proceeded in his reformation to abolish some severe and tyrannical jurisdictions, and, intending the same benign disposition to all degrees of his subjects, he lessened the tax upon salt, to the very great and universal relief of the poor.

These beginnings gave the most favourable impressions of his domestic government. But Europe was principally concerned in his foreign politics. It was not long before his dispositions to peace became apparent. What astonished the world, was the high rate at which he valued this blessing. In a memorial, which he caused to be delivered on the 23d of February, to the ministers of the allied courts, he declared, that, *in order to the establishment of peace, he was ready to sacrifice all the conquests made by the arms of Russia in this war, in hopes that the allied courts will on their parts equally prefer the restoration of peace and tranquillity, to the advantages which they might expect from the continuance of the war, but which they cannot obtain but by a continuance of the effusion of human blood.*

The allies praised the disinterestedness, spirit, and humanity of this declaration; but recommended to his attention the fidelity to treaties, which constitute a no less valuable part of the royal character, and a no less considerable branch of the duty of a monarch to his subjects. They shewed a disposition to imitate his desire for peace, but by no means to follow the example in purchasing



chasing it by a cession of all the advantages which they had acquired, or hoped to acquire by the war.

The czar having thus far complied with decency, and being of a character little fitted to wait the slow produce of a joint negotiation, gave way to his ardent desires for peace, and to the sentiments of that extravagant admiration, which he had conceived for the king of Prussia. A suspension of hostilities was concluded between them on the 16th of March; and it was followed not long after by a treaty of May 5. peace and alliance. Nothing was stipulated by the czar in favour of his former confederates, whom he entirely abandoned. He even agreed to join his troops to those of the king of Prussia to act against them. In a little time a Russian army was seen in conjunction with one of Prussia, to drive out of Silesia those Austrians, who had been a few months before brought into that province by the Russian arms.

This was a miraculous revolution. Fortune, who had so long abandoned the king of Prussia to his genius, after having persecuted him for near five years, and overpowered him with the whole weight of her anger, at length made amends by a sudden turn, and did for him, at one stroke, the only thing by which he could possibly be saved.

Sweden, who since she has recovered her liberty has lost her political importance, and for a long time acted entirely under the direction of Russian councils, followed, on this, as on all other occasions, the example of the court of Peterburgh, and signed a treaty of peace with the king of Prussia on the 22d of May.

In order to account for whatever was not the result of mere personal character in this extraordinary revolution of politics in Russia, it will be necessary to remind the reader, that the czar Peter the Third was duke of Holstein; and that the dukes of Holstein had pretensions to the duchy of Sleswick. These pretensions were compromised by a treaty in 1732. But as the cession made by the house of Holstein in this treaty was the effect of necessity, it had always been apprehended that she would make use of the first safe opportunity of reclaiming her ancient rights. The czar seized eagerly on the great one, which the possession of the whole Russian power afforded him, and he resolved to enter into an immediate war for this object, to which his predilection for his native country gave in his eyes a far greater importance than to all the conquests of his predecessor. As long as this war with the king of Prussia subsisted, it was impossible that his designs against Denmark could be prosecuted with any hope of success. Wholly indifferent therefore to all others, and passionately fond of this object, as soon as he came to the throne, without any dispute or negotiation, he offered the king of Prussia, in his great distress, every thing he could have hoped from a series of victories, and whilst he joined his arms to those of that monarch in Silesia, he caused an army to march towards Holstein.

Thus the peace with Russia, far from conducing to the general peace of Europe, did very little more than change the face of the war. It brought in new subjects of dispute, and new parties, and, by threatening Denmark, left not a single power



in the north in a state of assured tranquillity.

The king of Denmark, though threatened by so formidable a power engaged in pursuit of a favourite object, was not terrified into any mean concessions. He recruited his army, repaired his fortifications, and prepared for his defence with temper and magnanimity. As money must be much wanting for the services of so important a war, as his country could furnish no great supplies, and the borrowings in every part of Europe, together with the sudden invasion of his dominions, could enable him to form no sanguine hopes of public credit, he turned his hopes towards the city of Hamburgh, which had enriched itself by its industry and neutrality during the whole war, and by the number of wealthy persons who had fled there for refuge from the calamities which all the neighbouring countries had suffered.

His Danish majesty had always kept alive a claim of sovereignty over that city, which (however founded) he exercised whenever he found himself able. He thought the present one of those conjunctures. Therefore without any previous notice he appears with a strong army before Hamburgh, June 18. seizes the suburbs, threatens the city with an immediate siege, if they did not immediately submit to a loan of 1,000,000 of rixdollars. The magistrates of this trading city, little prepared for or accustomed to war, having no ally at hand, and who would be equally endangered by the strength of any ally able to protect them, prudently submitted, and furnished the king with such a supply as his affairs required.

The king of Prussia lost no time to profit of this great and unexpected revolution in his favour. The neutrality of the Russians still left the Austrians much superior to him. Their alliance brought him to act on the offensive: the Austrian armies in Silesia, and one in Saxony, were prepared to act, and it was not clear which side would begin to act on the offensive: the Austrian armies threatened Glogau and Breslaw with a siege, and the king of Prussia's threatened Schweidnitz.

The active character of the king of Prussia, and the caution of marshal Daun, soon determined the part which the several armies were to take, and the spirit of the several operations. Very early May 12. in the campaign prince Henry made a vigorous push on the imperial posts towards the frontiers of Saxony. The imperialists were obliged to evacuate Dippolswalda with some loss in killed. About four thousand men were taken prisoners; 365 waggons were also taken, and several trophies.

By this signal advantage, all the part of Saxony, possessed by the Prussians, was effectually secured; and any attempt which might hereafter be thought proper for the recovery of Dresden was much facilitated. Although the Austrians, sensible of the consequences of this loss, and largely reinforced from the armies in Silesia, attempted to recover these posts by several lively efforts, they were repulsed with no small slaughter on both sides; and prince Henry remained so much master of Saxony, that it was necessary to keep a large army from the war in Silesia, to prevent, if possible, his making irruptions into the heart of Bohemia.

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His Prussian majesty derived advantages from the conduct of his brother, which he did not neglect to improve. It was not until the latter end of June that he was joined by his new Russian allies. As soon as this junction was formed, he resolved to make a trial of what those men could do, in his favour, who had acted so strenuously against him. Marshal Daun's army occupied several strong but detached eminences, which enabled him to communicate with and protect Schweidnitz from all attempts of the enemy. The king of Prussia undertook to dislodge him from those advantageous posts. In some of his attempts he succeeded, in others he was baffled with some loss.

This was no regular battle; but the king of Prussia, though he did not succeed immediately in his attack, yet by his judicious manœuvres he attained all the advantages he proposed from his enterprise. For marshal Daun, apprehensive, from the motions of his army, that the king of Prussia intended to seize upon his principal magazine, and even to cut off his communication with Bohemia, abandoned those important posts which he had hitherto maintained with success, fell back to the extremities of Silesia, and left Schweidnitz entirely uncovered.

The king of Prussia immediately prepared to invest that city, whilst different detachments of Prussians, some on the side of Saxony, others on the side of Silesia, penetrated deep into Bohemia, laid many parts of the country under contribution, and spread an universal alarm. It was about five years since they had been driven from thence by the victorious arms of marshal Daun, who now found himself unable to protect that kingdom from their ravages. A considerable body of Russian irregulars also made an irruption into Bohemia, and began there to retaliate on the Austrians those excesses which they had themselves so often before committed on the Prussian dominions.

Whilst the king of Prussia was thus playing with spirit the great game which fortune had put into his hands, he was all at once threatened with a sudden reverse, by another revolution in Russia, which bore all the appearance of being as unfavourable to him, as the former had been beyond all hopes beneficial. That variable political climate of Russia, under whose influence all his fortune decayed or flourished, was covered with a sudden cloud, by the deposition, followed close by the death of his fast friend, and faithful ally, the czar of Muscovy.



## C H A P. IV.

*Causes of the Revolution in Russia. Czar irritates the clergy and soldiery. Differences with the czarina. Conspiracy against him. Czar deposed by the senate. Attempts an escape. His imprisonment and death. The czarina declared empress. Her politic conduct. Ingratiates herself with the people.*

FROM the moment of the late czar's accession to the throne of the Russias, something extraordinary was expected. His disposition seemed to lead him to make alterations in every thing, and having set before himself two great examples, that of the king of Prussia and of his predecessor Peter I. it was expected that this vast empire was going once more, almost within the life of a man, to assume a new face; a circumstance which could not fail of having a serious influence on the affairs of Europe. Peter III. made more new regulations in Russia in a few weeks, than wise and cautious princes undertake in a long reign. It was to be feared that his actions were rather guided by a rash and irregular turn of mind, and the spirit of innovation, than by any regular and well-digested plan, for the improvement of his extensive dominions.

His first actions on coming to the throne, it is true, were laudable, and seemed well calculated to acquire him the affections of his people. But if in some instances he consulted their interests, in many he shocked their prejudices; and he lost thereby that opinion, which is on all occasions necessary, but is particularly so for carrying such uncommon designs as his into execution.

The power of the czars, though absolute and uncontrollable in its

exercise, is extremely weak in its foundation. There is not perhaps in Europe a government, which depends so much on the good-will and affection of those that are governed, and which requires a greater degree of vigilance and a steadier hand. The regular succession which has been so often broken, and the great change of manners, which in less than a century has been introduced, have left in Russia a weakness amidst all the appearance of strength, and a great facility to sudden and dangerous revolutions.

Peter III. paid little attention to those difficulties, which to him were the greater, as he was a foreigner born. They were augmented by the superior and invidious regard he seemed to pay to foreign interests, and foreign persons. The preference he so manifestly gave to the uncertain hope of an inconsiderable conquest in Holstein over the solid and valuable possessions which the fortune of his predecessor had left him, must have disgusted all the politicians of his country. His intimate connections with, and boundless admiration of that prince, with whom Russia had been so lately, and so long, in a state of the most violent hostility, could not add to the opinion of his prudence. They did not think he sufficiently consulted his dignity, in soliciting

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with



with great anxiety a command in the Prussian service. When he received it, he dressed himself in the Prussian uniform, made a grand festival, and displayed all the marks of an immoderate and puerile satisfaction. He pushed his extravagance in this point so far, that he made preparations in this immature state of his government to quit Russia, and to go into Germany, for the sake of an interview with that great monarch, whose genius, principles, and fortune he so greatly admired.

Although this proceeding was, almost in every respect, extremely impolitic, it did not threaten so dangerous consequences as the other steps which he took about the same time. Nothing requires so much judgment, and so nice a hand, as to effect a change in the settled establishments of any country. Above all, there must be something favourable in the conjuncture; or something so uncommon and over-ruling in the genius of the conductor of those changes, as will render him superior to all difficulties. This latter was the case of Peter I. who had indeed very little favourable in the conjuncture; but he did everything by his capacity, courage, and perseverance. The soldiery and the ecclesiastics are the great supports of all absolute rule, and they are certainly the last bodies, upon which a prince of this kind would chuse to exert an invidious act of authority. But the czar was indiscreet enough, very early in his reign, highly to provoke both these bodies; the soldiery, by the manifest preference he gave to his Holstein guards, and to all officers of that nation; and by the change he made in favour of the Prussian uniform, to the exclusion of that, in which the Russians believed

they had so often asserted the honour of their country, and gained many signal advantages over the troops, distinguished by those regimentals which were now preferred.

These trifles had very important consequences. But what he did in matters of religion, was still more dangerous. This prince had been educated a Lutheran; and though he conformed to the Greek church, in order to qualify himself for the succession, he never shewed much respect to that mode of religion, to the rites and doctrines of which his subjects had been always extremely attached. He seized upon the revenues of the clergy, whether monks or seculars, whether bishops or inferiors, and for compensation allowed them some mean pensions, in such a proportion as his fancy suggested. His capricious order, that the clergy should be no longer distinguished by beards, was in itself of less moment, but it was hardly less offensive. He made also some regulations concerning the images and pictures in their churches, which gave them reason to apprehend his intention of accomplishing a total change in the religion of the empire, and introducing Lutheranism.

Whilst he was taking these measures to alienate the minds of his people in general, and especially of those bodies, with whom it was the most his interest to be well, he had not the good fortune to live in union with his own family. He had long slighted his consort, a princess of the house of Anhalt Zerbst, a woman of a masculine understanding, and by whose counsels he might have profited. He lived in a very public manner with the countess of Woronzoff, niece to the  
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chancellor of that name, and seemed devoted to her with so strong a passion, that it was apprehended he had some thoughts of throwing his empress into a monastery, and raising this lady to the throne of all the Russias. What seemed to confirm this opinion, was his omitting formally to declare his son the grand duke Paul Petrowitz the successor. This omission, in a country where the succession is established and regular, would have been of no consequence; the punctual observance of such a ceremony would rather have betrayed some doubt of the title. But the nature of this government, as well as positive constitutions, had made it necessary in Russia, and the omission was certainly alarming.

That unfortunate prince, having in this manner affronted his army, irritated his clergy, offended his nobility, and alienated his own family, without having left himself any firm ground of authority, in personal esteem or national prejudice, proceeded with his usual precipitation to new changes. In the mean time a most dangerous conspiracy was forming against him. The cruel punishments inflicted in Russia on state criminals, have only an effect to harden the minds of men already fierce and obdurate, and seldom deter them from the most desperate undertakings. Rosamowski, Hetman or chief of the Cossacks, a person of importance by that command, Panin, governor of the great duke Paul, marshal Butterlin, the chamberlain Teplow, the attorney-general Glebow, baron Orlov major of the guards, and many others of the great officers and first nobility of the empire, engaged in a conspiracy to dethrone the czar, who was now universally hated; and, what was more fatal to him, universally despised.

They assured themselves, that their action could not be disagreeable to the empress; whose conduct had always been the very reverse of that of her consort. This princess finding that the affections of her husband were irrecoverably alienated, endeavoured to set up a separate and independent interest in her own favour, and for asserting the rights of her son. She therefore assiduously cultivated the affections of the Russian nation, and paid a respect to their manners and religion, in the same degree that her husband seemed to condemn them.

So ill was the czar served, that this conspiracy was grown general, without his receiving the least notice of it, and he remained in perfect security, whilst the senate and the clergy were assembled to pass the sentence of his deposition. At this time the empress and he were both absent from the capital at different country seats. The empress, as soon as she found that the design was declared, got on horseback, and with all possible speed arrived at Petersburg. She immediately harangued the guards, who cheerfully and unanimously declared in her favour, and proclaimed her empress of Russia independently of her husband. She then addressed herself to the clergy, and the chief of the nobility, who applauded her resolution; and all orders immediately took the oath of allegiance to her as sole empress. She was no sooner acknowledged in this manner, than, without losing a moment's time, she marched from Petersburg towards the emperor, at the head of a body of troops.

This prince was indulging himself in indolent amusements, and lulled



lulled in the most profound security, at a house of pleasure, called Oranienbaum, on the sea-shore, when a soldier brought him an account that his kingdom was taken away from him.

Astonished, and wholly unprepared for this event, he was some time senseless, and entirely at a loss what part to take. When he was roused from this trance by the approaching danger, his first suggestion was to defend the place with his Holstein guards; but though satisfied of their attachment, he doubted their strength, and he knew it was in vain to hope for any effort in his favour from the Russians.

Nothing then remained but flight, by which he might escape to Holstein, and wait some favourable turn of fortune. This late lord of powerful fleets and armies embarked in a small vessel, and with a few attendants, and rowed towards Cronstadt: but he had not proceeded very far, when he was informed that this fortress was in the hands of his enemies, and that every avenue for escape was shut against him. Dejected and desponding he returned to Oranienbaum. After some short and tumultuous deliberation, he resolved to abandon all thoughts of defence, and to throw himself on the compassion of the empress.

On her march she met his messengers, who brought letters containing a renunciation of the empire, and stipulating no other terms than leave to return to Holstein, and the satisfaction of taking with him, as the companion of his retreat, the counts of Woronzoff and one single friend.

Reasons of state would not permit the empress to consent to the first

of those terms, and the last could not be very flattering to her. His terms were rejected; and he was required to sign an unconditional resignation of his crown, according to a form that was prepared for him. Not satisfied with depriving him of his crown, it was thought fit to make him the murderer of his own reputation; and this unfortunate prince, moved with the vain hope of life, signed a paper declaring his conviction of his inability to govern the empire, either as a sovereign, or in any other capacity, and his sense of the distress, in which his continuing at the head of affairs would inevitably involve it. After he had signed this abdication, he gave up his sword, and was conducted to prison, where in a short time, but according to what had been universally July 6. expected, he died. The disorder, which killed him, was called an hemorrhoidal cholic.

Thus was a revolution of such immense importance effected in a single day, and without shedding a single drop of blood. The unfortunate emperor enjoyed the power, of which he had made so imprudent and impolitic an use, no longer than six months. His wife, without any hereditary title, is sovereign mistress of the Russian empire; and the most absolute power on earth is now held by an elective monarch.

Immediately on this revolution a number of manifestoes appeared, in which the conduct of the late czar was severely condemned, the weakness of his personal character exposed, and designs of the blackest kind, even that of murdering his consort, attributed to him. Those manifestoes at the same time were filled



filled with the strongest declarations of affection from the empress to the subjects of Russia, of regard to their interests, and of attachment to their religion; and they are all filled with such unaffected and fervent strains of piety, as must needs prove extremely edifying to those who are acquainted with the sentiments of pure religion, by which great princes are generally animated on occasions of this nature.

Nothing could be more able than the conduct of the empress, since her accession to the throne. In almost all respects it was the very re-

verse of that of her husband. She dismissed all foreigners from her confidence and service; she sent away the Holstein guards, and chose Russian, whose ancient uniform was revived with new lustre, the empress herself frequently condescending to appear in it. The clergy were restored to their possessions, and their beards. She conferred all the great posts of the empire on native Russians, and entirely threw herself on the affections of that people to whom she owed her elevation.

#### C H A P. V.

*Effect of the revolution in Russia on the king of Prussia's affairs. Situation of the new empress. She adopts a neutrality. Russian conquests restored. Russians quit the Prussian camp. King of Prussia draws marshal Daun from Buckersdorff. Schweidnitz besieged. Marshal Laudohn attacks the prince of Bevern. Is repulsed. Disposition of the French and allied armies. Broglie removed. Battle of Graebenstein. French defeated. Lord Granby drives the French from Hombourg. Prince Xavier of Saxony defeated. Gottingen evacuated. French army called from the Lower Rhine.*

**T**HIS great change in the government of Russia, it was universally feared, would be followed by a total change of system with regard to foreign affairs. The peace and alliance with the king of Prussia were very unpopular measures in Muscovy. It was not probable that the close and intimate connection which had subsisted between the king of Prussia and the late czar, could greatly recommend him to the successor. And as it was imagined that this revolution must have been in a great degree owing to the machinations of those courts, whom the czar had irritated by withdrawing from their alliance, there was the greater reason to apprehend that the power, which was now set up, would be exerted in their favour.

There were also great advantages on the side of Russia, if the empress should not hold the peace concluded by her late husband to be binding on her, as none of the conquests were at this time evacuated. Every thing seemed to conspire towards plunging the king of Prussia into the abyss of his former distresses, after he had emerged from them, only for such a time, and in such a manner, as to make them more bitter and insupportable.

Fortunately, however, for this wonderful man, the empress, who had come to the Russian throne in the extraordinary manner that we have seen, could not look upon herself as sufficiently secure to undertake again a war of so much importance as that which had been



just concluded. It was necessary, for some time at least, that she should confine her attention solely to her own safety. Therefore it was expedient to collect, within itself, all the force of the empire, in order to oppose it to the designs of the many malecontents, with which that empire always abounds, and who, though not attached to the interest of the late czar, and little inclined to revenge his fate, would find now both inducement and opportunity for raising troubles and attempting new changes. Very plausible pretences for such attempts existed from the time of Peter the Great; who, whilst he improved and strengthened his kingdom, left in it, at the same time, the seeds of civil wars and revolutions.

These considerations, whatever her desires might be, induced the czarina to continue so much of the system of her predecessor, as coincided with her situation. She therefore declared to the king of Prussia's ministers, "that she was resolved to observe inviolably, in all points, the perpetual peace concluded under the preceding reign; that nevertheless she had thought proper to bring back to Russia, by the nearest roads, all her troops in Silesia, Prussia, and Pomerania."

It was not the critical situation alone of the czarina which produced this moderation; the prudent behaviour of his Prussian majesty, during the time of his connection with the late czar, had a considerable share in reconciling the mind of this empress to him, and of perpetuating something like the same friendship, with interests so very different. The Russian senate, flaming with resentment against this monarch, and against their late sovereign; and the empress full of sus-

picion that the conduct of the latter might have been influenced by the councils of the former, searched eagerly amongst the papers of the late emperor for an elucidation or proof of this point. They found indeed many letters from the king of Prussia; but in a strain absolutely different from what they apprehended. The king of Prussia had, as far as prudence would admit, kept a reserve and distance in regard to the rash advances of this unhappy ally. Too experienced to be carried away by his inconsiderate impetuosity, he gave him much salutary, though fruitless, advice; he counselled him to undertake nothing against the empress his consort; to desist from the war with Denmark; to attempt no changes in the religion and fundamental laws of the country; and not to think of coming into Germany.

On hearing these letters read, the empress is said to have burst into tears of gratitude, and made, in consequence the strongest declarations in favour of this prince. They were not without effect. Orders had been given with relation to Prussia, which threatened a renewal of hostilities. They were soon suspended. The army of the Russians was indeed separated from that of Prussia; but all the important places, which the Russians had, with so much bloodshed, and through so many difficulties, acquired, and which gave them the command of every thing else that remained to the king, were faithfully restored.

This change from a strict alliance to a cold neutrality, though it made no small difference in the Prussian affairs, yet, all things considered, must be regarded as an escape, and as a deliverance almost



as wonderful as his former. However, this circumstance could not fail of inspiring some degree of confidence into his enemies, which the king of Prussia endeavoured above all things to prevent.

On the 21st of July, the orders arrived at the allied camp from Petersburgh, for the Russians to separate themselves from his army, and return without delay to their own country. The king, without being confounded by this sudden order, and instead of slackening his efforts on account of this desertion, resolved to fall with vigour, and without delay, upon marshal Daun, and to attack him before the news of this change could reach him. Since he could no longer profit by the arms of the Russians, he endeavoured to profit at least by their appearance in his camp. The very next day therefore he attacked the Austrian army, whose right wing occupied the heights of Buckersdorff, drove them from that eminence, and from some villages where they were advantageously posted. The success was not owing only to the spirit of the actual attack, but to an apprehension of the Austrians, that the whole united army of the Prussians and Muscovites was on the point of engaging them. The king of Prussia made an use of those allies, in the moment they deserted him.

This lively attack was made with a loss of only three hundred men on the side of the Prussians; the number of the Austrians killed is not known. The prisoners amounted to one thousand; and fourteen pieces of cannon were taken. It was indeed no more than an affair of posts; but its consequences were important; for the communication of the Imperialists with Schweidnitz was now entirely and

finally cut off; they could not attempt any thing considerable for the relief of that place. Prince Henry held them in continual alarm for Bohemia, and a great part of their attention, and no small part of their forces, were kept continually engaged upon that side.

The king of Prussia having thus pushed back marshal Daun, invested Schweidnitz, and laid siege to that important fortress before his face. This was the fourth time which that place had been besieged since the beginning of this war; and this circumstance alone might suffice to shew the many and extraordinary changes of fortune which distinguished these campaigns. We apprehend no instance has happened before of any place like this of real strength being so often successively taken and retaken in the course of a single war.

As Schweidnitz is the key of Silesia, and, though not quite a regular place, is notwithstanding well situated and well fortified; as the garrison amounted to nine thousand men, commanded by a good officer, and assisted by a very experienced engineer, and as two great armies of the enemy observed all his motions, it was necessary to make the dispositions for the siege with uncommon care. His infantry were encamped on the heights behind Schweidnitz. His cavalry formed a chain in the plains of Keintzerdorf, to be nearer the camp of the prince of Wirtemberg, which was situated so as to prevent any enterprize from the county of Glatz. The prince of Bevern commanded a strong corps, which posted itself advantageously near Cosel. One under general Werner did the same at Neissa.



By these dispositions the Prussian convoys were protected, the principal places in Silesia guarded, the siege of Schweidnitz covered, and an easy communication preserved between all the detached corps employed in those several services.

The effects of this wise disposition were soon felt. Marshal Daun, despairing to succeed against the army, which, under the king in person, covered the siege of Schweidnitz, endeavoured to break this chain, and by that means distress the Prussians who were carrying on the siege. Laudohn was therefore detached, with a very superior force, to attack the prince of Bevern, and to drive him from the advantageous post he occupied. This attack was made with all the celerity and resolution which distinguish the operations of this brave officer. But the prince, mindful of the disgrace he had formerly suffered in this province, opposed him with such constancy and perseverance, that the king of Prussia had time to come to his relief. The Austrians were then put between two fires, routed, and pursued with a terrible slaughter.

This attempt being defeated, the king of Prussia met with no disturbance in the preparations for the siege, and the trenches were opened on the night of the 18th of July.

Whilst the king of Prussia was making this advantageous use of his fortune, the armies of the French and the allies in Westphalia were not inactive. Among the commanders of the former a great disunion had long prevailed. The marshals de Broglie and de Soubise had mutually accused each other; the camp and the court were for some time entirely distracted with the cabals of the partisans of those officers. The result was not favour-

able to marshal Broglie. In him the French court was obliged to recall, and in some measure to disgrace, one of the very best of their officers. A suspicion, and that not weakly founded, prevailed against this general, that, unable to bear a competitor in fame, or an associate in command, he had often, in order to disgrace those with whom he was to act, neglected to improve his favourable opportunities; and that in some instances, by his conduct, he had purposely occasioned some failures, and even defeats. This was a fault which no great qualities in an officer could compensate. He was therefore removed from his command, and the conduct of the army left to the prince de Soubise, who was infinitely beloved by the soldiers for his generous and benevolent disposition; and marshal d'Etrees, who has been so often mentioned in the course of this history, was associated with him.

The plan of the campaign, on the part of the French, did not differ much from that which had been formerly pursued. They had, as before, two armies; this under the prince de Soubise and marshal d'Etrees on the Weser, and another under the prince de Condé on the Lower Rhine.

The disposition of the allies was also but little varied. The hereditary prince was posted in the bishopric of Munster, to watch the latter of these armies; and prince Ferdinand in person, with the body of the army, lay behind the Dymel to make head against the former. So little had the French profited by their superior numbers, and superior resources in this continental war, and so little decisive use had they made even of some advantages in the field, that this

came



campaign commenced very nearly in the same place, and they contended for pretty much the same objects, which they had struggled for in the two preceding years.

So superior was the genius of prince Ferdinand, that under many disadvantages he was the first to commence offensive operations. The stroke he struck on this occasion would suffice alone to rank him with the first commanders of his age. His abilities throughout the war have never shone out with more lustre than in this campaign, which concluded it.

The French army was most advantageously posted, both for command of the country, and for strength, near a place called Graebenstein, in the frontiers of Hesse; their centre occupied an advantageous eminence; their left wing was almost inaccessible by several deep ravines, and their right was covered by the village of Graebenstein, by several rivulets, and a strong detached body under one of their best officers, monsieur de Castries.

In this situation they imagined they had nothing to fear from the attempts of prince Ferdinand, whose army, besides the inferiority of its numbers, was separated in such a manner, and in such distant places, that they judged it impossible it could unite in any attack upon their camp. But whilst they enjoyed themselves in full security, the storm was preparing to fall upon them from all quarters.

A considerable corps of the allied army, under general Luckner, was posted to the eastward of the Weser, near Eimbecke, on the Leine. He lay there to observe prince Xavier of Saxony, who was

encamped between the Werra and Gottingen. But if he watched the prince, the prince also watched him. When, therefore, he had orders to quit this post, that he might co-operate in the grand design, he left a small party of his corps in his station, by which he deceived the prince of Saxony; and marching in the night with the utmost speed, he crossed the Weser, turned the right of the French army, and, without being discovered, placed himself upon the rear. General Sporken at the same time placed himself so as to attack the same wing in flank. Prince Ferdinand crossed the Dymel, in order to fall upon their centre. The attack on the enemy's left was commanded by lord Granby.

These preparations were made with so much judgment, celerity, and good order, that the French had not perceived the approach of the allies, when they found June 24. themselves attacked with infinite impetuosity, in front, flank, and rear. The battle was scarcely begun, when they thought of nothing but flight. The corps under monsieur de Castries had time to retreat in tolerable order, and without any great loss. But it did not fare so well with their centre, and their left, which were opposed by the calm resolution of prince Ferdinand, and the generous courage of Granby.

As the French placed all their hopes rather in retreat than combat, an entire rout must have ensued, if monsieur Stainville, who commanded on the left, had not thrown himself with the flower of the French infantry into a wood, which enabled him, at the expence of the best part of it, to cover the retreat of the army. Here this brave  
and



and accomplished officer made a resolute stand, and for a long time sustained the whole weight of the allies. His corps was a devoted sacrifice. All but two battalions were cut to pieces or made prisoners. The other bodies, covered by this resolute manœuvre, made a shift to shelter themselves under the cannon of Cassel, or precipitately escaped to the other side of the Fulda.

Thus did the French army, by the virtue of monsieur de Stainville, escape a total defeat; but the consequences of the action were not recovered during the whole campaign. They lost much credit both in point of resolution and generalship. Their infantry, in this engagement, consisted of one hundred battalions, when that of the allies was composed but of sixty. The common men made prisoners by the allies, on this occasion, were two thousand seven hundred and fifty, and no less than one hundred and sixty-two officers were taken. The English lost but a few men killed, and no officer of rank, but lieutenant-colonel Townshend †, who fell with great glory to himself, and to the regret of the whole army.

Every thing in the conduct of prince Ferdinand appears the effect of a well-digested plan; and one great action completed always helps to disclose a series of bold, masterly, and connected designs.

As soon as the enemy was dislodged from their strong post, use was made of this advantage (whilst the French, under the hurry and

confusion of their late misfortune, were unable to provide against unexpected accidents) to push forward a body of the English under lord Granby and lord Frederick Cavendish. The French could scarcely imagine, that, whilst they were in possession of so strong a place as Cassel, and commanded an army so superior in number to the allies, that, whilst prince Ferdinand braved them in front, they should find one of his detachments upwards of thirty miles behind them. In this emergency, monsieur de Rochambeau perceiving their motions, hastily collected some brigades of infantry and cavalry at Hombourg, to July 6. prevent, if possible, the communication of the grand army with Francfort from being cut off. But they were charged with so much vigour by the two English commanders, that, though they defended themselves with spirit for some time, they were in the issue dispersed with considerable loss. They were obliged to evacuate that tract of country. Fritzlar, Feltzberg, and Lohr, and almost all the important posts in the south part of Hesse, were occupied by the allies. The communication with Francfort, from whence the French drew their whole subsistence, was absolutely intercepted.

To the north of Hesse also the allies were not less active, nor less successful: they obliged prince Xavier, with his Saxon detachments, to abandon his advanced post on the Leine, and unite himself to the grand army. They got between him

† This col. Townshend was second son to the hon. Thomas Townshend, Esq. He had distinguished himself on several occasions. At Guadaloupe he was pushed overboard in the landing of the troops, but his black saved his life by jumping after him. In the last campaign in Germany, he was shot through the arm, and in this engagement he lost his life, seeking the post of honour that his duty did not require.



and Gottingen, by which the French garrison there was left without support. This garrison, seeing its communication interrupted, blew up a part of the fortifications, and attempted a retreat; but finding no avenue open, they were obliged to return in confusion. Despairing of their ability to hold this important place, they thought themselves happy, when at length, with much management and difficulty, Aug. 16. they were able to evacuate it without opposition.

Prince Xavier, after having, as we said before, quitted his advanced situation at Morungen in the territories of Hanover, united himself to the right of the principal army, which was posted to the eastward of the Fulda, not far from the place where that river forms an angle in its junction with the Werra. In this angle stands the town of Munden, a fortified place, in which the French had a garrison. Full of confidence from this situation, they were under no apprehensions; but the generals Zastrow, Gillsac, and Waldhaufen, passed the Fulda July 23. in their fight, and under a heavy fire of their cannon. The corps of the two former officers possessed themselves of a wood on the enemy's right flank. General Waldhaufen, in the mean time, had seized the village of Bonnevert, which enabled him to keep the garrison of Munden in check, and gave him also an opportunity, whenever the occasion required it, of falling on the enemy's rear.

The bold passage of the Fulda, and the judgment of the subsequent dispositions, insured the victory. Prince Xavier, for a good while, defended himself with an obstinate re-

solution; but finding his flank gained, he began to give way. In this instant Waldhaufen, who had hitherto only watched the issue of the engagement, threw in his horse upon their rear, and completed the defeat.

General Stainville, who occupied a strong intrenched camp in the neighbourhood, seeing the party of the prince of Saxony in danger of being totally cut to pieces, quitted his intrenchments with his whole army, of ten thousand men, and hastened to their relief. Prince Frederick of Brunswick, attentive to this movement, with great quickness seized this critical opportunity, entered their camp the moment they had left it, and entirely destroyed all their works. In this action eleven hundred of the enemy were made prisoners.

The French finding their communication destroyed, their army surrounded and harassed on every side, and without intermission, were neither able to advance with a prospect of success, or to retreat with any hope of safety. In this distress they had nothing left but to call their army from the Lower Rhine to their assistance. No time was to be lost. Express after express was sent to hasten them. In consequence of these dispatches, the prince of Condé advanced by forced marches; the hereditary prince stuck close to him, and kept himself in readiness to fall upon his corps, when a favourable opportunity should offer.

In the mean time prince Ferdinand pressed upon Soubise's army. Advantageously as they were situated, he offered them battle for a whole day. Rather than risque an engagement they decamped in the night, and quitted, without an action, those advantageous grounds called



called the heights of Mulfingen, where they could not be attempted without the greatest difficulty and hazard; and the quitting of which gave prince Ferdinand the most important advantages over them.

Never were military operations pushed with more vivacity, whilst the negotiation for peace was in great forwardness. The two great contending courts had opened conferences, whilst their armies were cutting one another in pieces: but prince Ferdinand, on that account, rather strained than slackened his efforts. He knew that the negotiation for

peace is always much forwarded by the operations of the campaign, and that a successful action often hastens the decision of a contested article. Perhaps too he was willing to shew in England, that the necessity of making peace ought not to be attributed to the circumstances of that part of the war which had been committed to his care. People imagined they could discern something like coldness towards this great commander in the new British ministry; and that he, on his side, seemed rather to favour that party in England which was for prolonging the war.

## C H A P. VI.

*War in Portugal. Plan of the campaign. Miranda, Braganza, and Chaves taken. Almeida besieged and taken. Count of La Lippe arrives in Portugal. Surprise of Valentia d'Alcantara, by General Burgoyne. Affair of Villa Velha. Spaniards retire.*

THE events of the war in Germany, though its object was not more interesting than that in Portugal, seem to rank far before the actions of the latter in dignity and importance. They naturally occupy the first place, and justify a more minute detail in an history of military operations. It is in Germany that the great efforts of all the great powers in Europe were made from the beginning. Here the most considerable armies were maintained; here the great battles were fought; and on this theatre the great commanders gave a full scope to their genius. Germany seems, as it were, the natural soil of hostility; but Portugal, which had long languished in a tranquil obscurity, could scarce furnish out a faint image of war.

Of the state of the military in that country we have spoken in a preceding chapter. The marine was not on a much more respect-

able footing. About six or seven ships of the line, and a very few frigates, composed all the naval force of Portugal that was fit for service; of that Portugal which had formerly been one of the first maritime powers in Europe. The fortifications in that kingdom had been also long neglected, and scarce any of them were in a condition to sustain a regular siege.

Portugal, however, possessed some advantages; but they were only such as she derived from her weakness. The extreme barrenness and poverty of the country, made it very difficult for an army, either of friends or enemies, to subsist in it. The badness of the roads, and the frequency and steepness of the mountains, which occupy the greatest part of that kingdom, made it no less difficult to advance with rapid marches, and to improve the advantages of the campaign with pro-

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per expedition. The nature of the country also rendered it more fit for that species of defence which the best force it had was best qualified to make; that is, in the way of an irregular war, by its armed peasantry; for the defiles in many places are of such a nature, as to be capable of being maintained by a small and undisciplined body, against very numerous and very regular forces. And the Portuguese, from the highest to the lowest, were animated with such a sincere and inveterate hatred to the Spanish name, and were filled with so much terror at the prospect of falling a second time under the government of that nation, that great hopes were entertained of their exerting themselves to the utmost on this occasion, and of their rousing that natural courage in which the Portuguese are not deficient.

These advantages, however, did by no means balance the dangers to which that kingdom was exposed, from the joint hostility of France and Spain. All the hope of Portugal was centered in England, for whose sake, and in whose quarrel she had been drawn into this unequal contest. The greater the weakness of Portugal was, the more conspicuous were the magnanimity and resources of Great-Britain, who made, in the close of so expensive and ruinous a war, such astonishing efforts, and who was in a condition by her strength to prop up, at least for a time, so very feeble a system. She sent to Portugal, officers, troops, artillery, arms, military stores, provisions, and money, every thing which could enable the Portuguese to exert their natural strength, and every thing which could supply that strength where it was deficient.

When the Bourbon courts made war against Portugal, the declared object was to prevent Great-Britain from the military and commercial use of the ports of that kingdom. As it was impossible to attain this object by naval operations, they attempted it by military ones, and aimed their principal endeavours at the two great ports to which the English principally resort, Oporto and Lisbon. The possession of these two objects would probably have finished the war in their favour; the possession of either of them would have given them the most decisive advantages in it. With this view three inroads were to be made, one to the north, another was proposed more to the south, whilst the third was made in the middle provinces, in order to sustain these two bodies, and preserve the communication between them. The reader must consider this, as what appears from their designs, and from the steps they took to execute them, to have been their general plan; not that it was ever perfectly executed in all its parts, or at the same time.

The first body which commenced hostilities was commanded by the marquis de Sarria. This army entered into the north-east angle of Portugal, and marched towards Miranda. This town, though in no good state of defence, might have delayed them in their progress; but a powder magazine having blown up by accident, the fortifications were ruined, and the Spaniards, before they had raised their first battery, marched into the town by the May 9. breaches in the wall.

Animated by this easy and fortunate success, they proceeded to Braganza, a considerable city, from whence the royal family of Portugal derived



derived its ducal titles. This town made no greater defence than Miranda. From thence a detachment marched to Moncorvo, which was surrendered in the like manner; and every thing was cleared before them to the banks of the Douro. A party under count O'Reilly made a forced march of fourteen leagues in two days, to the city of Chaves, which was immediately evacuated. By these successes they became masters of almost the whole of the extensive province of Tralos Montes, and their progress spread a general alarm. Oporto was almost given up as lost; and the admiralty of England prepared transports to carry off the effects of the British factory. However, the body which had traversed this province without resistance, attempting to cross the Douro, had its progress checked on that side. The peasants, animated and guided by some English officers, and seizing a difficult pass, repulsed and drove them back to Torre de Moncorvo. They are said to have been guilty of some cruelties to the Spanish prisoners who fell into their hands. These cruelties were afterwards severely retaliated upon them. These people, on both sides naturally ferocious, had not been sufficiently inured to war, to moderate its fury, and reduce it under laws; they hated mutually, and they gave a full scope to their hatred; they did not see each other as soldiers, but as enemies.

The second body of the Spaniards, which we have mentioned as the connective link between the two others, entered into the province of Beira, at the villages called Val de Mula and Val de Coelha. They were joined by strong detachments,

amounting to almost the whole army in Tralos Montes, and immediately laid siege to Almeida, which, though in no good order, was the strongest and best provided place upon the frontiers of Portugal. Besides, it was of the greatest importance from its middle situation, as the possession of it would greatly facilitate the operations upon every side, and would especially tend to forward an attempt upon Lisbon, which was the capital object, towards which, at this time, all the endeavours of the Spaniards seem to have been directed.

Almeida was defended with sufficient resolution; but its fate was foreseen as soon as it was attempted, there being no means of affording relief to any of the places besieged. It surrendered, however, upon terms honourable to the garrison. Aug. 25.

The Spaniards, having made themselves masters of this place, overspread the whole territory of Castel Branco, a principal district of the province of Beira, making their way to the southward, until they approached the banks of the Tagus. During the whole of their progress, and indeed during the whole campaign, the allied troops of Great-Britain and Portugal had nothing that could be called a body of an army in the field, and they could not think of opposing the enemy in a pitched battle. All that could be done was by the defence of passes, by skirmish, and by surprise.

By this time the count of la Lippe Buckeburg had arrived in Portugal. Lord Tyrawly, who had been sent, at the desire of the court of Lisbon, thither before the breaking out of the war, being disgusted by the behaviour of some persons at court, and much disappointed in his expectations of the

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the exertion they had promised to make of their own force, and even of the use they had made of the succours from England, had been recalled very early in the campaign, and probably not contrary to his own inclination.

It is impossible to express the joy which filled the whole nation at the arrival of so celebrated an officer as the count la Lippe to their assistance. More unanimity was now expected, as the count had nothing to complain of, and came an entire stranger to all the subjects of debate, which had hitherto existed between the British general and the court of Lisbon.

That army, which we have mentioned as the third corps destined for the invasion of Portugal, assembled on the frontiers of Estremadura, with an intention of penetrating into the province of Alentejo. Had this third body been joined to the others already in Portugal, it would probably have formed such an army as might, in spite of any obstruction, have forced its way to Lisbon: had it acted separately, it might have greatly distracted the defence, so as to enable some other body to penetrate to that city. It was necessary to prevent, if possible, their entrance into Portugal; since their mere entrance would have been almost equal, in its consequences, to a victory on their side.

The count la Lippe, therefore, formed a design of attacking an advanced body of the Spaniards, which lay on their frontiers, in a town called Valentia de Alcantara, as he heard that they had here amassed considerable magazines. The conduct of this important enterprize was committed to brigadier

general Burgoyne. This gallant and able officer, though at a distance of five days march, and in spite of all the disappointments and obstructions to which services of this kind are so liable, when they cannot be executed immediately; yet effected a complete surprise on the town of Valentia de Alcantara; Aug. 27. took the general, who was to have commanded in the intended invasion, one colonel, two captains, and seventeen subaltern officers. One of the best regiments in the Spanish service was entirely destroyed.

Although they were disappointed in their expectations of finding magazines in this place, the effect of this well-conducted enterprize was not lost. The taking of this general was probably the cause which prevented the Spaniards from entering into the province of Alentejo. This seemed to have been for some time the destination not only of that particular body, but also the great object of the Spanish army, which had hitherto acted in Beira. The former of these provinces is a plain, open, fertile country, where their cavalry, in which consisted the chief of their army, and in which lay their most marked superiority, might have acted, and acted decisively: whereas the latter was a rough mountainous region, in which the horse were subsisted with difficulty, and could be of little service. To prevent, therefore, the entry of the Bourbon army from any quarter into Alentejo, seemed to be the great and single object of the campaign on our side. General Burgoyne, by this expedition into the Spanish territories, had already prevented it in one part; and the vigilance,



lance and activity of the same officer had no small share in preventing it also on the other.

That part of the Bourbon army, which acted in the territory of Castel Branco, had made themselves masters of several important passes, which they obliged some bodies of the Portuguese to abandon. They attacked the rear of the combined army, which was passing the river Alveito, with the appearance of a retreat; but, in reality, with a view to draw them insensibly into the mountainous tracts: here they were repulsed with loss; but still they continued masters of the country; and nothing remained but the passage of the Tagus, to enable them to take up their quarters in Alentejo.

Burgoyne, who was posted with an intention to obstruct them in their passage, lay in the neighbourhood, and within view of a detached camp, composed of a considerable body of the enemy's cavalry, which lay near a village called Villa Velha. As he observed that the enemy kept no very soldierly guard in this post, and were uncovered both on their rear and their flanks, he conceived a design of falling on them by surprise. He confided the execution of this design to colonel Lee, who turned Oct. 6. their camp, fell upon their rear in the night, made a considerable slaughter, dispersed the whole party, destroyed their magazines, and returned with scarce any loss. Burgoyne, in the mean time, supported him by a feint attack in another quarter, which prevented the enemy's being relieved from the adjacent posts.

This advantage, being obtained in a critical moment, was attended

with important consequences. The season was now far advanced; immense rains fell at this time; the roads were destroyed; the country became impracticable; and the Spaniards, having seized no advanced posts in which they could maintain themselves during the winter, and being especially unprovided with magazines for the support of their horse, every where fell back to the frontiers of Spain, where their supplies were at hand, and where they were not liable to be harrassed by the efforts of the combined army.

In this manner Portugal was saved, at least for that campaign, by the wise conduct of count la Lippe, and the distinguished valour of the English commanders and soldiery: all that was wanting towards their deliverance was accomplished by the success of the English army in more distant quarters, and by the peace, in which so valuable and so exposed an ally was not neglected. There never was probably so heavy a storm of national calamity, ready to fall upon an unprovided people, so happily averted, or so speedily blown over. Every thing, at the beginning of this campaign, bore the most lowering and ominous aspect to the affairs of Great Britain. As it advanced, the sky continually cleared up; and the fortune of no nation, towards the close of it, was enlivened with a more brilliant and more unclouded prosperity. We shall now proceed in the relation of those successes, and of the progress of the English arms in other parts of the world, where new scenes of danger and honour were now opened to them.



## C H A P. VII.

*Expedition against Martinico. Force sent thither. Troops land at Cas Navire. Nature of the country. Attack of the posts near Fort Royal. Fort Royal surrendered. St. Pierre and the whole island capitulate. St. Lucia, the Grenades, and St. Vincent taken. Preparations for war against the Spanish West Indies.*

TOWARDS the close of the last year it was determined to resume the scheme of operations in the West Indies; where nothing had been attempted since the year 1759. Distressed as the French trade to their islands had been, it still continued a resource to that nation. On the other hand, nothing could possibly furnish us with places of more importance either to retain, or to exchange upon a peace, than our success in this part of the world. Another consideration had probably no small share in directing our arms towards that quarter. From the time that the dispositions of Spain had become equivocal, it was necessary to take such steps as would put us in a respectable situation, in case a war with that kingdom should become unavoidable. It was therefore very proper to have a strong armament in the West Indies, that side on which Spain is most vulnerable, and in which every wound affects a part of the quickest sensibility. Accordingly the force which was sent into the West Indies on this occasion, was very great; and, if we take the naval and military together, it was such an armament as had never been before seen in that part of the world. It was certainly very right to leave as little to hazard as possible; and when, in the most frugal method of proceeding, a great many men must have been

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employed, and a great deal of money spent, it would have been an unpardonable error, from a consideration of almost any saving, to have left any thing imperfect; especially at a time, when the effect of every operation became, almost hourly, more and more critical and decisive.

Every thing which had been an object of war in North America, was by this time completely acquired. It was therefore easy to draw a very considerable part of the army from thence. Eleven battalions were drawn from New York; a draught was also made from the garrison of Belleisle. These were reinforced by some troops which had been scattered among the Leeward islands; so that the whole land armament did not fall very short of twelve thousand men. General Monckton, who had acquired so much reputation in North America, and had received a very grievous wound at the taking of Quebec, commanded the land forces in this expedition. The marine was under rear-admiral Rodney.

The failure in 1759 did not discourage our administration from making Martinico the object of another attempt. The English fleet after having rendezvoused at Barbadoes, came before this island on the 7th of January, 1762. The troops landed at a creek called *Cas Navire*; without the loss of a man;

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man; the fleet having been disposed so properly, and having directed their fire with such effect, that the enemy was obliged in a short time to abandon the batteries they had erected to defend this inlet.

When the landing was effected, the difficulties were far from being at an end. It is true, that neither the number nor the quality of the enemy's regular troops in the island was very formidable. But the militia was numerous, well armed, and not unqualified for service in the only kind of war, which could be carried on in their country. Besides, the whole country was a natural fortification, from the number of ravines with rivulets between them, which lay from distance to distance. Where-ever those grounds were practicable, the French had posted guards and erected batteries. It is easy from hence to discern what obstructions the progress of an army was liable to, particularly with regard to its artillery. These obstructions were no where greater than in the neighbourhood of the place, against which the first regular attack was proposed.

This town and citadel is overlooked and commanded by two very considerable eminences, called *Morne Tortenson* and *Morne Garnier*. Whilst the enemy kept possession of these eminences, it was impossible to attack the town; if they lost them, it would prove impossible to defend it. Suitable to the importance of those situations were the measures taken to render them impracticable. They were protected, like the other high grounds on this island, with very deep ravines; and this great natural strength was improved by every contrivance of art. The *Morne Tortenson* was first to be

attacked: to favour this operation, a body of regular troops and marines were ordered to advance on the right along the sea-side, towards the town, in order to take the redoubts which lay in the lower grounds. A thousand sailors, in flat-bottomed boats, rowed close to the shore to assist them. On the left, towards the country, a corps of light infantry, properly supported, was to get round the enemy's left; whilst the attack in the centre was made by the British grenadiers and the body of the army, under the fire of batteries, which had been erected on the opposite side with great labour and perseverance; the cannon having been dragged upwards of three miles by the seamen.

These dispositions for the attack of this difficult post having been made with so much judgment on the part of the commander, it was executed with equal spirit and resolution by the soldiery. The attack succeeded in every quarter. With irresistible impetuosity the enemy's works were successively carried. They were driven from post to post; until our troops, after a sharp struggle, remained masters of the whole *Morne*: some of the enemy fled precipitately into the town, to the very entrance of which they were pursued. Others saved themselves on the *Morne Garnier*, which was as strong, and much higher, than *Morne Tortenson*, and overlooked and commanded it. Thus far had they proceeded with success; but nothing decisive could be done, without the possession of the other eminence, our troops being much molested by the enemy from that superior situation.

It was three days before proper dispositions could be made for driving



driving them from this ground. Whilst these dispositions were making, the enemy's whole force descended from the hill, sallied out of the town, and attacked the English in their advanced posts; but they were immediately repulsed: and the ardour of the British troops hurrying them forward, they improved a defensive advantage into an attack, passed the ravines, mingled with the enemy, scaled the hill, seized the batteries, and posted themselves on the summit of Morne Garnier. The French regular troops escaped into the town. The militia dispersed themselves in the country.

All the situations which commanded the town and citadel were now secured; and the enemy waited no longer than until the batteries Feb. 4. against them were completed to capitulate, and to surrender this important place, the second in the island.

The capital of the island, St. Pierre, still remained to be reduced: this is also a place of no contemptible strength; and it was apprehended that the resistance here might be considerable, if the strength of the garrison in any degree corresponded with that of the fortifications, and with the natural advantages of the country. Our troops therefore were still under some anxiety for the final success of their work, and feared, if not disappointment, at least delay. But the reduction of Fort Royal had so greatly abated the enemy's confidence, that the militia despaired of making any effectual defence. The planters also, solicitous for their fortunes, were apprehensive of having their estates ruined by a war too long continued, or perhaps of losing all by passing the opportu-

nity of a favourable capitulation. Influenced by these motives, and disheartened by the train of misfortunes which had attended the French arms here and in all other parts of the world, they resolved to hold out no longer; and general Monckton, just as he was ready to embark for the reduction of St. Pierre, was fortunately pre- Feb. 12. vented by the arrival of deputies, who came to capitulate for the surrender of that place, and of the whole island.

The surrender of Martinico, which was the seat of the superior government, the principal mart of trade, and the centre of all the French force in the Caribbees, naturally drew on the surrender of all the dependent islands. Granada, a fertile island, and possessed of some good harbours, was given up without opposition. St. Lucia, and St. Vincent, the right to which had so long been objects of contention between the two nations, followed its example. The English were now the sole and undisturbed possessors of all the Caribbees, and held that chain of innumerable islands which forms an immense bow, extending from the eastern point of Hispaniola almost to the continent of South America. And though some of these islands are barren, none of them very large, and not many of them well inhabited, they boast more trade than falls to the lot of many respectable kingdoms.

The time, in which Martinico was reduced, was a circumstance of almost as much consequence as the reduction itself; for the war against Spain having been declared in the beginning of the year, it became advisable to strike early such an effective blow against that nation as



might incline them to a speedy peace, or might influence the fortune of the whole war, if, contrary to our wishes, the war should continue. It was, on this plan, necessary to employ a very great force, and, of course, to call away a very considerable part of that which had been employed at Martinico, whilst the season permitted them to act.

When the British administration determined to transfer the war into the Spanish West Indies, with great judgment they fixed their eyes at once upon the capital object; and resolved to commence their operations where others of less ability would have chosen to conclude them. In an attempt upon subordinate places, the conquest would not have been much more certain; when obtained, it would be far from decisive; and a failure would have been fatal, as it would include a loss of reputation. The failure of an armament in a subordinate attack is a

bad preparative for a greater attempt. The plan, therefore, of the war of 1740 in the Spanish Indies, in which we began with Porto Bello, and so proceeded to Carthagena, &c. was mean, because the success in one of those attempts did nothing towards insuring success in the other; and if we had succeeded in both attempts, our advantage would have had but little influence on a third. But the plan of the war, just now concluded, was great and just; because we began with the Havannah, in which the whole trade and navigation of the Spanish West Indies centers, and without which it cannot be carried on. If we should acquiesce in this conquest, this conquest alone would almost have finished the war; because it would have utterly intercepted the enemy's resources. If we chose to pursue our advantage, it exposed the whole Spanish America.

#### C H A P. VIII.

*Commanders in the expedition against the Havannah. Fleet sails from Portsmouth. Passage through the old streights of Bahama. Town and harbour of the Havannah described. Troops land. Disposition of the troops. Siege of Fort Moro. Captain Harwey cannonades the Moro. English battery fired. Distress of the English forces. Succours arrive from North America. A sally. The fort stormed. Operations against the town. The Havannah surrenders. Advantages of this acquisition.*

**I**T being determined to commence with this enterprize, such commanders were to be chosen, as could be safely intrusted with the conduct of an undertaking so weighty, and on the success of which so much depended. Lord Albemarle, the friend and disciple of the D. of C. commanded the land forces. Admiral Pococke, who having contri-

buted by his valour towards that sovereignty which his country had obtained in the East Indies, was now chosen to extend its empire and its honour in the West.

They sailed from Portsmouth on the 5th of March, the day on which the Grenades were surrendered. A fleet had sailed from Martinico under the command of that spirited and



and intelligent officer, Sir James Douglas, in order to reinforce them. The squadrons very happily met, without delay or dispersion, at Cape Nichola, the north-west point of Hispaniola, on the 27th of May. After this junction the armament amounted to nineteen ships of the line; eighteen small vessels of war; and near one hundred and fifty transports, which conveyed about ten thousand land forces. A supply of four thousand had been ordered from New York, and was expected to join them very near as early as they could be supposed able to commence their operations.

There were two choices before the admiral for his course to the Havannah. The first and most obvious was the common way, to keep to the south of Cuba, and fall into the track of the galleons. But this, though by much the safest, would prove by far the most tedious passage; and delays, above all things, were to be avoided, as the success of the whole enterprize would probably depend upon its being in forwardness before the hurricane season came on. He therefore resolved to run along the northern shore of that island, pursuing his career from east to west through a narrow passage, not less than seven hundred miles in length, called the old streights of Bahama.

This passage, through almost the whole of its extent, is bounded on the right and left by the most dangerous sands and shoals, which render the navigation so hazardous, that it has usually been avoided by single and small vessels. There was no pilot in the fleet whose experience could be depended on to conduct them safely through it. The admiral, however, determined on this pas-

sage; and being provided with a good chart of lord Anson's, he resolved to trust to his own sagacity, conduct, and vigilance, to carry safely through those streights a fleet of near two hundred sail. So bold an attempt had never been made; but every precaution was taken to guard this boldness from the imputation of temerity. A vessel was sent to reconnoitre the passage, and, when returned, was ordered to take the lead; some frigates followed; sloops and boats were stationed on the right and left on the shallows, with well-adapted signals both for the day and the night. The fleet moved in seven divisions; and being favoured with pleasant weather, and secured by the admirable dispositions which were made, they, without the smallest loss or interruption, got clear thro' this perilous passage on the 5th of June, having entered it the 27th of May.

The Havannah, the object of their long voyage, and of so many anxious hopes and fears, was now before them. This place is not denominated the capital of Cuba; St. Jago, situated at the south-east part of the island, has that title; but the Havannah, though the second in rank, is the first in wealth, size, and importance. The harbour, upon which it stands, is, in every respect, one of the best in the West Indies, and perhaps in the world. It is entered by a narrow passage, upwards of half a mile in length, which afterwards expands into a large basin, forming three *cul de sacs*; and is sufficient, in extent and depth, to contain a thousand sail of the largest ships, having almost throughout six fathom water. and being perfectly covered from every wind. In this bay the rich fleets from the several parts of the



Spanish West Indies, called the Galleons, and the Flota, assemble, before they finally set out on their voyage for Europe,

This circumstance has rendered the Havannah one of the most opulent, flourishing, and populous cities in this part of the world. Great care was taken to fortify and secure a place, which, by being the centre of so rich a commerce, would naturally become the fairest mark for the attempts of an enemy. The narrow entrance into this harbour is secured on one side by a very strong fort, called the Moro, built upon a projecting point of land: on the other, it is defended by a fort called the Puntal, which joins the town. The town itself, which is situated to the westward of the entrance of the harbour, and opposite to the Moro fort, is surrounded by a good rampart, flanked with bastions, and covered with a ditch.

The Spaniards, who had been for some time preparing for war, had formed a considerable navy in the West Indies: this fleet, which was near twenty sail, mostly of the line, lay at this time in the basin of the Havannah; but they had not, when our armament appeared before the port, received, it seems, any authentic account from their court concerning the commencement of hostilities between the two nations.

Whether the Spaniards were rendered inactive by the want of instructions, whether all their ships were not in fighting condition, or whatever else was the cause, this fleet lay quiet in the harbour. If some of the above reasons did not oppose, it may be very rationally supposed, that their best part would have been to come out and fight

our squadron. They were not very far from an equality; and though the issue of a battle might have proved unfavourable to them, yet a battle tolerably maintained would have much disabled our armament, and perhaps have been a means of preventing the success of the whole enterprize. The loss of their fleet in this way might possibly have saved the city; but, the city once taken, nothing could possibly save the fleet. It is true, they much trusted, and not wholly without reason, to the strength of the place, and to those astonishing difficulties which attend any military operation, that is drawn out to length in this unhealthy climate. In other respects, they were very far from being deficient in proper measures for their defence. They made a strong boom across the mouth of the harbour; and almost the only use they made of their shipping, in the defence of the place, was to sink three of them behind this boom.

When all things were in readiness for landing, the admiral, with a great part of the fleet, bore away to the westward, in order to draw the enemy's attention from the true object, and made a feint, as if he intended to land upon that side; while commodore Keppel and captain Harvey commanding a detachment of the squadron, approached the shore to the eastward of the harbour, and effected a landing there in the utmost order, without any opposition, having previously silenced a small fort, which might have given some disturbance.

The principal body of the army was destined to act upon this side. It was divided into two corps; one of which was advanced a considerable



derable way in the country, towards the south-east of the harbour, in order to cover the siege, and to secure our parties employed in watering and procuring provisions. This corps was commanded by general Elliot. The other was immediately occupied in the attack on Fort Moro, to the reduction of which the efforts of the English were principally directed, as the Moro commanded the town, and the entrance of the harbour. This attack was conducted by general Keppel. To make a diversion in favour of this grand operation, a detachment, under colonel Howe, was encamped to the westward of the town. This body cut off the communication between the town and the country, and kept the enemy's attention divided. Such was the disposition, and it was impossible to find a better, of the land forces during the whole siege.

The hardships which the English army sustained, in carrying on the siege of the Moro, are almost inexpressible: the earth was every where so thin, that it was with great difficulty they could cover themselves in their approaches. There was no spring or river near them; it was necessary to bring water from a great distance; and so precarious and scanty was this supply, that they were obliged to have recourse to water from the ships. Roads for communication were to be cut through thick woods; the artillery was to be dragged for a vast way over a rough rocky shore. Several dropped down dead with heat, thirst, and fatigue. But such was the resolution of our people, such the happy and perfect unanimity which subsisted between the land and the sea services, that no diffi-

culties, no hardships, slackened for a moment the operations against this important, strong, and well-defended place. Batteries were, in spite of all difficulties, raised against the Moro, and along the hill upon which this fort stands, in order to drive the enemy's ships deeper into the harbour, and thus to prevent them from molesting our approaches.

The enemy's fire, and that of the besiegers, was for a long time pretty near on an equality, and it was kept up with great vivacity on both sides. The Spaniards in the fort communicated with the town, from which they were recruited and supplied: they did not rely solely on their works; they made a sally with sufficient resolution, and a considerable force, but with little success. They were obliged to retire, with a loss of two or three hundred men left dead on the spot.

Whilst these works were thus vigorously pushed on shore, the navy, not contented with the great assistance which they had before lent to every part of the land service, resolved to try something further, and which was more directly within their own province, towards the reduction of the Moro. Accordingly, the day the batteries on shore were opened, three of their greatest ships, the Dragon, the Cambridge, and the Marlborough, under the conduct of capt. Harvey, laid their broadsides against the fort, and began a terrible fire, which was returned with great constancy. This firing, one of the warmest ever seen, continued for seven hours without intermission. But in this cannonade the Moro, which was situated upon a very high and steep rock, had great advantages over



the ships, and was proof against all their efforts. Besides, the fire from the opposite fort of Puntal, and the batteries of the town, galled them extremely. Infomuch that, in order to save the ships from absolute destruction, they were obliged at length, and unwillingly, to bring them all off. Even this retreat was not effected without difficulty, as the ships were very much shattered in this long and unequal contest. They had one hundred and fifty men killed and wounded; and one of the captains, captain Goostrey, of the Marlborough, a brave and experienced officer, was also killed. The captains Harvey and Burnett gained, with better fortune, an equal honour, by their firm and intrepid behaviour throughout the whole operation.

This bold attempt, though it had very little effect upon the works on that side of the fort which the ships attacked, was nevertheless of considerable service. The enemy's attention being diverted to that side, the other was a good deal neglected; our fire was poured in the mean time with redoubled fury from the batteries; it became much superior to that of the enemy, and did no small damage to their works. But the moment the Spaniards were released from their attention to our men of war, they returned again to the eastward face of the fort: their defence was revived with as much vigour as before; on both sides a constant unremitted fire was kept up, with a fierce emulation, for several days. It now became evident that the reduction of this fortress was to be a work of time. Never, from the beginning of the war, had the English valour been so well matched. Here was at

length an adversary worthy of our arms, and our whole military skill and spirit was put to the severest trial.

In the midst of this sharp and doubtful contention, the capital battery against the fort <sup>July 3.</sup> unfortunately took fire; and being chiefly constructed of timber and fascines, dried by the intense heats and continual cannonade, the flames soon got a-head, and became too powerful for opposition. The battery was almost wholly consumed. The labour of six hundred men, for seventeen days, was destroyed in a moment, and all was to begin anew.

This was a mortifying stroke. It was felt the more severely, because the other hardships of the siege were become by this time almost insupportable. The sickness, something of which the troops had brought with them from Martinico, and which increased infinitely in this unwholesome country and rigorous service, had reduced the army to half its number, at the same time that it doubled the fatigue of those few who still preserved some remains of strength. Five thousand soldiers were at one time down in various distempers; no less than three thousand of the seamen were in the same miserable condition. A total want of good provisions exasperated the disease, and retarded the recovery. The deficiency of water was of all their grievances the greatest, and extremely aggravated all the rest of their sufferings. The procuring from a distance this wretched supply, so unequal to their wants, exhausted all their force. Besides, as the season advanced, the prospect of succeeding grew fainter. The hearts of the most sanguine sunk within them, whilst



whilst they beheld this gallant army wasting away by diseases; and they could not avoid trembling for that noble fleet which had rid so long on an open shore, and which must to all appearance be exposed to inevitable ruin, if the hurricane season should come on before the reduction of the place. A thousand languishing and impatient looks were cast out for the reinforcement from North America. None however as yet appeared; and the exhausted army was left to its own endeavours. Many fell into despair and died, overcome with fatigue, anguish, and disappointment.

But in the midst of these cruel delays and distresses, the steadiness of the commanders infused life and activity into their troops, and roused them to incredible exertions. The rich prize which was before them; the shame of returning home baffled; and even the strenuous resistance which was made by the enemy; all these motives called loudly on their interest, their honour, and their pride, and obliged them to the exertion of every nerve. Nobody could imagine that it was this reduced and disabled army, by which these astonishing efforts were made, and this extensive sphere of duty so perfectly filled. New batteries arose in the place of the old; the fire soon became equal, and then superior to that of the enemy. They by degrees silenced the cannon of the fort, beat to pieces all the upper

July 20. work, and made at length a lodgment in the covered way. Their hopes were now become more lively. Some days before they had gained this grand ad-

July 12. vantage, the Jamaica fleet appeared in its passage to Europe, with several convenien-

cies for the siege. Not many days after this they received a considerable part of the July 28. New York reinforcement. Some of the transports in their passage through the old Bahama Straights were lost, but the men were saved on the adjacent islands.

These favourable events infused double life into their operations, in this advanced state of the siege; but a new and grand difficulty appeared, just at the seeming accomplishment of their work. An immense ditch yawning before them, for the greater part cut in the solid rock, eighty feet deep, and forty feet wide. To fill it up by any means appeared impossible. Difficult as the work of mining was in those circumstances, it was the only expedient. It might have been an impracticable one, if fortunately a thin ridge of rock had not been left in order to cover the ditch towards the sea. On this narrow ridge the miners, wholly uncovered, but with very little loss, July 26. passed the ditch, and soon buried themselves in the wall.

It now became visible to the governor of the Havannah, that the fort must be speedily reduced, if left to its own strength. At all events, something must be done in this exigence for its immediate relief. Accordingly, before break of day, a body of twelve hundred men, mostly com- July 22. posed of the country militia, mulattoes and negroes, were transported across the harbour, climbed the hills, and made three attacks upon our posts. But the ordinary guards, though surprized, defended themselves so resolutely, that the Spaniards made little impression, and were not able to ruin any part of the approaches. The posts



posts attacked were speedily reinforced, and the enemy, who were little better than a disorderly rabble, and not conducted by proper officers, fell into terror and confusion. They were driven precipitately down the hill with great slaughter; some gained their boats, others were drowned, and they lost in this well imagined, but ill executed sally, upwards of four hundred men.

This was the last effort for the relief of the Moro; which, abandoned as it was by the city, and while an enemy was undermining its walls, held out with a sullen resolution, and made no sort of proposal

July 30. to capitulate. The mines at length did their business. A part of the wall was blown up, and fell into the ditch, leaving a breach, which, tho' very narrow and difficult, the general and engineer judged practicable. The English troops, who were commanded on this most dangerous of all services, rejoiced that it was to be the end of labours much more grievous to them. They mounted the breach, entered the fort, and formed themselves with so much celerity, and with such a spirited coolness of resolution, that the enemy, who were drawn up to receive them, and who might have made the assault an affair of great bloodshed, astonished at their countenance, fled on all hands. About four hundred were slaughtered on the spot, or ran to the water, where they perished. Four hundred more threw down their arms, and obtained quarter. The second in command, the marquis de Gonsales, fell whilst he was making brave, but ineffectual efforts to animate and rally his people. Don Lewis de Velasco, the governor, who had hitherto de-

fended the fort with such obstinate bravery, seemed resolved in this extremity to share the same fate with it. He collected an hundred men in an intrenchment he had made round his colours. But seeing that all his companions were fled from him, or slaughtered about him, disdaining to retire or call for quarter, he received a mortal wound, and fell, offering his sword to his conquerors. The English wept with pity and admiration over that unfortunate valour which had occasioned them so many toilsome hours, and cost them so many lives.

Thus the Moro came into our possession, after a vigorous struggle, forty-four days from the time the first operations had been begun against it. No time was lost to profit of this great advantage, notwithstanding that the sickness still raged like a pestilence, and that many new and great works were to be undertaken. Not only the fire of the fort was turned against the town; but a line of batteries was erected along the hill of the Cavannos, on the extremity of which the fort stands. By these batteries, which mounted three and forty pieces of cannon, and twelve mortars, almost the whole eastern side of the city was commanded from one end to the other. Preparations for an attack were also made, and batteries erected to the westward of the town, which on that side had hitherto been only watched. Some Aug. 2. time before a part of the second division of the troops from North America had arrived. A part had been taken by a squadron of French men of war; but those who escaped, came very seasonably, and were of signal service.



When those preparations were perfectly ready to take effect, lord Albemarle by message represented to the governor the irresistible force of the attack, which he was ready to make upon the town, but which, in order to avoid unnecessary effusion of blood, he was willing to suspend, that the Spaniards might have leisure to capitulate. The governor in a resolute, but civil manner, returned, that he would defend the place committed to him to the last extremity, and began instantly to fire.

To convince the governor that the menaces employed were not an empty boast, lord Albemarle the very next morning ordered a general fire from the batteries, which was poured from all sides, with such continued and irresistible fury, that in six hours almost all the enemy's guns were silenced. To the inexpressible joy of the fleet and army, flags of truce appeared from every quarter of the town. A capitulation ensued, in which the established religion, the former laws, and private property, were secured to the inhabitants. The garrison, which was reduced to about seven hundred men, had the honours of war, and were to be conveyed to Spain. A district of an hundred and eighty miles westward of the Havannah was yielded along with the town. The Spaniards struggled a long time to save the men of war; but this was a capital point, and wholly inadmissible. They also made some attempts to have the harbour declared neutral during the war; but this was no less essential to the completeness of the conquest, and was steadily refused. After two days altercation, they gave up these points, and the Eng-

lish troops were put in possession of the Havannah on the 14th of August, when they had been before it two months and eight days.

Although we have not pursued in exact order all the detail of the more minute operations of this memorable siege, we have dwelt on it a longer time, than we have on our plan generally allowed to such transactions; because it was, without question, in itself the most considerable, and in its consequences the most decisive conquest we have made since the beginning of the war; and because in no operation were the courage, steadiness, and perseverance of the British troops, and the conduct of their leaders, more conspicuous. The acquisition of this place united in itself all the advantages which can be acquired in war. It was a military advantage of the highest class; it was equal to the greatest naval victory, by its effect on the enemy's marine; and in the plunder it equalled the produce of a national subsidy. Nine sail of the enemy's ships of the line, some of the finest vessels in the world, were taken, with four frigates. Three of their capital ships had been, as already mentioned, sunk by themselves at the beginning of the siege; two more were in forwardness on the stocks, and these were destroyed by the English. The enemy, on this occasion, lost a whole fleet. In ready money, in the tobacco collected at the Havannah on account of the king of Spain, and in other valuable merchandizes, the plunder did not perhaps fall short of three millions sterling.

So lucrative a conquest had never before been made. But this immense capture, though it enriched individuals, contributed nothing directly



directly to the public service. However, it might be said to contribute something to it indirectly; by increasing the stock of the nation, and supplying that prodigious drain of treasure, which for several years had been made from this kingdom for foreign subsidies, and for the maintenance of armies abroad. If it had not been for such pecuniary supplies, with which the uncommon successes of this war were attended, it never could have been maintained in the extent to which it was carried, notwithstanding the increase of trade, which has been uniformly progressive for the last three years. It has in a loose way been computed, that the success of our arms in the East Indies, independently of the great increase of valuable merchandize (which used to be formerly the sole produce and advantage of the East India commerce) has brought into England, during the war, near six millions in treasure and jewels.

The capture of the Spanish register ship, the *Hermione*, May 21. which happened soon after the commencement of the war with Spain, and just as she was on the point of entering one of the ports of Old Spain, must be added

to these resources; this capture was little short of a million. The taking of this single ship is not altogether unworthy of a place in history; because it had no small influence on the affairs of the Bourbon alliance, and considerably sunk those resources of money, which were the principal objects to France, when she formed that famous treaty. All these advantages were without any considerable alloy on the side of Great Britain; they would have served to balance any possible success, which the enemy might have had in Portugal. But their success in that quarter, where they had entertained the most sanguine hopes, was by no means considerable, and very far from tending to any thing decisive. These considerations helped to dispose the Bourbon courts to peace, almost as soon as they had jointly entered into the war; and Europe, after having been deceived in the hopes of tranquillity, which were entertained from the late negotiation, and plunged apparently deeper than ever into war, was in reality approaching fast to peace, and the public repose was preparing, when it seemed to be at the greatest distance.



## C H A P. IX.

*Proposals for peace. State of the ministry and parties. Dukes of Bedford and Nivernois employed in the negotiation. Newfoundland taken and retaken. War in Germany. Hereditary prince defeated at Johannisberg. French repulsed. Cassel invested. Remarkable cannonade at Bucker Muhl. French take Amoneberg. Cassel surrendered to the allies. War in Westphalia concluded.*

WHEN France had found experimentally, that the present at least was not the favourable time for drawing from her alliance all those advantages with which she flattered herself, she inclined in good earnest to peace. The sincerity of her procedure in the former negotiation might be justly questioned; because she had prepared an after-game in case of its breaking off. And she so much relied on it, that it is very possible the negotiation itself was but a feint made to cover and to prepare that project. But finding that Great Britain was neither intimidated by the threats of that formidable alliance, nor at all likely to be reduced by the exertion of its forces; she came in good earnest into these pacific sentiments, which formerly she had only counterfeited. The slow progress of the Bourbon troops in Portugal, the retrograde motion of the French army in Germany, the taking of Martinico and its dependencies, and the imminent danger in which they beheld the Havannah, all conspired to humble the pride, and dash the hopes of the Bourbon alliance.

On the side of Great Britain, likewise, the dispositions to peace became much more cordial. No people were ever less intoxicated with their successes. Victories were be-

come familiar to us, and made but little impresson. The marks of public joy on the most considerable conquests, were become much lighter and colder than were shewed at the beginning of the war upon very trivial advantages. Besides, the nation had occasion for peace. Though her trade had been greatly augmented, a circumstance without example favourable, and though many of her conquests, as we have seen, were very far from unlucrative, her supplies of money, great as they were, did not keep pace with her expences. The supply of men too, which was necessary to furnish the waste of so extensive a war, became sensibly diminished, and the troops were not recruited but with some difficulty, and at a heavy charge. It was time to close the war, when every end, we could rationally propose to ourselves in carrying it on, was answered; we had enough in our hands to answer all our demands, and almost all our expectations; and as it is grown into a sort of maxim, that nations greatly victorious, must cede something on a peace, the difficulty on our side was only what and how much we should retain. Not that there was a doubt, but whatever choice of acquisition could be made upon any rational principles, a great deal would still remain



remain to give the fullest scope to every sentiment of equity and moderation.

All these were sufficient inducements to peace. But other things operated as causes. An alteration in the system of the British ministry had begun this war; another alteration put an end to it.

The whole council had been almost unanimous to oppose Mr. P. in his scheme for precipitating the declaration of war against Spain. They thought his principles too violent, and they did not perfectly like his person. When he retired from public business, it seemed as if they breathed more freely, and had got rid of a burthen that oppressed them. But he was not long removed, when it appeared that the remaining part of the system was framed upon principles so very discordant in themselves, that it was by no means likely to stand.

The D. of N——, first lord of the treasury, by his early zeal in favour of the protestant succession, by the liberal and politic use he had made of a great fortune, by the obligations which in a course of many years, and in a succession of great employments, he was enabled to confer on some of the most considerable people in the kingdom, had attached a great number to his fortunes, and formed an interest in the parliament and the nation, which it was extremely difficult to overturn, or even shake. He came to be considered as the head of the whigs; and he was in reality well qualified in many respects for the chief of a party, from his unbounded liberality, from his affability, magnificence, and personal disinterestedness. Even the defects and faults, which might have appeared in his

character, were rather of service to him, as they often tended to soften resentments, and helped to give that great power, of which he was possessed, an appearance less formidable.

During a great part of the late king's reign, his family had directed all things without controul. On the accession of his present majesty, his situation seemed more doubtful. But in a little time he appeared outwardly as well established as ever, not only in his former high employments, but in that share of influence which is commonly supposed to attend it. There was, however, very little reality in this specious appearance; for he did not possess the confidence, upon which all the essential of power depends. Neither his age, nor his situation in the former reign, had allowed him the opportunity of cultivating an interest with the present K. Another noble person had been in an employment near his person; and having formed his mind with much attention and success to those virtues which adorn his station, deserved and obtained a very uncommon share of his confidence.

This nobleman was, first, groom of the stole: afterwards, taking a more open share of the conduct of affairs, he accepted the seals as secretary of state. On the removal of Mr. P. who preserved a sort of union in the administration by their common dread of him, the only competition was between the D. of N. and L. B. The former could not well endure that decay of influence, which, on a thousand occasions, he must have sensibly felt, and which the great rank he held must have rendered only more painful. L. B. on the other hand, could not bear  
to



to see the treasury board, which, under whatever limitations, was attended with so much power, in the hands of his rival. It is indeed a department, the entire conduct of which is absolutely essential to the person who has any pretensions to be at the head of the British administration.

These principles soon produced their natural effect. In a short time the D. of N. thought himself obliged to resign, and the May 26. L. B. became first commissioner of the treasury. This resignation was followed by that of others of greater consideration for their rank and influence. No one was surprised at the ferment which ensued; in which personal resentment, party violence, and national, or rather local prejudices, were all united, to throw every thing into confusion.

In this condition of parties, a number of those called Whigs, who had lost their places, being highly irritated at the late changes, and even many of those who still continued in employments, being supposed attached to the interest of the D. of N. and therefore not to be depended on by the new administration, it became necessary to have recourse to those called Tories, or country gentlemen.

From the beginning of this reign it had been professed, with the general applause of all good men, to abolish those odious party distinctions, and to extend the royal favour and protection equally to all his majesty's subjects. The persons called Tories had, besides, been before active in support of some of those, who now clamoured at the very measures which they had themselves, more than once, adopted.

However, occasion was taken from thence to endeavour at the revival of this almost exploded distinction. There were great heats, which were blown into a combustion by every art, and every instrument of party, that had ever proved effectual upon similar occasions.

Whilst the nation was thus distracted, the conduct of a war became difficult; its continuance unsafe; and its supplies uncertain. If the administration failed, their failure would be construed into incapacity; if they succeeded, their success would be converted into an argument for such terms of peace, as it would be impossible for them to procure. Above all, the ancient and known connection between the chiefs of the monied interest and the principal persons in the opposition, must have been a subject of great anxiety to the administration.

These causes co-operated to render the intentions of the British ministry towards peace altogether cordial and sincere; and they thought themselves abundantly justified in their wishes for it at this juncture, both from the successes and the burthens of the nation; from the flourishing state of some of their allies, and the doubtful state of others; and in general, from those arguments of humanity, which made it high time that Europe should enjoy some interval of repose.

Both courts thus concurring in the same point, all difficulties were speedily smoothed. It is said, that the first overtures were made under the mediation of his Sardinian majesty. As soon as terms were proposed, in order to give a pledge to each other of their mutual sincerity, it was agreed that this treaty should not be negotiated, as the former had been,  
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by subordinate persons; but that the two courts should reciprocally send to London and Versailles a person of the first consequence and distinction in either kingdom. Accordingly the duke of Bedford was sent to negotiate on the part of England, and the duke de Nivernois on that of France; the great outlines of the treaty were very soon explained and adjusted. The detail of some articles took up more time.

During this mixed interval of war and treaty, the French obtained a temporary advantage; but which neither suspended nor influenced the negotiation. It was the last offensive effort which they made; and though this enterprize was attended with a temporary success in the execution, it was in the design not superior to any of those that had failed. Monsieur de Ternay, with a squadron of four men of war and a bomb-ketch, and M. d'Hausonville, with a proportionable number of land forces, arrived the 24th of June at the bay of Bulls in Newfoundland, and finding the island little prepared to resist them, took, without difficulty, the forts of St. John, Trinity, and Carboncar, destroyed the two last, and likewise the stages and implements of the fishery to a considerable value. The immense extent of our military operations, rendered it little wonderful or blameable, that this particular part was found weak.

The French presumed by far too much on the supineness of the nation, when they hoped such an advantage could have any great effect on the negotiation. In fact, as soon as the news arrived in England, a force was fitted out to retake those places. But such was the vigilance and readiness of general Amherst, our commander in America, that it

superfeded the necessity of this armament. He detached colonel Amherst with a body of forces, and lord Colville with a small, but sufficient squadron, to recover this valuable island. The land forces attacked some detachments of the French, advantageously posted in the neighbourhood of St. John's, and prepared to attack St. John's itself, with so much vigour and activity, that M. d'Hausonville, who had remained there as governor, thought proper to deliver up that place, and surrender himself and gar- Sept. 18. rison prisoners of war, before lord Colville could arrive from the place where the troops had been landed to co-operate with them. M. de Ternay escaped with the fleet, partly by having gained a considerable distance, before they were discovered, by means of a thick fog; and partly because lord Colville, after their having been discovered, did not apprehend that they really were the enemy's ships.

It was in Germany that the greatest efforts were made. Even after the negotiations had been considerably advanced, the military operations were in that country no way slackened. The body under the marshals d'Etrees and Soubise, being streightened, in the manner we have seen, by the incomparable judgment of prince Ferdinand's measures, had been obliged to call that under the prince of Condé from the Lower Rhine to their assistance. In order to complete their junction with this corps, the grand army uncovered Cassel, quitted the banks of the Fulda, and fell back to a considerable distance. The hereditary prince of Brunswick, who had attended this corps all along, thought at length a fair opportunity had



had occurred of striking a decisive blow against it. With this Aug. 30. aid he attacked, with his usual vivacity, that part of the French army, which was posted at a place called the heights of Johannisberg, near the banks of the Wetter. At first his success was answerable to his own expectations, and the courage of his troops. He drove the enemy entirely from the high grounds into the plain, but whilst he pursued his advantage, the body he attacked was reinforced by the main army. The action, which began so favourably for the allies, ended in a defeat. They lost above three thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The hereditary prince, who had, through the whole action, made the most powerful efforts, and exposed himself to the greatest dangers, received a wound from a musket-ball in his hip-bone, from which his life was a long time doubtful, and his recovery lingering and tedious. Whilst his life continued in danger, the concern was unusual, and common to both armies; both taking an interest in the preservation of a prince, as much endeared for his humanity, as admired for his valour and military genius.

A victory of the greatest importance could not have more fully displayed the superiority of prince Ferdinand's capacity in the conduct of a war, than his measures after this defeat. The French were not suffered to derive the smallest advantage from this victory; nor did the allies lose a foot of ground. The communication with Cassel was still at the mercy of the allies. The French, in their retreat, had thrown a garrison of ten thousand men into that place; and the prince made

immediate and vigorous preparations to besiege it.

When the prince had adjusted his army to cover the siege, the French took advantage of his movement for that purpose, to repass the Lahn near Gießen, and advanced towards Marburg. But as they advanced, the prince drew his army from the siege, and made such dispositions as enabled him to fall at once upon their flank and rear, drove Sept. 26. them from all their posts, and obliged them once more to fly with precipitation behind the Lahn.

After this successful affair, the body of the army resumed their preparations for the siege of Cassel, which was now become the grand object of the campaign; and the great purpose of the endeavours of both armies was, of the one to open the communication with Cassel, of the other to cut it off.

A number of skirmishes happened in these movements. The most remarkable among them was the affair of Bucker Muhl, Sept. 30. not so much for the consequences, which were not extraordinary, but for the uncommon steadiness of the two parties engaged. It was a post of some moment, the forcing of which would facilitate to the French the reduction of Amonebourg, a small fortress, but of importance, as it commanded a pass which led into the country which they proposed to enter. This post was nothing more than a bridge over the Ohme, defended by a slight redoubt on one side, and by a mill on the other. The allies had no cover, except the redoubt; nor the French, except the mill. The engagement began at first between two small bodies, and an artillery proportionably small; but as the action warmed,



ed, the artillery was gradually augmented, until it amounted to about five and twenty heavy cannon on a side. The allies had originally but one hundred men in this post: but before the business ended, seventeen complete battalions were engaged, who successively relieved each other, after each detachment had made fifty discharges. The artillery fired at a distance of three hundred paces, and the musquetry at thirty. Besides, the allied troops, as they passed to and from the redoubt, were, for a length of four hundred paces, exposed to all the enemy's cannon loaded with grape shot.

The situation of the French was nearly the same. A dreadful fire was supported between these resolute bodies, without a moment's intermission, or the least slackening on one side or the other, for near fifteen hours, from the dawn of day to dark night. Neither side gave way; and this most bloody contest for a most trifling object in the end left the allies in the possession of their redoubt, and the French of their mill. The whole compass of military history furnishes no instance of so obstinate a dispute. The allies lost six hundred men in killed and wounded; towards the close of the day, the dead bodies served to raise a parapet for the redoubt, in the place of that which had been beat to pieces by the cannonade.

The French are thought to have suffered more in this action than the allies. However, though they did not succeed in their attack upon the bridge, they battered at the same time the castle of Amonebourg, with so much fury, that in a short time they effected a breach,

and obliged the garrison to surrender. By this advantage they gained a good deal of ground, and even got on the rear of the allied army. But with this advantage, considerable as it was, they were able to do nothing decisive: they were able neither to raise, nor materially to disturb the siege of Cassel, which went on without interruption; nor were they able to throw the least relief into this place, where their garrison already began to suffer for want of provisions.

This capital of an unfortunate principality, which has so often been taken and retaken during the course of this war, despairing of relief, at length surrendered to the Nov. 1. victorious arms of the allies, after a siege of fifteen days open trenches. The garrison made an honourable capitulation. And now prince Ferdinand might consider himself as master of Hesse, no place of strength in that country remaining in the enemy's hands, except Ziegenhayn. Advanced as the season was, the prince prepared to lay siege to that fortress; and as he was now able to draw down his whole army into that quarter, there was no question but he would have made himself master of the place without any difficulty. But the signing of the preliminaries Nov. 15. of peace, at this time, notified in the two armies, put an happy conclusion to all military operations.

These preliminaries had very little to do towards completing the relief of our allies; except that they set the seal on their good fortune, and prevented their being exposed any longer to the chances of war. This campaign, though it was not distinguished by any great decisive victory.



victory, was not the less honourable to the commander of the troops. A connected series of judicious and spirited operations produced all the effects, which could be proposed from a single and brilliant stroke. At this period, the French, after having for six years exerted almost the whole undivided strength of their monarchy upon this single object, were, in the end, very little more advanced than they were the day they first set their foot in Germany. The possession of three or four poor unimportant places was all they had purchased by many millions of treasure expended, and possibly near two hundred thousand lives thrown away.

The whole body of the allies acquired great and just glory in this war; but the English had all along the post of honour, and obtained the highest reputation. As to their commander, the Duke of Brunswick, having begun his operations almost without any army, having continued the war with an army always inferior in numbers, having experienced every variety of fortune, his capacity and his firmness carried him with credit through all; and enabled him to conclude the war with a triumphant superiority. He may now enjoy, in the honourable repose which his exploits have purchased for himself and his country, the best of rewards, the consciousness of public service. Posterity will consider him as the Deliverer of Germany.

The English troops, after so many fatigues and dangers, at length enjoyed the prospect of a speedy return to their country; but a general

damp was cast suddenly on their joy by the illness of lord Granby; who was attacked by a very dangerous and long-continued fever. It is impossible to express the concern of the whole army during this anxious interval, or the joy which enlivened every breast on his recovery. No commander had ever been more distinguished for an enterprising and generous courage; and none half so much for an unlimited benevolence. The sick and wounded soldier, the officer whose income was unequal to his rank or his necessities, in him found a never-failing and never-burthensome resource. Whatever could be done to animate the soldiery, to make them chearful in the service, to alleviate the hardships of war, was exerted beyond what could be thought possible in the limits of a private fortune; and the satisfaction of the receiver went always beyond the actual benefit, because, in his greatest liberality, it was evident that he wished to do a thousand times more. By his whole conduct he inspired foreigners with a favourable idea of the English nobility. His character is, indeed, such as we are apt in romantic ideas fondly to conceive of our old English barons. It is with pleasure we attempt, however feebly, to do justice to the merit of those men, living or dead, who, in this memorable war, have contributed to raise this country to a pitch of glory, in which it has not been exceeded by any other in ancient or modern times. Future history will pay them a reward more adequate to their merits.



## C H A P. XI.

*Siege and surrender of Schweidnitz. War transferred to Saxony. Austrians defeated at Freyberg. Prussians ravage the empire. Preliminaries of peace between Great Britain and France. Disputes concerning them. Mr. F. comes into the administration. Preliminaries approved by parliament. Peace of Hubertsbourg between Austria and Prussia. Conclusion.*

**W**HILST the courts of London and Versailles were making so considerable a progress towards peace, those of Vienna and Berlin seemed to remit nothing of their ancient animosity. The king of Prussia, deprived of the assistance, but at the same time freed from the hostility of the Russians, directed his whole force and attention towards the single object of driving the Austrians out of Silesia.

Prince Henry, who commanded in Saxony, contented himself with acting upon the defensive. The king in person carried on the siege of Schweidnitz, almost in the presence of marshal Daun, who scarce made any attempt to relieve it. But whatever deficiency there might have been in the spirit of the grand army of the Austrians, it was amply compensated by the obstinate bravery of the garrison, which resisted all the attacks of the Prussians for near two months from the opening of the trenches. It is said that the attack was conducted, and the defence made, by two engineers, who had written on the subject of the Attack and Defence of Places; and they were now practically engaged to prove the superiority of their several systems.

However this may be, Schweidnitz cost the king of Prussia a great deal of time, many laborious efforts, and a number of men. The brave garrison, to the number of eight thousand men, were at length obliged to sur- Oct. 9. render prisoners of war. Their ill fortune pursued them every where. A great part of this body of gallant prisoners were drowned at the mouth of the Oder, on their passage to their intended confinement at Königsberg, only nine men of the whole number escaping.

The king of Prussia, now master of Schweidnitz, and consequently of Silesia, turned his attention to Saxony, where he considerably reinforced his brother's army, and made preparations which indicated a design of laying siege to Dresden.

In Saxony also the Austrians began to exert themselves with great spirit; and made some progress under the generals Stolberg and Haddick. They obtained considerable advantages, in several encounters, over the army of prince Henry; and even pushed them back to Freyberg; the possession of which place they prepared to dispute with the Prussians.

But here fortune, which has seldom



dom proved long constant to their arms, entirely forsook them. The united army of Imperialists and Austrians was attacked by prince Henry, (who took advantage of the absence of general Haddick,) in the neighbourhood of Freyberg, and totally routed. Great numbers were slain. The Prussians took near two thousand prisoners, among whom were about two hundred and forty officers of all ranks, thirty pieces of cannon, and several standards. The victory was complete, and, as far as regarded the event of the campaign, decisive.

The Austrians attributed this defeat to the treachery of one of their superior officers, who was soon after taken into custody. But whilst they were inquiring into the cause of their disaster, and preparing to punish the author of it, the Prussians were pushing the advantages which their victory afforded them with all imaginable alacrity. And this they were enabled to do with the greatest effect, by means of a partial cessation of hostilities, which the Austrians were so imprudent as to conclude with the king of Prussia for Silesia and the electoral Saxony only, without foreseeing the danger, or providing for the safety, either of their own immediate dominions, or of those members of the empire, which were the most attached to their interests, and which were now exposed to the attempts of a bold, rapacious, and exasperated enemy.

One body of the Prussian army broke into Bohemia, pushed on almost to the gates of Prague, and destroyed a capital magazine. Another fell upon the same country on another quarter, and laid the town of Egra almost in ashes, by a bom-

bardment and a cannonade of red-hot bullets. Some extended themselves all over Saxony; others penetrated into the farthest parts of Franconia, and even as far as Suabia, ravaging the country, exacting the most exorbitant contributions, and spreading dismay and confusion upon every side. The diet of the empire sitting at Ratisbon did not think themselves in safety; but were beginning to fly, and preparing to remove their records.

The free city of Nuremberg, so famous for the ingenious industry, and pacific disposition of its inhabitants, suffered the most by this invasion; having been obliged to pay contribution to the amount of two hundred thousand pounds of our money. It has been supposed, that in this expedition the Prussians raised a sum equal to the annual subsidy, which had formerly been paid by Great Britain to their sovereign. Many of the states found themselves obliged to sign a neutrality, in order to save their territories from farther ravages.

And now, a great part of the empire being already included in the peace between Great Britain and France, and the rest, tied down by this neutrality, entirely disabled by the late defeat, or exhausted by the subsequent incursions, were no longer in a condition to furnish an army under the imperial name and authority. After the whole alliance had been thus gradually dissolved, the affair was, at length, left to be decided, as it was begun, by the single arms of Austria and Prussia; so that there was great reason to hope, as the war in Germany had succeeded immediately to the rupture between Great Britain and France, the peace between



these powers would also lead to the speedy pacification of the empire.

The preliminaries had been signed by the British and French ministers at Fontainebleau, on the third of November; and it is necessary, for the completion of our design, that we should here give some account of the definitive treaty which was built upon them.

The reader will recollect that, in the negotiation of 1761, it was laid down as a principle by the two courts, that their respective propositions, in case the treaty should by any accident be broken off, were to be considered as retracted or never made. At that time we remarked, that these propositions would probably have their influence, notwithstanding this provision; because, as we then observed, things once settled and agreed to, unavoidably stamp their own impression upon any future negotiations relative to the same subject. It happened very nearly, as was then foreseen: for, as far as we can judge, the negotiation did not set out upon any new or peculiar principle of its own, but seemed to assume as a basis those points which were nearest to an adjustment in the preceding treaty; and to commence where that transaction concluded.

The spirit of the two negotiations, so far as regarded the peculiar interest of Great Britain, seems to have been perfectly similar. There was scarcely any other difference, than that Great Britain, in consequence of her successes since that time, acquired more than she then demanded; but still the general idea, on which she acquired, was nearly or altogether the same. But with regard to some of our allies, the principle was greatly varied;

and we imagine that this change was sufficiently justified by the alteration, which happened in the affairs of Germany, during the interval between the two treaties. Those who conducted the negotiation in 1761, were steady in rejecting every proposition, in which they were not left at liberty to aid the king of Prussia, with the whole force of Great Britain; those who concluded the peace in 1762, paid less attention to the interests, though they did not wholly neglect the safety of that monarch. At the beginning of the year, and before they had entered into this negotiation, they refused to renew that article of the annual treaty, by which our court had engaged to conclude no peace without the king of Prussia; though at the same time they declared themselves willing to assist him with the usual subsidy. He on his part refused the subsidy unconnected with that article. Some coldness grew between the two courts from this time forward.

The adjustment of affairs in the empire, seemed to form no material impediment to the progress of the treaty. Both parties readily agreed to withdraw themselves totally from the German war†. They thought, and rightly, that nothing could tend so much to give peace to their respective allies, as mutually to withdraw their assistance from them; and to stop that current of English and French money, which, as long as it ran into Germany, would be sure to feed a perpetual war in that country.

Circumstanced as affairs then were, this conduct on our side was as defensible as the conduct which we held in 1761. At that time the affairs of the king of Prussia were at  
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† Def. treat. art. xv:



the lowest ebb ; he was overpowered by the whole weight of Austria, of Sweden, of the empire, and of Russia, as determined as ever in her enmity, and then successful ; to say nothing of France. Neither generosity, nor perhaps sound policy, ought to have permitted us to desert him in that situation. But when the last treaty was made, the condition of his affairs was absolutely reversed. He had got rid of the most powerful, and one of the most implacable, of his enemies. He had concluded a peace with Sweden. The treaty itself freed him from all apprehensions of France. He had then none to contend with, but a nominal army of the empire, and one of Austria, which though something more than nominal, was wholly unable to oppose his progress. His situation, from being pitiable, was become formidable. It was good policy to prevent the balance of Germany from being overturned to his prejudice : it would have been the worst in the world to overturn it in his favour.

These principles sufficiently explain and justify the different conduct of this nation, at these two periods, towards the king of Prussia. The demand of the evacuation of Wesel, Cleves, and Gueldres, which had been made in the first negotiation, was then justly excepted to, because we refused to put an end to the German war. In this last the French agreed to it, and with reason, because we agreed in common with them to be neutral in the disputes of the empire. And on these principles, the peace of Germany, so far as it depended on Great-Britain and France, was restored. The rest of Europe was

pacified by the stipulation for the evacuation of Portugal\*. This was, indeed, with regard to the contracting courts, the primary object.

What remained after the concerns of the allies were provided for, was the adjustment of what related to the settlements and commerce of Great-Britain and the Bourbon courts. The difficulty, which prevented this adjustment in the preceding negotiation, was the intervention of the claims of Spain. The attempt of the Bourbon powers to intermix and confound their affairs in the preceding negotiation, had a share in making the war more general ; on this occasion it had a contrary effect. As the whole was now negotiated together, it facilitated the peace, by affording easier methods of adjusting the system of compensation, and furnishing more largely to the general fund of equivalents.

The great object, and the original cause of the war, had been the settlement of limits in America. This was therefore the first object to be attended to in the treaty. And it must be observed, that this point was much more accurately, as well as beneficially, settled, than it promised to be in the negotiation of the foregoing year. For the French, not having ascertained the bounds between their own several possessions with greater exactness, than they had those between their possessions and ours, it was not clear, in ceding Canada, how much they ceded to us. Disputes might have arisen, and did indeed immediately arise upon this subject. Besides, the western limits of our southern continental colonies were not mentioned. And those limits were extremely obscure, and subject to many discussions. Such

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\* Def. tr. art. xxi.



discussions contained in them the seeds of a new war. In the last treaty it was agreed, that a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi, from its source to the river Iberville (a small but navigable branch of the Mississippi), and thence along the middle of this river, and the lakes of Maurepas and Pontchartrain, (which lakes communicate with both rivers) to the sea, should be the bounds of the two nations in North America\*.

Nothing could be more distinct than this boundary. It gave us, in addition to what was properly Canada, a very large tract of territory which the French used to include under the name of Louisiana; to which our claims were never clearly ascertained, and much less established by any possession. The French have had for a long time forts and settlements in that country; whereas the English never had either the one or the other; and this is a consideration of no small moment in a contest concerning rights in a country such as America.

What added also to the rounding of our territories, and cutting off the occasions of liminary disputes, was the cession of Florida on the part of Spain†. This country indeed makes no great figure in the commercial world; and cannot be therefore put in competition with the other conquests. But, from the situation of its harbours of Pensacola and Mobile, it affords some advantages in time of peace, and very considerable ones in time of war; by connecting our future settlements on the Mississippi with those upon the Atlantic ocean, and by enabling us greatly to distress, if not wholly to destroy, the trade of the Spaniards in case of a rupture with them.

The navigation of the Mississippi was made common to both nations‡.

By the treaty of Utrecht, which settled our northern limits, and by this treaty which ascertained those to the west, our possessions in America are as well defined, as the nature of such a country can possibly admit. They comprehend in their extent the foundation of a vast empire; they have many advantages of soil and climate; and many of intercourse and communication, by the number of noble lakes and navigable rivers, with which that part of the world abounds. These circumstances afford, though a distant, a fair prospect of commerce to Great Britain, when this immense country comes to be fully peopled, and properly cultivated. Some advantages also we derive from this possession, that are not only considerable, but immediate; among the principal of which must be reckoned, the monopoly of the fur and peltry trade of North America, much the greatest trade of that kind in the world, and which is now, we may say, entirely in our hands. Besides, the possession of Canada enlarged the sphere of our fishery, and took from the French an opportunity of trade, which she might employ greatly to our detriment.

Such are the advantages fairly, and without any exaggeration, for which we are indebted to this part of the treaty, in which the interests of Great Britain are well weighed and solidly provided for.

The next point we shall consider, is the arrangement made concerning the Newfoundland fishery. This was a point of infinite importance, and a subject of much controversy. In a commercial view it is certainly of great estimation. But it has been considered as even more material in

\* Def. tr. art. viii.

† Def. tr. art. xx.

‡ Def. tr. art. vii.



in a political light. Every body knows that these extensive fisheries are the life of many maritime places, which would otherwise be of no sort of value; that they are the great nurseries of seamen, and consequently the great resources of the marine. Scarce any object could be of more importance to two nations, who contended for a superiority in naval power.

The more clearly therefore it was the interest of Great-Britain to acquire the exclusive exercise of this fishery, the more strongly and evidently it became the interest of France to oppose themselves to such a pretension. Not only a large part of her foreign trade depended on this fishery; but a great part of her domestic supply. Besides, every hope of the strength, and almost of the existence, of a naval power, must vanish with the cession of the fishery.

The English administration probably saw, that France would rather run all the hazards of war, than totally relinquish this object. Since therefore they despaired of driving the French entirely from the fishery, they endeavoured as much as possible to diminish its value to them. In this respect they followed the plan of the former negotiation, except that some improvements were added.

In the first place, that article of the treaty of Utrecht was established, by which the French were admitted to fish, and to dry their fish, on the north-east and north-west parts of Newfoundland, from Cape Bonavista to Point Biche, and excluded from the rest of this island\*: They were also permitted to fish within the gulph of St. Laurence; but with this limitation, that they

shall not approach within three leagues of any of the coasts belonging to England.

This precaution was taken, not only with a view of abridging the French fishery of dry cod, but principally in order to prevent their landing, and, on that pretence, forming settlements on those extensive deserts, which surround the gulf of St. Laurence. Otherwise this privilege might become a means of exciting new controversies between the two nations.

In compensation for the cession of the isles of Cape Breton and St. John to England, we agreed to surrender to France the small islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, situated to the south of Newfoundland†. The cession of the two former islands was, unquestionably, more than an equivalent for the two latter, though the latter are by no means either incommodiously situated or ill circumstanced for carrying on the fishery. The French stipulated to erect no fortifications on these islands, nor to keep more than fifty soldiers to enforce the police. In this instance the plan of the former negotiation was pursued. The ideas of a resident commissary, and the occasional visitation by a ship of war, were omitted, as regulations, which were in truth more humiliating to France, than in any respect advantageous to our interest.

This fishery was, as it had been at the treaty of Utrecht, divided between France and England, but with less equality on this than on that occasion. The French are not wholly deprived of their share; but this share is considerably impaired. Their loss of Cape Breton does not appear to be fully supplied by St. Pierre and Miquelon.

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\* Def. tr. art. v.

† Def. tr. art. vi.



The considerable and growing fishery, which the French had settled at Gaspé, is taken away without hope of recovery. On the whole, we are thus circumstanced; we have advantages in this fishery, which we may certainly improve to a great superiority; but we have still a rival, which makes it necessary to exert ourselves with unremitting industry in order to secure it.

With regard to Spain, she entirely *desisted* from the right she claimed of fishing on these coasts \*. A more satisfactory expression could have been wished, if it had been of great importance, in what terms a right was renounced, which for a long time had never been exercised.

When the affairs of the West Indies came to be settled, though they caused great difference of opinion among the public, they do not seem to have raised any great difficulty in the negotiation. We had here made great conquests, and here also we made great concessions. We ceded the Havana, with a considerable part of the island of Cuba; the islands of Martinico, Guadaloupe, Marygalante, Desirade, and Santa Lucia. We retained in our hands the islands of Tobago, Dominica, St. Vincent, and the Grenades †. To the three former of which (as well as to Santa Lucia, which we surrendered) we had an old claim. The last only was a new acquisition; and the three others are at present of small value.

Many censured with great vehemence and asperity this part of the treaty. They insisted that in this treaty we had lost sight of that great fundamental principle, That France is chiefly, if not solely, to be dreaded by us in the light of a maritime

and commercial power. That therefore we had, by restoring to her all her valuable West India islands, and by our concessions in the Newfoundland fishery, left in her hands the means of recovering her prodigious losses, and of becoming once more formidable to us at sea. That the fishery trained up an innumerable multitude of young seamen; and that the West-India trade employed them when they were trained. That France had long since gained a decided superiority over us in this lucrative branch of commerce, and supplied almost all Europe with the rich commodities, which are produced only in that part of the world. By this commerce, said they, she enriched her merchants, and augmented her finances; whilst from a want of sugar land, which has been long known and severely felt by England, we at once lost the foreign trade, and suffered all the inconveniencies of a monopoly at home.

That, at the close of so expensive a war, we might very reasonably demand something towards our indemnification, as well as towards our security. It is evident, said they, that our conquests in North America, however they may provide for the one, are altogether inadequate to the other of these ends. The state of the existing trade of these conquests is extremely low; the speculations of their future are precarious, and the prospect, at the very best, very remote. We stand in need of supplies, which will have an effect, certain, speedy, and considerable. The retaining both, or even one of the considerable French islands, Martinico or Guadaloupe, will, and nothing else can, effectually answer this triple purpose. The advantage is immediate. It

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\* Def. tr. art. xiii.

† Def. tr. art. viii. ix. & xix.



is a matter not of conjecture, but of account. The trade with these conquests is of the utmost lucrative nature, and of the most considerable extent; the number of ships employed by it are a great resource to our maritime power; the monopoly at home is corrected, and the foreign trade is recovered: and, what is of equal weight, all that we gain on this system is made fourfold to us by the loss which ensues to France. But our conquests in North America, however advantageous they may prove to us, in the idea of security (for in that respect alone they are of any moment) are of very little detriment to the commerce of France. On the West Indian scheme of acquisition, our gain and her loss go hand in hand.

They insisted upon the obvious connection of this trade with that of our colonies in North America, and with our commerce to the coast of Africa. The African trade, said they, will be augmented by the demand for slaves. That of North America will all centre in ourselves. Whereas if the islands are all restored, a great part of the benefit of the northern colony trade must redound, as it has hitherto done, to those who were lately our enemies, and will always be our rivals.

They observed, that there was nothing extravagant or overbearing in this demand. That though we should retain either Martinico or Guadaloupe, or even both these islands, our conquests were such, that there was still abundant matter left to display our moderation in the cession of the rest: to say nothing of our many concessions in the fishery, on the coast of Africa, and in the East Indies; from all which great provinces of commerce the French

had been entirely driven in this war, and to a considerable share of which they were restored by the treaty. But if further concessions must be made (for which however they saw no necessity) let the prodigious demand in North America be somewhat contracted; by this method we lose nothing to our commerce; and we do not hazard our security, as we shall still be infinitely superior in strength; and whenever a war breaks out, that power will be most secure, whose resources are most considerable.

Such are concisely, and, we flatter ourselves, fairly, the principal heads of argument, brought by the best writers upon this side of the question: they were replied to by the best writers on the other, upon the following principles:

That the original object of the war was the security of our colonies upon the continent; that the danger to which these colonies were exposed, and, in consequence of that danger, the immense waste of blood and treasure which ensued to Great Britain, together with the calamities which were, from the same source, derived upon the four quarters of the world, left no sort of doubt that it was not only our best but our only policy, to guard against all possibility of the return of such evils. Experience has shewn us, that while France possesses any single place in America, from whence she may molest our settlements, they can never enjoy any repose, and of course that we are never secure from being plunged again into those calamities, from which we have at length, and with so much difficulty, happily emerged. To remove France from our neighbourhood in America, or to contract her power within the



the narrowest limits possible, is therefore the most capital advantage we can obtain; and is worth purchasing by almost any concessions.

They insisted, that the absolute security derived from this plan included in itself an indemnification: First, by saving us, more effectually than any other method could, from the necessity of another war, and consequently by giving us an opportunity of increasing our trade, and lowering our debt. Secondly, by permitting our colonies on the continent to extend themselves without danger or molestation. They shewed the great increase of population in those colonies within a few years. They shewed that their trade with the mother country had uniformly increased with this population. That being now freed from the molestation of enemies, and the emulation of rivals, unlimited in their possessions, and safe in their persons, our American planters would, by the very course of their natural propagation, in a very short time, furnish out a demand of our manufactures, as large as all the working hands of Great Britain could possibly supply. That there was therefore no reason to dread that want of trade, which their adversaries insinuated; since North America alone would supply the deficiencies of our trade in every other part of the world.

They expatiated on the great variety of climates, which that country contained, and the vast resources which would thence arise to commerce. That the value of our conquests thereby ought not to be estimated by the present produce, but by their probable increase. Neither ought the value of any country to be solely tried on

its commercial advantages; that extent of territory and a number of subjects, are matters of as much consideration to a state attentive to the sources of real grandeur, as the mere advantages of traffic; that such ideas are rather suitable to a limited and petty commonwealth, like Holland, than to a great, powerful, and warlike nation. That on these principles, having made very large demands in North America, it was necessary to relax in other parts. That France would never be brought to any considerable cession in the West Indies; but that her power and increase there could never become formidable, because the existence of her settlements depended upon ours in North America, she not being any longer left a place from whence they can be supplied with provisions; that in losing something of the sugar trade, we lost very little else than a luxury; as to the other produce of the West-Indies, it might be in a great measure, and in part already was, supplied by our possessions on the continent, which daily increased not only in the quantity, but in the kind of its produce.

We do not pretend to pass any judgment on the merits of the several sides of this question, which is certainly a very difficult one. We relate opinions, as well as facts, historically.

The only point, which remained to be adjusted in the West-Indies, was the logwood trade. Spain consented not to disturb the English in their occupation of cutting logwood in the bay of Honduras, and to permit them to occupy such buildings as may be necessary for them in this occupation. Great Britain, on her side, stipulated to destroy the fortifications



fications which had been erected on that bay \*.

By this article the English acquired a solid right in this long-contested trade; but seemed, at the same time, to lose all the means of protecting it. It is, however, difficult to point out a better method of adjusting a claim of such a peculiar nature. The right we claimed was not a right to the territory, nor directly to the produce; but only a privilege of cutting and taking away this wood by indulgence. To have insisted on the right of erecting fortifications, would have been making the strongest claim to an absolute, direct, and exclusive dominion over the territory itself; a point, to which I do not find that our most extensive claims have ever been carried.

In Africa, Goree was restored to France, and Senegal remained to Great Britain †. This regulation seems to have divided the trade on this river, and the adjacent coast, between the two nations. The English, as they are now circumstanced on that part, seem to be the most advantageously situated for the trade in time of peace; and the French for carrying away the whole of it in time of war.

With regard to the East-Indies, all the French factories and settlements are restored to that nation in every part of India ‡. Although this must be regarded as a very great concession, it does not however afford all those advantages to France which might be imagined at the first view. First, because the fortifications erected at such a vast expence in all those settlements have been totally destroyed; and it cannot be expected, in the present situation of the French company, that they can, in

the course of many years, if at all, be restored to their former state. In Bengal (including, by an explanation annexed to the definitive treaty, the kingdom of Orissa) they have engaged to erect no kind of fortification, nor to keep any number of soldiers whatsoever. Secondly, they have agreed to acknowledge the present reigning subas of Bengal, Decan, and the Carnatick, as the lawful sovereigns of these countries. These princes are the greatest on the peninsula of India: they are in our interest, and most of them owe either the acquisition, or depend for the preservation, of their power on our arms; by which means our company is become, in effect, arbiter of the commerce and politics of that great and opulent coast, extending from the Ganges to Cape Comorin; and in a great degree also of the other, from the same cape to the mouth of the Indus. Thirdly, during the course of our successes, the traders and the manufacturers have removed from the French to our settlements, where they will have at least an equal market, and a superior protection; and it will be difficult, if not impossible, to bring them back.

Minorca and Belleisle were to be restored to their former possessors ||. The fortifications and harbour of Dunkirk were to be demolished, agreeable to the stipulations of former treaties §.

This is the general outline of the late treaty. Those who chuse a more minute information, will recur to the treaty itself, which is printed among the State Papers. The particulars given here will serve to point out the spirit and the general effect of that transaction, which has been

\* Def. tr. art. xviii.

† Def. tr. art. ix.

‡ Def. tr. art. xi.

|| Def. tr. art. viii. and xii.

§ Def. tr. art. xiii.



been the subject of so much heat and controversy; and which nothing but adulation will assert to be free from defect, nor any thing but faction can deny to be productive of many very great and essential advantages to this kingdom.

This treaty, while it remained in agitation, formed a great crisis, not only in the affairs of the nation, but in the fortune of the new ministry. Towards the latter end of the summer, Mr. F. was called in, and engaged in their support. Tho' he continued in his old place of paymaster, he undertook to conduct the affairs of government in the house of commons. Mr. Gr. whose employment would naturally have engaged him in that task, resigned the seals of secretary of state, and was appointed first lord of the admiralty. The great experience and known parliamentary abilities of Mr. F. seemed to give new life to the affairs of the administration. A more vigorous and determined conduct was from that time adopted. Many of those, who were not perfectly attached to the new system, were immediately removed from their employments; and measures were taken to clear every department of every friend of the D. of N.

The spirit of these proceedings seemed to augment that of the opposition. It was apprehended, that the preliminaries would undergo a rigorous scrutiny, and might possibly incur a heavy censure from parliament. The terms of peace were criticised without mercy. They were declared to be inglorious, inadequate, and unsecure; unequal to the great successes of the war, and below the just expectations of the nation; that our commerce was neglected, and our allies

abandoned. Public expectation was, however, entirely disappointed. The preliminaries were approved, without any qualification, by both houses; by the lords without a division; by the commons with a very disproportionate majority. Dec. 9.

Many causes concurred to produce this moderate disposition. First, a very great number, which included almost all the Tories, were engaged in the support of the administration. The then chiefs of the opposition were not well agreed among themselves. Mr. P. who was considered as a party in himself, had not joined with the D. of N. nor seemed disposed to act with any particular body. The same general plan of peace, which many now in the opposition had formerly approved, had been adopted in these preliminaries, and evidently improved. It is true, it had been objected, that our additional successes, since that time, gave us ground to expect better terms; but it was answered, that our national burthens, and the extent of the war, had increased in, at least, an equal proportion; and that peace was become necessary to the nation.

These arguments, whatever weight they might have in themselves, were strong against those, upon whom they were rather retorted, than for the first time levelled, being altogether agreeable to the system which many now in opposition had always pursued, and to the sentiments many of them had publicly avowed, and perhaps still secretly retained. On the whole, it was evident, that, when the question came on, the discontented party was found not very well united, and absolutely unprovided of any regular scheme



scheme of opposition. However, though baffled on this occasion, it has since begun to revive and to unite; and though peace is happily restored with foreign powers, our domestic quiet is still far from being securely established.

With regard to the powers in Germany, the peace between England and France, and the superiority of the king of Prussia at the close of the campaign, inspired at length, and unwillingly, a disposition to peace. Conferences were opened at Hubertsburgh, and a treaty concluded between his Prussian majesty and the empress queen. As affairs in this treaty were speedily adjusted, so they may be very concisely related. The substance of it was no more than that a mutual restitution and oblivion should take place, and each party sit down at the end of the war in the same situation in which they began it. There has been talk of a secret article, which promised some kind of indemnification for the king of Poland; but of this there is nothing of certainty. The king of Prussia, after having for six years contended against the efforts of almost all the great powers of Europe, by whose enmity he could be affected, having stood proof against the most terrible blows of fortune, enjoys at length the full reward of his uncommon magnanimity. He retains his dominions in their utmost extent; and having delivered his country by his incomparable talents for war, he now enjoys leisure to recover it by his no less admirable talents for government. Scarcely was the war concluded, when he began to display his attention to domestic policy, and his care for the happiness of his people. He immediately distributed lands to his disbanded soldiery; and gave them

the horses of his artillery to aid them in their cultivation.

Europe is now pacified; and she begins to respire, after a more general and a more bloody war than any the world experienced since that which was concluded by the peace of Westphalia. As far as it is safe to judge concerning a system which is subject to so great and unforeseen variation, and sometimes from very slight causes, this peace promises a considerable duration. The king of Prussia will hardly again commit his affairs, so miraculously retrieved, to the chances of war. He sees how dearly he has a second time purchased his conquest of Silesia, and he will hardly aim at new acquisitions. The empress, since she failed to reduce Silesia, or even to recover the smallest particle of her losses, with such an exertion of her own strength, and with such an alliance as never was seen united before, and with which she can never flatter herself again, must be convinced how vain it is to attempt any change in the present system of Germany.

Whilst Russia remains circumstanced as she seems to be at present, there is a very good prospect for the tranquillity of the North.

France has turned her thoughts to a much wanted œconomy, and the re-establishment of her marine. She has reduced her land forces by above one half. England, without lessening the ordinary establishment of her navy, has augmented her military, in consequence of the extent of her conquests. Both nations seem sensible of the necessity of being prepared, and yet quiet. The Bourbon courts are united, but weakened. The mutual jealousy of the nations, which have been lately at war, continues; but their subjects



subjects of dispute, and occasions of animosity, are much lessened. This is as good a situation as could reasonably be expected.

We have thus, in some measure, accomplished our design of laying before the public an annual connected narrative of the events of the late most remarkable war; which we have pursued from its com-

mencement to its conclusion. We have omitted no care to make it as perfect as the nature of such an undertaking would permit; and we flatter ourselves, that it will be found as much superior in value to a collection of Gazettes, or a dry unconnected chronological table, as it is below the importance and dignity of a just history.



# THE CHRONICLE.

JANUARY,

4th. **W**AR was proclaimed against Spain, at the usual places, and with the usual solemnities.

During last year 521 ships arrived at Cadiz, 87 of which were English, 13 of them men of war, and five English prizes carried in by the French; 99 Dutch, of which 16 were men of war; 41 Danish; 22 French, of which four were men of war; 195 Spanish, of which 32 were men of war; 19 Portuguese, 11 Imperial, eight Russian, four Maltese, two Genoese, one Savoyard, and five Neapolitan.

A list of ships taken by the French during the three last months of the year 1761\*.

October	32
November	30
December	56

Total 118

Among which were 15 Virginia and Maryland ships, outward and homeward bound; 11 Newfoundland men, outward and homeward bound; 6 Carolina men, outward and homeward bound; and 16 Jamaica and Leeward Island men, outward and homeward bound; exclusive of the North America illicit traders, &c. &c.

\* For those taken during the first nine months, see our last volume, p. 161.

*Method to discover alum in bread.*

Mix chalk with aqua-fortis; pour them upon water in which the suspected bread has been infused, and well soaked: if there be any aluminous acid, it will appear evidently soon after the mixture by a gypseous or chalky concretion, forming a hard mass at the bottom of the vessel.

His majesty this day made the usual offering at the 6th. chapel-royal, of gold, myrrh, and frankincense; but there was no playing at hazard, nor any ball at night.

*A letter to a nobleman from lieutenant colonel Elliot, who was miraculously preserved, after being shipwrecked on the island of Sable.*

*Halifax, in Nova Scotia,  
May 9, 1761.*

“ My Lord,

“ Soon after I did myself the honour of writing to you last September, I was ordered with a party to the bay Chaleur, to see the French troops there comply with the articles of capitulation made at Montreal, and from thence was to join general Amherst at New York, where I proposed spending the winter. This induced me to take Mrs. Elliot along with me, which has led her into such distresses, that your lordship’s humanity will more easily



conceive than I can paint. A few days after we sailed from Chaleur, after a very great storm, we struck on the island of Sable (about forty leagues to the eastward of this place) an island barren and uninhabited, with neither a stick of wood upon it, a stone, or a spot of earth, but one entire bank of sand. After we struck, the 15th of November, we were eight-and-forty hours before we durst venture on shore, the sea being so very high; though, at the same time, we expected our vessel to fall to pieces every moment, our whole employ was tossing overboard such provisions as we could come at, for our future sustenance, in case we were any of us lucky enough to get on shore, which I began to despair of, as the only boat we had was lost in returning to the vessel, after landing a man on shore to fix a rope: in doing this, two sailors were drowned; however, it was the preservation of the rest of our lives; for, finding it impossible to stay any longer on board, we fastened an empty barrel to this rope, and so, one by one, were drawn through a very great surf (for near the space of fourscore yards) on shore, without the loss even of one man of my party: and Providence was pleased even to preserve two little infants that were on board, the one brought on shore upon the father's back, and the other on its mother's. We continued eight-and-forty hours more in our wet cloaths upon the sand, without any thing to cover us: at last, we picked up some sails, and next day luckily found the officer's tent that was with me. Much more provisions were drove upon the island than expected; but the win-

ter being so far advanced, did not expect to see a vessel till May, the time fishermen go upon that coast, therefore proportioned my allowance of provisions for that time; and all that we seventy persons had to live upon, was four ounces of flour a-day for each, with one gill of rum, or wine; and four pounds of pork between six, for seven days.

From this pinching allowance we were agreeably relieved by the sight of horses, which we shot; and soon after we discovered horned cattle: we now got more sails and yards of the vessel, with which we erected ourselves houses, and thatched them with a long sedge that grows there. Notwithstanding I had given up all hopes of relief, we frequently saw vessels, who likewise saw us; but it was too dangerous for them to attempt any thing for our preservation: However, they carried a report to Boston of people's being wrecked here; and some people being missing from a fishing-town near that place, they sent a small vessel in search of them, which arrived the 8th of January: she could take on board but a few men. She returned again to me the 18th, and the 20th we all arrived here as naked as beggars; Mrs. Elliot and myself, and my lieutenant Dalton, losing all our baggage.

*Cautions to persons going to Scotland, to be married.*

By the law of Scotland, the names of the parties intended to be married must be proclaimed in the parish church where the parties live, three several times. But by an act 21 of assembly, anno 1638, \* Presbyteries are in some necessary

\* A Presbytery is a church assembly, consisting of six or seven ministers or elders, and a moderator chosen from amongst themselves.



exigents allowed to dispense with publication of bans, and the minister and † kirk-session, upon grave and weighty considerations, are in use to dispense with part of the law, by proclaiming the parties twice in one day, and sometimes thrice, and they must be called by their name and surname.

Thus stands the law as to marriages in the kirk of Scotland.

And by the Act 10 An. chap. 7. for tolerating episcopal meeting-houses in Scotland, the episcopal ministers, ordained by a protestant bishop, are allowed to preach, to administer the sacraments, and to marry. But it is provided, that no episcopal minister, or ministers, residing within that part of the united kingdom called Scotland, presume to marry any person, or persons, but those whose bans have been duly published three several Lord's days in the episcopal congregation which the two parties frequent, and in the churches to which they belong as parishioners, by virtue of their residence, and upon the same pains and punishments as are already inflicted by the laws of Scotland, in cases of clandestine marriage; and the ministers of the parish churches are thereby obliged to publish the said bans; and in case of neglect or refusal, it shall be sufficient to publish the said bans in any episcopal congregation alone.

From hence it appears, that no marriage can be lawfully had in the established church of Scotland, but by publishing the bans three times; and in the episcopal meeting-houses the publication must be

on three Lord's days, and in the episcopal congregations, which the two parties frequent.

Now most, if not all, the marriages had in Scotland, by persons going down from England, to evade the marriage-act, have been celebrated (as I am credibly informed) in the episcopal meeting-houses, and that without the publication of the bans on three Lord's days, and certainly not between parties frequenting that episcopal congregation, so that there can be no doubt but these marriages are irregular and clandestine. And what an unhappy situation must the parties to such marriages be in, or their issue, if, when the validity of these marriages comes to be litigated in England, they should be deemed invalid, as not being had in pursuance of the laws in that country where they were celebrated!

It is to be hoped, indeed, that these marriages will be allowed good; as were the Fleet marriages, tho' very irregular ones; but what persons of common prudence would run any hazard at all on such an occasion?

Ended the sessions at the Old Bailey, at which two <sup>16th.</sup> received sentence of death, one of whom was, a few days after, executed; sixteen received sentence of transportation for seven years, and one for fourteen, who was the same day pardoned by his majesty; three were burnt in the hand, and one whipped.

As Mr. Taylor, jun. anchor-smith at Limehouse, was putting some old iron into the fire, the

† A kirk session is the lowest ecclesiastical court, or parish consistory, which is composed of the minister, or ministers, if more than one in the parish, and the elders and deacons, with a clerk and beadle.



barrel of an old pistol happened to be in the parcel, which being loaded, in a little time went off, and unfortunately shot him dead.—We mention accidents of this kind from time to time, to put people on their guard.

One of the French king's guards, who had given himself several wounds in the belly, and pretended that he had received them from two assassins, who would have forced their passage into the royal presence, in hopes of being promoted for his zeal and diligence, was lately hanged at Paris.—It was this affair gave rise to a late report, concerning a fresh attempt on the French king's life.

A Swede has invented a machine for threshing corn, by which two men can do the work of 16; a machine much wanted in England at this juncture.

19th. The king went to the house of peers, and made a speech, on occasion of his majesty's having declared war against Spain: which speech, with his majesty's answers to the addresses of both houses, the reader may see in our last, Vol. IV. p. [303].

*Extract of a letter from Basque Road, dated Dec. 26, 1761.*

“Three fire-boats, of 50 tons each, were lately set on float, under the command of the captain of the port's son, assisted by four men of war's boats; but through precipitation, mistake, or accident, two of them blew up, and every soul perished. The explosion was terrible; they continued burning with great fury from one till day-light.—As the wind blew when they took fire, they were in the stream of the Princess Amelia, an 80 gun ship, commanded by capt. Mon-

tague; but providentially the wind shifted from W. to N. W. and drove them clear of the whole squadron. They were chained together; and if they had been managed with that coolness and intrepidity, which such an enterprize requires, they might have done fatal execution. The Brest squadron, which has three battalions on board, are ready to sail; and four large transports are gone from Bourdeaux full of troops.

The prince of Mecklenburg Strelitz, second brother <sup>25th.</sup> to her majesty, arrived in London.

During the course of this month, the town was greatly alarmed by some uncommon noises heard at a house in Cock-lane, West-Smithfield; and as the manner of making these noises has not as yet been sufficiently ascertained, though several persons have smarted severely for pretending to affix a meaning to them, we think it our duty to give the reader a summary of the whole affair. But as it is of some length, we have placed it at the end of the Chronicle.

Mr. Daniel Armstrong, who died lately at Bath, has left 500 l. to the Foundling and Lying-in hospitals.

Mrs. Lawrence, of Bishopsgate-street, was lately delivered of three sons.

Died lately. William Maple, of Dublin, Esq; aged 101.

Mr. John Rider, of Greenhill, near Dublin, aged 110.

At Gratz in Voigtland, a man who had lived to the age of 135, without any illness. He had seen seven emperors of Germany.

## FEBRUARY.

The parliament of Ireland having taken under <sup>3d.</sup> their



their consideration, the excessive price of coals in the city of Dublin, it was, among other regulations, recommended by the committee appointed to inquire into the causes of this complaint, that the government should appoint persons to buy in a certain quantity of coals, when coals are at the cheapest, and to retail them out again at a moderate profit, to such journeymen, tradesmen manufacturers, and poor, as shall produce certificates from the ministers of their respective parishes of their actual poverty; a regulation that would be of vast utility to this metropolis.

6th. An old man standing at the fire side of the 3 *per cent.* office of the Bank, was observed to pick up the coals, and put them in his pocket; and afterwards went to the books, and received his dividend upon 600*l.* stock. He was carried before a magistrate, where the coals were taken out of his pocket; but by reason of his age, and his extreme penitence, he was released.

An extraordinary instance of avarice and speculation has lately been discovered in France. Mons. Foscue, one of the farmers-general of the province of Languedoc, who had amassed considerable wealth by grinding the faces of the poor within his province, and every other means, however low, base, or cruel, by which he rendered himself universally hated, was one day ordered by the government to raise a considerable sum: upon which, as an excuse for not complying with the demand, he pleaded extreme poverty; but fearing lest some of the inhabitants of Languedoc should give information to the contrary, lest his house should be searched

he resolved on hiding his treasure in such a manner, as to escape the most strict examination. He dug a kind of a cave in his wine-cellar, which he made so large and deep, that he used to go down to it with a ladder; at the entrance of it was a door with a spring lock on it, which on shutting would fasten of itself. Very lately mons. Foscue was missing; diligent search was made after him in every place: the ponds were drawn, and every method which human imagination could suggest was taken for finding him, but all in vain. In a short time after his house was sold, and the purchaser beginning either to rebuild it, or make some alterations in it, the workmen discovered a door in the cellar with a key in the lock, which he ordered to be opened, and on going down they found mons. Foscue lying dead on the ground, with a candlestick near him, but no candle in it, which he had eat: and on searching farther they found the vast wealth that he had amassed. It is supposed, that when mons. Foscue went into his cave, the door by some accident shut after him; and being out of the call of any person, he perished for want of food. He had gnawed the flesh off both his arms, as is supposed for subsistence. Thus did this miser die in the midst of his treasure, to the scandal of himself, and to the prejudice of the state.

His majesty went to the 10th. house of peers, and gave his assent, to—An act for raising by annuities, in manner therein mentioned, the sum of twelve millions, to be charged on the sinking fund, &c. &c.—An act for granting to his majesty several rates and duties upon



upon windows or lights.—An act for enabling his majesty to raise certain sums of money towards paying off and discharging the debt of the navy, &c.—An act for charging certain annuities granted in the year 1760, on the sinking fund, &c. &c.—And to two private bills.

According to the above act, every house containing eight windows or lights, will now pay 11s. for nine, 12s. for ten, 13s. for eleven, 14s. for twelve, 1l. 1s. for thirteen, 1l. 2s. 6d. for fourteen, 1l. 4s. for fifteen, 1l. 5s. 6d. for sixteen, 1l. 7s. for seventeen, 1l. 8s. 6d. for eighteen, 1l. 10s. for nineteen, 1l. 11s. 6d. and for twenty and upwards the same as before, viz. 1s. 6d. per window, and 3s. the house; and all houses and cottages, that have no more than seven windows, to pay 3s. for the house, unless on account of their poverty excused from parish rates; but no houses, having more than seven windows, are to be exempted from this tax, upon that account.—As many persons have, and will alter the number of their windows on account of the additional duty, it may not be improper for them to know, that the act of parliament directs, that no window, or light, will be deemed to be stopped up, unless it be stopped with brick or stone, or plaister upon lath, or with the same materials of which the outside of the house doth chiefly consist; and the surveyors in their respective divisions have express orders from the board of taxes to charge all windows that are not stopped up according to the direction of the act.

On this and the following day, great damage was done, and numbers of people pe-

rished, in different parts of the kingdom, by a great, sudden, and unusual fall of snow, which, in some places, was ten and twelve feet deep. Near fifty people, who were caught in the open fields, roads, plains, heaths, and commons, lost their lives. In the hurricane that accompanied it, large trees, coaches, houses, chimnies, and barns, were, in many places, levelled with the ground, and churches damaged; many sheep and cattle likewise perished. It is said, however, that a farmer at Water-on-the-Wolds, in Yorkshire, recovered ten sheep hearty and well out of the snow, after they had lain there about four weeks. In short, at land, and on the sea coasts, such devastation is not remembered by the present race in England.

A little girl, daughter to Mr. Giffard, late of Covent-garden theatre, was lately burnt in a very shocking manner, and died in great agonies. A person in the house was subject to fits, and amongst the methods practised to recover her, it was usual to burn feathers, rags, papers, &c. under her nose.—This striking the child, she was supposing her doll in the like circumstances, and burning something under its nose, by which means her own cloaths caught fire whilst her mamma's back was turned.

From Faulkner's Dublin Journal.

Whereas a lady, who called herself a native of Ireland, was in England in the year 1740, and resided some time at a certain village near Bath, where she was delivered of a son, whom she left with a sum of money, under the care of a person in the same parish, and promised to fetch him at a certain age, but has not since been heard of: now this



is to desire the lady, if living, and this should be so fortunate as to be seen by her, to send a letter directed to J. E. to be left at the Chapter coffee house, St. Paul's church-yard, London, wherein she is desired to give an account of herself, and her reasons for concealing this affair: or if the lady should be dead, and any person is privy to the affair, they are likewise desired to direct as above.—N. B. this advertisement is published by the person himself, not from motives of necessity, nor to court any assistance (he being, by a series of happy circumstances, possessed of an easy and independent fortune) but with a real desire to know his origin.—P. S. The strictest secrecy may be depended on.

22d. In the evening, in the midst of a great shower of hail and snow, with the wind at north, four loud claps of thunder were heard at Valenciennes, in France, preceded by very frightful lightning, by the violence of which the wood-work of St. Gray's church was set on fire; and six or seven of the workmen sent to extinguish the flames were so terribly scorched by a succeeding flash, that it is scarcely possible they should recover.

26th. Ended the sessions at the Old Bailey, which proved a maiden one, when two persons were branded, and sixteen received sentence of transportation for seven years.

There has lately been set on foot in the diocese of Peterborough, under the auspices of the bishop, a fund by voluntary subscription for the relief of the widows and orphans of poor clergymen, and for the necessitous clergy of that diocese. At a

meeting they agreed, that no clergyman be permitted to subscribe annually more than one guinea for each benefice he shall hold, nor less than five shillings.

The marine society have collected, equipped, and cloathed, for the sea service, 5452 men, 4511 boys, in all 9963. This shews the utility of that noble institution.

The right hon. the earl of Buckinghamshire, for the encouragement of matrimony, proposes to give an annual bounty of ten guineas, to five young women, daughters of freemen of Norwich, upon their marriage to the sons of freemen, on the following terms:

They must not be above 25, nor under 18 years of age.

The persons they marry must be industrious freemen of Norwich, resident there, and sons of freemen resident, and their age not above 31, nor under 21.

No persons who have received collection, or who are deformed in their persons, subject to fits, in general unhealthy, or in whose family there is any suspicion of madness, can be entitled to this charity.

The candidates must be recommended by gentlemen and ladies of credit, resident in Norwich, who, from their own knowledge, will vouch for their characters; and also that they have good reason to believe that they neither of them have contracted any debts, or are liable to any of the above objections.

The marriages are to be celebrated on the first day of July yearly, and to commence upon the 1st day of July next; upon which day the new-married couples are to dine together, and his lordship will allow one guinea for the dinner. It is



expected that the couples fixed upon will, some days previous to the marriage, signify to the persons who may recommend them, how best it may be laid out for their advantage, except one guinea, which will be paid the day after the wedding.

On occasion of two young children lately poisoned by taking bears-foot for the worms, at Fisherton, near Salisbury, the following caution has been published in the St. James's Chronicle.

To prevent the destruction of more children, please to inform the public there are two kinds of bears-foot in England. One is a plant of two feet high, with dark leaves, and a multitude of whitish flowers; sometimes a little purpled at the edge. This is common in gardens, and is now in full flower. It is a poison, and was known as such to Tragus, Dodonæus, and all the old writers. The other is a low plant, scarce a foot high, with fish-green leaves, and only one or two flowers; the flowers of this are green. This is the true bear's-foot; which is recommended with great justice against worms. The other being more common, has been used by mistake in its place, and to this the death of those infants was owing. There is the more reason for caution, because the poisonous one is the kind now sold in our markets,

J. HILL.

They write from Paris, that as a wealthy citizen of Paris was lately walking in the Thuilleries, a person came up to him, and bid him be upon his guard, for that night he would be murdered. The citizen retired after supper, as usual, to his bed-chamber, having furnished himself with fire-arms. At mid-

night three men actually entered the room. One of them he shot dead, and with a second shot broke the arm of another. The third ran away. The person killed proved to be his own son, and the wounded person his nephew, who is now in prison along with the third assassin. This, says the writer, is the second instance of the kind that has happened at Paris within these three months; to such a height is licentiousness risen in that capital!

The same letter adds, "The fleur Massonet, renter of the abbey of St. Antony, in the parish of Montfalcon, in Viennois, has a son, which (though but five months old) is actually two feet seven inches and a half high: the circumference of his waist is two feet three inches three lines [a line is the twelfth part of an inch], and over the breast he measures two feet three inches. The circumference of his head, at the fore part, is eighteen inches and a half; and that of the calf of his leg, eleven inches. His wrist is six inches and a half round, his arm eleven inches, and his thigh, seventeen inches three lines. When he came into the world, he was of the usual size of a new-born infant. His bones are not of a size proportionate to his body: those of his fingers, feet, and hands, are very small. His weight is 41 lb. mark [equal to our avoirdupois] and he begins to walk. After sucking at eight in the evening, he wants nothing more till eight in the morning; never cries, nor often laughs. The father is thirty-five years old, and of a thin and meagre form. His wife is about the same age, and of the same complexion. They have three other



other children of the common size."

In consequence of the new duty upon malt liquors taking place, the publicans have at last been, in general, quietly permitted to raise their porter to three pence half-penny a quart.

Died lately. In the parish of St. Leonard, two old men, brothers, who a little before lodged in the parish of Cripplegate, but lived there in so miserable a manner, as to be discharged their lodgings. On their death it appeared that the interest of 4000 l. which they had before left to Cripplegate parish, was now left to the poor of St. Leonard's for ever. A caveat was entered by a third brother against the will, but we hear it is finally determined in favour of the poor.

Miss Charlotte Mercier, said to be skilled in painting and engraving, and daughter of the late prince of Wales's librarian, in St. James's workhouse.

Matthew Fetherstonhaugh, Esq; aged 100.

Babua Solyman, a Turk, in Hampshire, aged 105.

Thomas Nixon, of the county of Cumberland, aged 108.

At Tiefenau, in the neighbourhood of Grossenhayn, Gaspard Balcke, aged 112 years, three months, and 27 days. He married two wives, by whom he had fifteen children. He was 85 when the youngest child was born. He lived to see his posterity to the number of 66. He was confined to his bed only two days.

Catherine Brebner, in Aberdeenshire, aged 124.

John Noon, of the county of Galway, in Ireland, aged 129.

A peasant in Poland in the 157th

year of his age; till within 12 days of his death, he worked as a day labourer,

M A R C H.

By a fall of a house near Holloway-mount, seven persons were killed. 5th.

Being the day appointed for a general fast and humiliation, it was observed in the accustomed manner. 12th.

Copy of a resolution of the Irish parliament, respecting the revenue of the lord lieutenant.

Veneris, 26 Feb. 1762.

Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That an address be presented to his excellency the lord lieutenant, that he will represent to his majesty the sense of this house, that the entertainments and appointments of the lord lieutenant of Ireland are become inadequate to the dignity of that high office, and to the expence with which it is, and ought to be, supported; and that it is the humble desire of this house, that his majesty will be graciously pleased to grant such an augmentation to the entertainment of the lord lieutenant for the time being, as, with the present allowances, will in the whole amount to the annual sum of sixteen thousand pounds. And to express that satisfaction which we feel at the pleasing hope, that this just and necessary augmentation should take place during the administration of a chief governor, whose many great and amiable qualities, whose wise and happy administration in the government of this kingdom, have, universally endeared him to the people of Ireland.

E. Sterling, }  
H. Alcock, } Cler. Dom. Com.

Copy



Copy of the answer of the lord lieutenant to the address of the house of commons, presented to his excellency pursuant to the foregoing resolution.

“ I shall take the first opportunity of laying before his majesty the sense of the house of commons contained in this address. I enter fully into the truly liberal motives, which have influenced your conduct in this unanimous resolution. That you are solicitous not only to support his majesty’s government, but to support it with becoming grandeur and magnificence, reflects the highest honour on yourselves; that you have chosen the time of my administration, that you have distinguished my person as the object of your favour, reflects the highest credit on me; and I must ever consider this event as one of the most fortunate and honourable circumstances of my life. Whatever merit you ascribe to me in the government of this kingdom, in reality arises from your own conduct, though your partiality would transfer it to mine. Your unanimity has first created this merit, and your liberality would now reward it.

I am sensible of the obligation you confer: And I can in no way properly demonstrate my sense of it, but by being, as I am, unalterably determined to implore his majesty, that I may be permitted to enjoy it pure and unmixed with the lucrative advantages you propose should attend it. This affectionate address is intended as an honour to me; that intention has on your part been fully answered; to make it truly honourable, something is still necessary on mine. It becomes me to vie with the generosity of parliament, and to keep up an emulation of sentiment. It has been my duty,

in the course of this session, to propose large plans of public expence, and to promise an attention to public œconomy; and I could not without pain submit, that the establishment, already burthened at my recommendation, should be still farther charged for my own particular profit.

But while I consider myself at liberty to sacrifice my private interests to my private feelings, I must consider myself as bound likewise to consult, in compliance with your enlarged and liberal sentiments, the future support of the station in which I am placed, to the dignity of which, the emoluments are, as you represent them, inadequate. I shall transmit, therefore, the sense of the house of commons, that the augmentation which your generosity has proposed, may, if his majesty shall think fit, be made to the establishment of my successor, when he shall enter on the government of this kingdom, and when, it is probable, the circumstances of this country may be better able to support such additional burthen. But while I must decline accepting any part of the profits, I rejoice to charge myself with the whole of the obligation: abundantly happy, if when I shall hereafter be removed from this high, and, through your favour, desirable situation, I should leave it, through your liberality, augmented in its emoluments, and by my inability not diminished in its reputation.”

At six in the morning an earthquake was very sensibly felt at Wexford in Ireland. It was preceded by a loud rumbling noise, and was sudden, and of short duration.

At the anniversary sermon, 18th. at St. George’s, Hanover-square,



square, and at the subsequent feast at Draper's hall, near 700l. was collected for the Magdalen charity.

On opening the apartments in Newgate, John Berry, a prisoner in that gaol, was found dead in his cloaths, lying by a parcel of muskels, the eating of which, it is supposed, had occasioned his death: (see our article of Natural History, for this year.) He was one of the five wretches concerned in inducing others to commit robberies, for the sake of getting the rewards for apprehending and convicting robbers, and even in accusing innocent men of pretended robberies for the same purpose. The obligation on the judges in England to adhere strictly to the letter of the law, when favourable to criminals, never appeared more conspicuous than in the case of these miscreants; for though the above crimes were fully proved against them, they escaped death by the judgment of the twelve judges, before whom the affair was solemnly argued. One of them however was soon after killed in the pillory, to which, as for perjury, they were condemned.

Extract of a letter from Bratton, in the county of Wilts, March 3.

"Yesterday a very uncommon phenomenon appeared here, about half an hour after eight at night; on each side of the moon was a bright spot, rather larger than the moon, in the same parallel of altitude, one of which was near a star of the second magnitude in the shoulder of Orion, the other near a star of the like magnitude in the arm of Perseus: from each of which spots issued a bright semicircular, or semielliptical arch over the moon, the highest part of the arch near Capella, a star of the first magni-

tude; and from each of the said spots a light circle, parallel to the horizon, quite round, passing near the star in the end of the tail of Ursa Major. This bright horizontal circle was in breadth nearly the diameter of the moon; a faint appearance of it passed between the bright spots (the moon being in the circumference of the circle,) and the horizontal altitude of the circle every where about 37 degrees. The moon's distance from each of the bright spots about 30 degrees, on the arch of a great circle. The circle was almost vanished by nine o'clock; but what time it first appeared I don't know, as I did not see it before half after eight."

His majesty went to the house of peers, and gave <sup>24th</sup>, the royal assent to the following bills, viz. The bill to punish mutiny and desertion, and for the better payment of the army and their quarters.—The bill for the better regulation of his majesty's marine forces on shore.—The bill for appointing commissioners to execute an act, intituled, An act for granting an aid to his majesty by a land-tax, for the service of the present year.—The bill to prevent vexatious proceedings against innholders, victuallers, and others, for raising the price of malt liquors in proportion to the taxes on these necessities, and to prevent frauds committed by re-landing of beer and ale designed for exportation.—The bill to enable his grace the duke of Bridgewater, to extend a navigable canal from Longford Bridge, in the county palatine of Lancaster, into the river Mersey in Cheshire. And to several road and private bills.—By the above bill for exempting victuallers and brewers from



from all the penalties to which they were hitherto liable for raising the price of beer, a penalty of 50*l.* is to take place immediately, on every person mixing strong beer with small beer, or water, for sale.

Certificates were received at the Admiralty-office, signed by governor Lyttleton, and the officers of the Merlin sloop, of the improvements made by Harrison's new machines towards ascertaining the longitude at sea, young Mr. Harrison having just compleated a voyage to Jamaica for making a fresh trial of these machines.

His majesty has graciously given a ship of 44 guns, to the proprietors of the late Antigallican privateer, for the use of them, their officers and seamen.

A proposal for raising five regiments of papists in Ireland, having lately been offered by the lords Kenmure, Kingsland, Sir Patrick Bellew, and some others of that religion, in order to be taken into the pay of the king of Portugal for ten years; the parliament of Ireland thought proper to take cognizance thereof, and the scheme was soon dropt.

The two gold medals, given annually by his grace the duke of Newcastle, chancellor of the university of Cambridge, for the encouragement of classical learning, have been adjudged to Mr. Pemberton and Mr. Whitfield, of Pembroke-hall.

New York, Jan. 18. By captain Snellen, who arrived here on Friday last from Bermudas, in 24 days, we learn that between 6 and 700 negro men and women were on the list as conspirators in a late plot; and that the island in general was so fatigued, in taking up and apprehending the suspected, and keep-

ing guard, as to make but slow progress in trying them; but all that were brought to trial have been condemned.

Tho. Smith, alias Harding, Laur. Tearman, Tho. Baldwin, and Rob. Maine, were capitally convicted, and received sentence of death, at a sessions of admiralty, at the Old Bailey, for piracy, on board the King George privateer, of Bristol, in assaulting and confining the captain and officers, and running away with the ship.

Kingston, Jamaica, Dec. 19. Last Saturday arrived here the sloop Sally, Paul Androuin, master, from the Spanish main, by whom we learn, that on the 9th ult. there happened at Carthagena a terrible storm from the southward, which was followed by an earthquake, that has destroyed a great part of the walls of the town; many of the houses, and numbers of the inhabitants were drowned by the floods which came down suddenly from the mountains with such rapidity as was never seen there before; and that the floods brought down such a prodigious quantity of mud, &c. that the entrance of Bocha-Chica was entirely choked up, and that the Spaniards were employed in opening of Bocha-Grande; that two Spanish men of war were drove on shore, and that the castles of Santa-Martha were entirely destroyed.

A French officer, (lately prisoner on his parole at Weymouth) writes to his acquaintance in Belfast, dated Jan. 29, 1762. "On the 10th of January I sailed from Havre de Grace on board his majesty's frigate the Zenobie, of 22 guns and 210 men; commanded by M. de Sage. We were attacked, on the 12th, by a most violent storm, and finding all our resistance to be in vain, and  
our



our sufferings at sea to be insupportable, as the last effort for our lives, we were obliged to run our ship on shore on the Peninsula of Portland; where, with great difficulty, 71 of us were saved, and these in a melancholy plight, being almost all wounded and naked; and to complete our misery, the barbarous islanders seeing our helpless state, flocked down upon us, and of the little coverings the merciless sea had left us, poor wretches! they with more hardened cruelty stripped every soul: and had not the generosity and tenderness of the *sieur de Traver* (commander in Portland) interposed, we should all have undoubtedly perished. When we had recovered strength enough to walk about, we were removed to this town; and then wrote to the lords of the admiralty, petitioning their lordships that, in commiseration of our distresses, they would not add captivity to our misfortune. Their lordships honoured us with an answer, that we were not at all regarded as prisoners: and farther, that our letter had been presented to the king, and that his majesty, in compassion for our deplorable circumstances, has ordered that we should be all immediately clothed at his expence; and whatever we called for he would pay."

This humanity and generosity has been attended with the following good effect. On the night of the dreadful storm of snow and hail, or rather hurricane, the 21<sup>st</sup> ult. an English trading vessel was drove on shore at Havre de Grace, and broke to pieces, but the crew saved; the commandant of the town being informed of the affair, ordered them to be quartered at a

coffee-house, allowed the common men thirty sous per day while they remained there; and the latter end of last week they arrived safe in England.

Premiums that have been proposed by the Imperial Academy of Sciences at Petersburg.

For the premium proposed for 1760, it was required,

To reduce from experiments the refraction of the rays of light in different bodies, solids as well as fluids; and from thence to prove what degree of such refraction is owing to the different specific gravity of bodies, and what to the various cohesion of their particles, or their constituent principles; and to explain the whole by a theory conformable to the several experiments.

For the premium proposed for 1761, it was required,

To determine the theory of the perturbations, which comets suffer in their motions, from the attractions of the planets, and to demonstrate the agreement of such theory with the observations of the comet of 1759.

For the premium proposed for 1762, it was required,

To shew how far the imperfections of telescopes and microscopes, arising from the different refrangibility of the rays of light, and the spherical figure of the glasses, can be corrected or diminished by a combination of several lenses, and to accommodate the theory to practice, and confirm it by experiments.

As to the first premium, the academy assigned their reasons in 1761, why it could not be bestowed on that single and only dissertation  
which



which was sent; and as the like reason stands against that for 1761, the academy declares that any one is still free to send in dissertations on those subjects, for obtaining the respective premiums; and repeats the question proposed for 1762, adding for the next year, 1763, the following one:

As it is well known to those who are well acquainted with the art of fluxing ores, that many metalline ones require different kinds of additions (*Zuschläge*,) before they are committed to calcination and fusion; partly to dispose them to an easier separation from the heterogeneous parts, and partly to prepare metalline parts to sink down; a method is required whereby any metalline parts may be separated from the ore, which will be more expeditious and cheaper than those in use, and not stand in need of so many additions; and that the few retained shall agree with all sorts of metals. The academy expects such a solution of the problem as shall be well supported both by reason and experiment.

The learned and skilful of all nations are invited to impart their sentiments and observations concerning the foregoing subjects to the academy, so as that they may be presented at Petersburg any time before the first of next June. The premium for the best solution of each problem will be 100 *ducats* of gold.

Mr. Dorset, a tallow chandler near Spital-fields, who died lately, has left to nine dissenting congregations 1000*l.* each.

Robert Laurence of Gisborough in Yorkshire, aged 90, was lately married to his fourth wife, Jane Ederfon, aged 100.

The wife of the duke of Richmond's porter was lately delivered of three daughters.

Died lately, Mrs. Smith, at Hipley, Derbyshire, aged 111.

## A P R I L.

Admiralty-office. His majesty's ship the *Burford*, commanded by capt. Gambier, is arrived at Plymouth, with the *St. Priest*, a French East India ship of 700 tons burthen, and 230 men and passengers, from the isle of Bourbon, bound to L'Orient; which was taken the 11th of last month, by his majesty's ship the *Valiant*, one of the ships which sailed from Spithead with Sir George Pococke. Her cargo chiefly consists of coffee and pepper.

At the anniversary sermon and feast of the small-pox hospitals, 681*l.* 13*s.* was collected for that charity.

The utility of this establishment will appear by considering, that if only one in seven die of the small-pox in the natural way, and one in three hundred and twelve by inoculation, as experience shews, then as One million divided by

7 gives	—	142857 $\frac{1}{7}$
One million divided by		
312 gives	—	3205 $\frac{40}{312}$

The lives saved by inoculation upon one million must be — 139652 $\frac{32}{184}$   
A most surprising difference!

This is further evinced by the following anecdote: The hon. John Petre, brother to the lord Petre, who died lately, aged 24, is said to be the eighteenth person of that family that has died of the small-pox in 27 years.

8th. His



8th. His majesty went to the house of peers, and gave the royal assent to the following bills:

The bill to explain, amend, and reduce into one act, the several laws relating to the training and governing of the militia.

The bill for the better encouragement of seamen, and for the more speedy and effectual manning of his majesty's navy.

The bill for relief of vassals of estates in Scotland, which are, or may be annexed to the crown on account of attainder.

The bill to render more effectual an act for allowing a public reward for discovering the longitude at sea, so far as it relates to trying and proving experiments relating to the said discovery.

The bill for the better supplying the cities of London and Westminster with fish, to reduce the exorbitant price of the same, and for the better encouragement of fishermen.

The bill for the better preservation of the game in that part of Great Britain called England.

The bill for naturalizing foreign protestants that have served, or may serve a limited time as officers, engineers, or soldiers in America.

And also to several bills to inclose lands, repair roads, improve and preserve the navigation of rivers, and private bills.

By the above militia act, persons liable to serve in the said militia may be chosen by ballot, as before; or otherwise the parish officers, with the consent of the inhabitants may provide volunteers, to be approved of by two deputy-lieutenants and one justice of the peace; and whatsoever expence they are at for providing such volunteers, they are im-

powered to reimburse themselves by a rate on the parish, to be made in proportion to that for the relief of their poor, and the overplus, if any, to go in aid of the poors rate. By the said act, parish officers are to pay every person chosen by lot, and sworn in, or substitute, such sum of money, not exceeding five pounds, as any two deputy-lieutenants and a justice of the peace shall adjudge to be one half of the current price then paid for a volunteer in the country where such person shall be chosen; which sum shall be raised and reimbursed by the said parish officers by a rate to be made according to the poors rate, as aforementioned.

It is also enacted, that no person under the age of 18, or above 45, articulated clerk, apprentice, or poor man with three children born in wedlock, shall be compelled to serve.

Also that every person who shall contract, or agree with any other (liable to serve) to insure him from serving in the militia, by providing a substitute, or paying the penalty of ten pounds, shall, for so doing, pay the penalty of one hundred pounds, one half to the prosecutor, the other to the poor of the parish.

The said act takes place from the passing thereof, and is to continue in force for the space of seven years, and from thence to the end of the then next session of parliament, and no longer.

And nothing in said act is to extend to prevent persons of the same parish, town, or place, from entering into subscriptions amongst themselves, for paying jointly, for any substitute or substitutes, who may be provided for one or more of the sub-



subscribers, who may happen to be chosen by lot.

By this wise and wholesome alteration in the militia laws, which obliges, and very justly, every man to pay his quota, all parishes have it in their power to keep their good and useful hands at home, and by a small and equitable tax, to be raised only twice in seven years, to send the idle and dissolute to serve their king and country for three years in the militia.

By the act for providing a reward for discovering the longitude at sea, the commissioners appointed are empowered to hear and receive proposals for discovering the longitude at sea; and being so far satisfied of the probability of any such proposal, as to think proper to make experiment thereof, they shall certify the same, with the authors names, to the commissioners of the navy, who shall make out bills thereupon for any sum not exceeding 2000*l.* as shall be thought necessary, to be paid by the treasurer of the navy out of any money in his hands unapplied. — This makes 6000*l.* granted for this laudable purpose.

By the act for the better preservation of the game, after the 1st of June, 1762, no person, under any pretence whatsoever, shall take, kill, buy, or sell, or have in his custody, any partridge, between the 12th of February and the 1st of September; or any pheasant, between the 1st of February and the 1st of October; or any heath-fowl, commonly called black game, between the 1st of January and the 20th of August; or any grouse, commonly called red game, between the 1st of December and the 25th of July in any year.

This act shall not extend to phea-

sants taken in the proper season, and kept in mews or breeding places.

Nor shall it extend to Scotland.

Persons offending in any of the cases aforesaid shall forfeit 5*l.* per bird to the prosecutor, to be recovered, with full costs, in any of the courts at Westminster.

And as by the former acts a moiety of the pecuniary penalties inflicted upon persons who destroy the game is directed to be applied for the use of the poor of the parish where the offence is committed, which disqualified the inhabitants from giving evidence; from the passing of this act, the whole of such pecuniary penalties may be sued for and recovered to the sole use of the prosecutor with double costs; and no part thereof shall go to the use of the poor of the parish.

Prosecutions shall commence within six months after the fact is committed.

A little before eight in the evening, a terrible subterra-<sup>9th.</sup>neous noise was heard at the forges of Barnau, near the gold and silver mines of Koliwanowofresenkoy; which was soon after followed by a shock of an earthquake, that lasted for three or four minutes. All the houses were shaken by it, the beds strongly agitated, and the moveables thrown about. On the 12th, about noon, happened a second, somewhat less violent, but of the same duration as the former. The weather, during this last, was cold, and remarkably serene; during the other, calm and very cloudy.

Captain Crabb, of Abchurch-lane, getting out of<sup>14th.</sup> bed in his sleep, opened the sash, and threw himself out of the window.



dow. He was greatly hurt, but is in a fair way of recovery.

22d. At the anniversary sermon and feast of the London Hospital, 1103-l. 16 s. 7 d. was collected for that charity.

Two persons lately tried at the Surry assizes for defrauding their creditors, in taking the benefit of the famous compulsive clause in the last act of insolvency, had the good fortune to escape, by an unaccountable mistake in penning the said act, the word *judgment* being inserted instead of the word *indictment*.

Cambridge, April 9. The subject for Mr. Seaton's prize poem this year is *Repentance*.

The subjects for the two prizes of fifteen guineas each, given by the hon. Mr. Finch, and the hon. Mr. Townshend, for the best exercises in Latin prose, are this year: For the senior bachelors; *Num credibile videatur populum Romanum magis sub Pompeio quam sub Cæsare victore fore liberum?* [Is it probable, that had Pompey prevailed, the people of Rome would have been more free than they were under Cæsar?] For the middle bachelors; *Utrum virtus magis emineat in rebus secundis an in adversis?* [Is virtue most conspicuous in prosperity, or in adversity?]

23d. Ended the sessions at the Old Bailey, at which one, for a highway robbery, one for sacrilege, and one for a private robbery, received sentence of death; (the two first have been since transported :) 18 to be transported for seven years, one to be pilloried, two branded, and four to be privately whipped.

At the assizes at Kingston, four criminals were capitally convicted; at Warwick, two; at Stafford, one; at Rochester, seven; at Shrewsbury,

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five; at Chelmsford, seven. Most of them were reprieved, and, in general, received the king's free pardon, on condition of serving as soldiers in America.

Report of the state of the city hospitals for the preceding year:

St. Bartholomew's.

Cured and discharged from	}	5863
this hospital		
Trusses given by a private hand to	10	
Trusses given by the hospital to	24	
Buried this year	35	1
Remaining under cure	52	1

In all 6769

St. Thomas's Hospital.

Cured and discharged from	}	7428
this hospital		
Buried this year	408	
Remaining under cure	474	
Out-patients	201	

Total 8511

Christ's Hospital.

Children put forth apprentices, and discharged out of this hospital last year, 10 whereof were instructed in the mathematics	179
Buried the last year	13
Remaining in this hospital	942

Bridewell Hospital.

Vagrants, &c. relieved and discharged	}	579
Maintained in several trades, &c.		
	70	

Bethlem Hospital.

Admitted into this hospital	199
Cured	151
Buried	56
Remaining under cure	252

Mess. Mason and Dixon, sent out by the Royal Society to observe the late transit of Venus over the sun, are returned from the Cape of Good Hope, and have brought with them a most circumstantial, excellent, and satisfactory observation,

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for



for which they have received the thanks of that learned body.

His majesty's pardon is granted to Mr. Macdonald, of Barrisdale, condemned for the late rebellion, and ever since a prisoner in Edinburgh castle.

The king of Naples has presented to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, a third volume of an account of the antiquities discovered at Herculaneum.

A party of Gage's rangers, who set out from Montreal, last summer, to reconnoitre the country and the great lakes of Canada, and to take possession of the remotest parts comprised within the limits of that province, according to the capitulation, returned to Philadelphia, at the beginning of February, after travelling by land and water 1800 miles.

At the anniversary meeting of the Middlesex Hospital, 400 l. was collected towards the support of that charity. To shew the usefulness of this and other charities of the same kind, especially in great towns, we insert the following list of persons sent to it for relief in a very few days :

Saturday night a chairman falling down with his chair in Carnaby-maket, sprained his leg in a violent manner. Sunday John Cartwright, a labouring man, was terribly bruised and cut in the head. Tuesday Robert Mitchel, a farmer's servant at Kentish Town, was kicked by a horse, and miserably bruised; and the same day a servant falling from behind a post-chaise, hung on the spikes, whereby his legs were terribly torn. Wednesday a coachman fell off the box, and was greatly bruised; and the same day John Kelly, a labouring man, being shot at with powder by a sol-

dier, had his face terribly burnt. Thursday Samuel Jackson, a carman, driving his cart loaded with coals, fell down, and the wheel going over his foot, crushed it in a miserable manner; and the same day Philip Clarke, a poor man, who some time ago had his thigh broke, and was just come out of the Middlesex Hospital cured, fell down in Leicester-fields, and broke it again. They were all carried to the Middlesex Hospital. and admitted.

*Resolved*, by the house of Commons in Ireland, That the suggestions confidently propagated, that the heads of a bill, "for limiting the duration of parliaments, and ascertaining the qualifications of members to serve in parliament," if they had returned from England, would have been rejected by this house, though in nowise materially altered, are without foundation.

Numbers of people have been lately affected by colds, which attacked them with violent pains in the stomach, head, and bones; it is the opinion of the faculty, that it is in the air, the distemper being so common.

This distemper is said to have reached Ireland, there being scarce a family in Dublin without it.

The following eminent personages kissed the king's hand at St. James's on being created English peers :

Sir William Courtenay, Bart.  
George Fox Lane, Esq;  
George Venables Vernon, Esq;  
Earl of Egmont in Ireland.  
Lord Milton of Ireland.

Duke of Newcastle, a barony, with the remainder to Thomas Pelham, Esq.

Peer-



Peereffes. Duchefs dowager of Manchester; wife to Sir Edward Montague, a baronefs, with the remainder to her heirs male.

Lady Caroline Fox, a baronefs; with the remainder to her heirs male.

A gentleman at Grinstead Green, in Kent, having loft a pointer, in nine weeks after it was discovered at the bottom of a chalk-pit, upwards of 60 feet in depth, and was taken up alive, but almost entirely emaciated; the animal had nothing but chalk to fubfift on, yet by proper care was preferved.

A poor labouring family, near Biddeston in Norfolk, have been lately afflicted by a terrible disorder; the limbs of feveral of them having rotted off, though without any injury to their health, or the other parts of the body. But as the case is fo extraordinary, we thought proper to give it a place in our article of Natural History.

Within these four months, about fourteen male whales have been driven out of their element on the English and neighbouring coasts, most of which yielded great quantities of blubber and spermaceti, and would have yielded much greater, had they fallen into skilful hands.

One of these whales was discovered in the month of February, floating on the water, by some fishermen going through the Hope. They at first took it for the mast of a ship; but as they drew nearer, discovered it to be a large fish; and upon seeing it cast up a great quantity of water from its mouth, suspected it was a whale; they then chased him below the Hope Point, and went off to him in their boats; he seemed a motionless lump, his head and tail being

concealed in the water: they pierced the prominent part, and after having digged a hole a foot deep, a great torrent of blood issued forth; upon which they withdrew at a distance, and soon after the boat had passed (as the water was deep enough over his tail) he struck the ground with such force, as to cast up stones and mire a great height in the air: if he had struck while the boat was over his tail, doubtless he would have split it to pieces. They waited about three quarters of an hour, and then he expired with the most horrible groans; after which they fastened a rope to his body, and on the turn of the tide towed him up the river to Greenland-dock, where innumerable crowds flocked to see so great a curiosity, even after the stench issuing from so great a mass of putrefaction had infected the air to a considerable distance. They took out of his head eight puncheons of spermaceti, which lay between the eye and the blow-hole, in different cells of the brain, and which, along with the blubber, fold for 122 l.

The dimensions of this enormous animal were as follows; extreme length, 54 feet; breadth, 14 ditto; lower jaw, 10 ditto; length of the penis, 8 ditto; length of the tail, 15 ditto.—The first knowledge of the drug called spermaceti (according to Watson in his Animal World Displayed) was owing to accident. One of these whales had been hurt, and died; as the carcase fell to pieces, the oil of the head floated upon the water, and the weather bleached it, and it hardened into that flaky matter. It was found that the oil of this whale's head would make the drug, and soon after they found the way of doing it



by art, they made other oil serve; and at present it is made from that of any kind of whale.

Died lately. Mary Mitton, of Birmingham, whose coffin was six feet seven inches long, three feet deep, and three feet six inches over the breast.

Mr. Joseph Rogers of the isle of Man, aged 103.

Eliz. Pearcy, of Elell, in Lancashire, aged 104, and Eliz. Story, of the parish of Garstang, aged 103.

Mary Burch, at Pershore, aged 105.

Mr. Robertson, in Petty France, aged 107.

Tho. Nixon, at Newlands, in Cumberland, aged 108.

#### M A Y.

1st. The riots and disturbances lately raised in the southern parts of Ireland, by a set of people called Levellers, are entirely put a stop to by the vigilance and activity of the earl of Halifax. It appears, that the authors of these disturbances have consisted, indiscriminately, of persons of different persuasions; and that no marks of disaffection to his majesty's person or government have been discovered, upon this occasion, in any class of people. *London Gazette.*

The above rioters were called Levellers, from their levelling such hedges, &c. as they thought incroached upon commons, the chief support of the poor in the country of Ireland; where there is not tillage or manufacture enough, as in England, to employ them; and the land, besides, comes to them thro' three or four hands perhaps, who all have a profit out of it. They were likewise called White Boys,

from their wearing shirts over their other cloaths, the better to distinguish each other by night, the time when they generally assembled.

In suppressing these rioters, the civil and military powers were so combined, thro' the great wisdom and goodness of the government, that due respect was secured to the former, and all unnecessary rigours prevented on the part of the latter.

Not above eight or nine, and these chiefly ringleaders, suffered death on this occasion, which, tho' more than could be wished, was but a small number, considering how many were engaged in those riotous proceedings.

The collection at the rehearsal, and at the annual 6th. feast of the sons of the clergy, amounted to 801 l. 15 s. 9 d. and Sampson Gideon, Esq; gave one hundred pounds.

By a table of benefactions set up in the parish church of Bedford, it appears that Sir William Harper by deed, April 22, 5 Elizabeth, gave to the mayor, bailiffs, and their successors, a messuage called the Free School, in that town; also thirteen acres and a rood of meadow, &c. in the late Red-Lion-Fields, London, (now built upon, and containing Bedford-street, Bedford-row, &c. Princes-street, Theobald's-road, North-street, East-street, Lamb's-conduit-street, Green-street, and part of Eagle-street, with several courts thereto belonging, all in the parish of St. Andrew's, Holborn) for the maintenance of a master and usher of the said school, for the marriage of poor maids, and the remainder to be distributed to the poor of said town on St. Thomas's day, at the discretion of the body corporate.

From



From all which the corporation did not receive as a ground-rent above 150l. per ann. But as the leases expired in 1760, and new ones are granted, and are now granting, it is imagined this estate will bring in a monstrous sum annually, some say 8000l. per annum, and answer every intention of the donor, and be the making of the ancient corporation of Bedford, if rightly and properly applied.

By some experiments lately made at Toulon, it appears that ships sail much faster by night than day, owing probably to the extraordinary humidity, and consequently weight of the night air, and the extraordinary compactness which the sails derive therefrom.

A monument erected to the memory of James Thomson, author of the Seasons, &c. was this day opened in Westminster Abbey. It is situated between Shakespeare's and Rowe's. There is a figure of Mr. Thomson sitting, who leans his left arm upon a pedestal, and holds a book with the cap of liberty in his other hand. Upon the pedestal is carved a bas relief of the Seasons, to which a boy points, offering him a laurel crown, as the reward of his genius. At the feet of this figure is a tragic mask and ancient harp. The whole is supported by a projecting pedestal; and in a pannel is the following inscription:

JAMES THOMSON.

Ætatis 48. Obiit 27 Aug. 1648.  
Tutor'd by thee, sweet poetry exalts  
Her voice to ages; and informs the  
page  
With music, image, sentiment, and  
thoughts,  
Never to die!

This monument was erected in 1762.

The collection for the general hospital at Bath, a-<sup>16th.</sup>  
mounted to 165l. 14s. 10d.

A fish, resembling a whale, about 11 feet long, and thick in proportion, with 88 ivory teeth, and three fins, two near the head, and one in the middle of the back, came ashore lately, about a league from Schevening in Holland. It weighed about 600 weight. It had the colour and nearly the taste of salmon. When taken, it was followed by one of its young ones. On pressing its sides, there issued a kind of milk in great plenty. It was brought on shore alive; but died in a few hours.

There being reason to fear two poor persons, who within these few days died suddenly at Islington, perished by deadly nightshade, the following caution, by doctor Hill, has been inserted in the public papers.

This plant is now a quarter of a yard high, and has an aspect so inviting, that one almost wonders nature gave to it a poison. It has invited many to boil it; and death was always in the pot. Ray mentions its growing in a ditch at the end of Goswell-street, in the road to Islington. It has been thought lost in that place; but I fear these unhappy persons have found it.

Came on at Guildhall, a<sup>19th.</sup>  
trial wherein a captain of a  
trading ship was plaintiff, and a lieutenant of a man of war defendant: the action was laid for 500l. by the plaintiff, for impressing him out of his own ship, knowing him to be the captain, and confining him 48 hours on board a tender. The trial lasted near an hour, when the jury gave a verdict for the plaintiff, with 200l. damages and costs.

[G] 3

At



21<sup>st</sup>. At a meeting of the society of polite arts, the premium of 50 guineas was given to Mr. Joseph Nollekens, pupil of Mr. Scheemaker, for a marble bas-relief, the subject Timoclea conducted before Alexander.

At the same time a discovery was providentially made, that the great beam which supports the society's roof was broken in two, and the walls of the room and the cupola considerably damaged, occasioned, as supposed, by the foundation giving way. If the room had been full, the company would probably have been buried in the ruins.

And at a prior meeting were produced some specimens of a new invention for the ladies, viz. painted gawse. It is done with such exactness, as to imitate all the various stitches of which Dresden work is composed; and, at the same time, with such ingenuity, as far to surpass, to the eye, the finest performance with the needle. The specimens consisted of a cap, made up of a red silk caul, one piece framed and glazed, and a piece for a long apron. The ingenious inventress values the apron at two guineas, which was declared, by some judges there, to be worth, if of right Dresden, fifty pounds.

The linen manufacture in Ireland, by the wise management of the trustees, has this year been increased upwards of 80,000*l*. and it is thought it is capable of being increased still farther, even to the extent of three millions yearly.

27<sup>th</sup>. Was held a chapter of the garter, when his majesty invested his royal highness prince William with his late majesty's blue ribband, and the earl of Bute with the ribband of the late duke of Portland.

At a general court at Christ's Hospital, the treasurer reported his receipt of a legacy of 300*l*. and of another contingent one of 500 pagodas, both given out of a fortune of 1200*l*. only, by John Palmer, in grateful return for his education in that house, whence he was sent to the East-Indies in 1745.

The following melancholy accident lately happened at a limekiln in Dublin. The kiln not having fire in it for some time, produced a suffocating damp; and a man going to give it vent, was immediately struck dead: another man seeing him fall, and not knowing the consequence, went down to his assistance, and unfortunately shared the same fate; and three others, who happened to be by, endeavouring to save them, were all suffocated. A poor woman, wife to the last man that went down, overreaching herself to the assistance of her husband, was so much overcome, that, had she not been immediately brought into the air, and got proper remedies, she would likewise have perished.

A butcher, at Wandsworth, lately walked 44 miles in 7 hours 57 minutes, for a wager.

Prince Ernest, third brother of the queen, and the 28<sup>th</sup>, count of Lippe-Buckebourg, arrived from Germany.

The right hon. George Grenville, Esq; was appointed one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state.

The sessions ended at the Old Bailey, which proved a maiden one; nine received sentence of transportation, three to be whipped, and one branded. At this sessions a gentlewoman was tried for the supposed murder of her husband, and after a trial



trial of nine hours, honourably acquitted. The principal evidence against her was committed for perjury, and since convicted, but received his majesty's pardon.

They have lately printed at the university of Moscow, Cornelius Nepos, in the original; which is, perhaps, the first classical book that ever came from a Russian press.

His Majesty has granted to the widow and daughter of the late ingenious Thomas Simpson, F. R. S. a handsome pension for their joint and separate lives.

Boston, Feb. 15. Last week a survey of the number of dwellings in this city was taken by proper persons, when, on closing the lists, there appeared to be 2757.

They write from Naples, that Mr. Strange meets with all the honours and encouragements there, which his best friends could wish, and such as he has already received in other parts of Italy. On his arrival at Naples, he applied, by the British envoy, for leave to make a drawing from a celebrated picture by Skedoni: but this method of application not proving successful, Mr Strange's works were shewed to the king's governor (prince St. Allicandre), and then liberty was immediately granted him, not only to make a drawing from that picture, but from as many others of the famous Parma collection as he should chuse; and an apartment in the palace was ordered to be fitted up for him directly, with every accommodation.

26th. The king was pleased to appoint the right hon. John earl of Bute first lord of the treasury.

The Justiciary Court, or Court of Assize, was opened at Aberdeen, when not one prisoner appeared to

be tried. Upon enquiry, it was found, that the gaols within the three shires of Aberdeen, Bamf, and Kincardine, were empty, having no one in them either for crime or debt.

A comet was discovered from the marine observatory in France. It appeared in the constellation of Camelopardalus, about 15 degrees from the pole.

A water-quake was felt at Bergen in Norway, the sea ebbing and flowing preternaturally with great violence. On the 12th of December an earthquake was felt at Oby in Siberia, a phænomenon that was never known to happen there before.

Extract of a letter from Rome.

“ The late pope Benedict XIV. and cardinal Passionei first set on foot the very useful project of printing an exact and methodical catalogue of all the manuscripts in the Vatican library; the execution of which has been committed to the care of the learned messieurs Assemani. The whole work will be distributed into three parts, each of which will take up several volumes. In the first will appear the Hebrew, Samaritan, Chaldean or Syriac, Arabic, Coptic, Abyssinian, Persian, Turkish, Armenian, and other oriental languages. The second is to be appropriated to the Greek manuscripts. The third will contain the Latin, Italian, French, and other occidental languages. Three volumes of this grand work have already been published: They contain an historical and critical survey of the Hebrew, Samaritan, and Chaldean manuscripts. Before the first volume there is a general preface; setting forth the occasion of the work, and the method fixed upon for carrying it on; the origin, progress, and increase of the Vatican



can library; and, finally, a chronological list of the librarians, with the present form of its administration.

The printer gives notice, that the following volumes will forthwith be printed, with the same care, and in the like form as those published, viz. in folio, on the large paper, called *alla reale*. The price of each volume will continue the same to subscribers, namely, four Roman crowns; and the bookseller, Funsto Amideo, will deliver them upon producing the receipts. Non-subscribers must pay five crowns a volume. And,

At Madrid, is lately published, by the authority and at the expence of his Catholic majesty, in grand folio, the first volume of all the Arabic manuscripts (many of whose authors were inhabitants of Spain) in the library of the Escorial; with some account of each, by Michael Casiri, a Syro-Maronite priest, doctor in theology, and the king's librarian, and interpreter of the oriental languages. The whole collection is said to amount to two thousand.

30th. His royal highness the duke of York hoisted his flag on board the Princess Amelia, at Spithead, and the next day returned to London.

Mrs. Cole, wife of a carpenter in Spital-fields, was lately delivered of three boys.

Died lately, The only son of the late Andrew Highstreet, of Westminster, Esq; by whose decease, 6 or 700l. per annum, comes to the Westminster-infirmity, and St. Luke's hospital.

Mrs. Barrow, of Liverpool, of a dropsy, for which she had been tapped 41 times, and had 200 gallons of water taken from her in three years.

— Mrs. Knights, of Norwich, aged 100.

A man and woman, of Limoges, in France, the former aged 111, and the latter 103.

Agnes Christie, of Aberdeenshire, aged 104.

A peasant, in the diocese of Evreux, in France, aged 104.

A man at Madrid, aged above 106.

## J U N E.

His majesty went to the house of peers, and, after giving the royal assent to the following bills, made a most gracious speech from the throne; and both houses were then prorogued to the 16th of July.

The bill to settle and secure a certain annuity, for the use of Arthur Onslow, Esq; late speaker of the house of commons.

— to defray the charge of the militia when unembodied, and cloathing the militia now unembodied.

— to naturalize such foreign protestants as have served, or may hereafter serve, as officers or engineers in America.

— to prevent thefts and robberies on the river Thames, by persons in boats, commonly called bumb-boats.

— to widen the north-east avenue leading to London-bridge.

— to make perpetual an act for the better regulation and government of seamen in the merchants service.

— for granting to his majesty a certain sum of money out of the sinking fund.

— for the better payment of the judges salaries.

— for paving, cleansing, and lighting the streets and lanes of Westminster.

The



The bill for vesting certain messuages, &c. on the sea-coast, in the county of Kent, Suffex, and Southampton.

— for enlarging the harbour of Liverpool.

— for the enrolment of deeds and wills made by papists, and for the relief of protestant purchasers.

— for the more easy and speedy recovery of small debts within the town and county of Kingston upon Hull.

— for importing salt from Europe, into the colony of Nova Scotia in America.

— for repairing the harbour of Whitehaven, town and county, for regulating the carmen there, and for supplying the same with water.

And to several other public and private bills.

At the auction at Sir Harry Parker's, at Talton, in Worcestershire, the Seasons, by Titian, sold for 200l. For this painting 500l. had been some time since refused. At the same sale, some of old Hemskirk's pieces were sold for considerable sums.

4th. Being his majesty's birth day, who then entered into the 25th year of his age, the same was observed with the usual demonstrations of joy. In the morning the famous new bells at Bow Church, the finest in England, were rung for the first time. The weight of these bells is as follows :

First bell, eight hundred 3-4ths, and 7lb.

2d. Nine hundred and 2lb.

3d. Ten hundred 1-4th, and 4lb.

4th. Twelve hundred and 7lb.

5th. Thirteen hundred and 24lb.

6th. Seventeen hundred and 11lb.

7th. Twenty hundred and half, and 26lb.

8th. Twenty-four hundred and half, and 4lb.

9th. Thirty-four hundred and half, and 6lb.

10th. Fifty-three hundred, 22lb.

There has been lately found in a vault near Casan, the bust of the widow of Julius Cæsar, extremely well executed. This serves to shew that the kingdom of Casan was once under the dominion of the Romans.

Died. The right hon. the lord Anson, first lord of the Admiralty, &c. 6th.

On the 2d of May last, a whirlwind happened on Port Royal Island in South Carolina, of the same nature as the great storm which did so much damage last year at Charles Town. This phenomenon was seen in the form of a column, 400 yards diameter; it had a circular whirling motion, and proceeded with great violence from the N. W. to the S. E. It tore up trees, and carried away houses and bridges: it forced the water in Broad river out of its channel, and threw it up to a great height. [See our last vol. page 93.]

A cause was tried at Guildhall, before the right hon. lord chief Justice Mansfield, wherein Mr. Isaac Renoux was plaintiff, and Mr. Ferres, master of Jonathan's coffee-house, defendant, for an assault, by pushing the plaintiff out of his house. It being proved upon trial, that that house had been a market (time out of mind) for buying and selling government securities, the jury brought in their verdict for the plaintiff, with one shilling damage.

A meteor was seen at Sydenham, resembling a ball of fire, which took its direction towards the south, where meeting with a dark black cloud, it immediately



diately burst with a noise like thunder, and dispersed into innumerable little stars, with which the whole atmosphere was perfectly illuminated.

16th. One hundred guineas was paid Mr. Read by the society of arts for the first premium in sculpture.

A remarkable cause came on in the court of King's-bench, upon indictments against an eminent builder and a master bricklayer, employed by him, for a nuisance in leaving a heap of rubbish in the street, last October, no watch or light being set up in order to prevent accidents; the consequence of which was, that a coach with some ladies and children in it was overturned, most of whom were greatly bruised, but one of the ladies received so much hurt, that she never spoke again, and her death (as was fully proved) which happened in two or three days after, was entirely owing to this accident. The builder alledged, that he committed the care of removing this rubbish to the bricklayer, whose proper province it was to see it done; and the bricklayer laid the blame on the carter. But the builder was considered as culpable, it being his business not only to take care to employ proper people under him, but also to see that they do their duty, and he was therefore fined 100*l.* which he paid in court; and the bricklayer's sentence was twelve months imprisonment in the King's-Bench.

17th. At a court of common council, it was ordered that Lady-fair, in the borough of Southwark, shall not be held for the future, and that shews, interludes, and other unlawful pastimes, shall not be suffered at Bartholomew-fair.

19th. The king was this day pleased to constitute and appoint George Dunk, earl of Halifax, first lord of the admiralty.

His royal highness the duke of York having hoisted his <sup>23d.</sup> flag on board the Princess Amelia at Spithead, went on board, and the whole fleet under Sir Edward Hawke, of seven ships of the line and two frigates, fell down to St. Helen's.

There is now blowing at the earl of Portsmouth's, at Billingsbear near Reading, two narrow-leaved American aloes, with a number of flowers.

An appeal came on lately before the court of delegates, between the dean and chapter of Westminster, and the parishioners of St. Margaret's, concerning the painted window in the church; the bill was ordered to be dismissed, and each to pay their own cost.

At the sale, at St. Paul's coffee-house, of Mr. Gill's collection of coins, medals and curiosities, the following lots sold as under:

1 Penny of Henry I.	£. 2	2	0
1 ditto of Edward I.	1	9	0
1 Groat of Henry VIII.	1	2	0
1 Crown, half-crown, shilling, and six-pence Q. Elizabeth	3	18	0
1 Half-crown and three pence of Charles I.	2	15	0
A gold ring with an ancient Runic inscription	15	0	0

A letter upon a very singular subject has been lately printed at Lyons, and reprinted at Amsterdam; the subject is, the "Advantages and origin of the gaiety that prevails among the French." This gaiety, indeed, is a peculiarity in their national character; and, what is extremely remarkable, nothing can overcome it; nothing can deject that light and airy people. Let them



them be loaded with taxes, let their trade be ruined, their fleets sunk, their armies defeated; all this makes little alteration in their demeanour. They don't sing a song the less, or look a whit the graver on this account. Nay more, a Frenchman is immediately comforted under the loss of a town, a province, or a battle, if he be allowed to level an epigram at the head of a minister or general to whose charge these misfortunes are laid. A joke dispels the gloom of affliction, and a *bon mot* diffuses cheerfulness through a sad heart. A jack-pudding in a French ship is the best preservative against the scurvy; and it is well known, that when the famous Louvois heard of a spirit of desertion having got into a strong garrison, he always sent a Merry Andrew to retain the soldiers in their duty. The author of the letter now before us imputes the French gaiety to the following causes: 1st, To their climate. 2dly, To the nature of their government, which exempts them from all influence or share in public affairs, the transacting of which renders men naturally grave and serious. 3dly, To that vanity, which gives the French a fond and pleasing notion of their superiority over all other nations. And, 4thly, To their sociability.

A moor at Solesberry in Buckinghamshire; another great one near Pately-bridge in Yorkshire; the high moors near Sheffield; and the moor or heath on Bloreme-hill in Monmouthshire, are all on fire; that on Bloreme-hill, near six feet deep, and those near Sheffield for thirty miles together in some places; owing, it is probable, considering in how many and distant places the fire broke out, not to malice or carelessness, but to the extraordinary

disposition of the peat to kindle by inflammable exhalations, through the late excessive heat and dryness of the weather.

In Scotland, the woods of Rothimurchus, and the fine forests of Glenmere and Glenfiddick, have been in great danger from the same cause. The woods of Abernethy have suffered prodigiously, and the neighbouring inhabitants have been employed night and day in diverting the course of the flames. Several woods in North America are said to have shared the same fate, and from the same cause.

An elm-tree of an uncommon size, in the close at Salisbury, giving a most violent crash, fell down so suddenly as to alarm many hundreds who were present, it being the fair time. Twelve or fourteen persons were beat down by the boughs; a boy had eight ribs and back broke, and died in about an hour, two men had each a leg broke, and much more mischief was done.

A curious dissertation has lately appeared in Holland, to recommend sugar, instead of salt, for preserving animal as well as vegetable provisions, as it preserves the virtues and flavour in the latter, as much as salt destroys both in the former.

Liverpool, June 18. Anne the daughter of Jonathan Walsh, of Harrogate, in Yorkshire, aged 12 years, last Christmas was a twelve-month, entirely lost her appetite; she has not eat of any kind of solid victuals since that time; her support is nothing but a pint of wine and water, which serves her three days; notwithstanding so small a quantity, she enjoys a good state of health, and looks as well as ever.

A melancholy account was received from New York 26th. of the loss of a cartel-ship that



that failed from thence in November, and was soon after cast away, and out of 120 souls on board, six only were saved, among whom were the captain, and M. St. Luke; the latter lost a brother, two sons, two nephews, and several other relations and friends. There were on board 14 officers, 10 ladies, and 14 young gentlemen of fashion, and scarce a person in New York but has lost a relation or friend.

Died lately, Mr. Thomas Baker, of Bethnal-green, aged 101.

## J U L Y.

5th. Came on at Guildhall the grand cause (which has been so often argued, and so long depending) between the city and dissenters, in regard to the serving the office of sheriff, before lord chief baron Parker, Mr. justice Foster, Mr. justice Wilmot, and Mr. justice Bathurst; when, after several learned pleadings, the judges were all of opinion, that the dissenters were not liable to serve the said office, &c. But the city has since appealed from this decree to the house of Lords.

Last week Dr. Wilson's prize, at Oxford, of ten guineas, for the best essay in English, on the advantages of a safe, honourable, and lasting peace, was adjudged to Mr. Ellison, probationer fellow of Merton college.

And the classical prizes at Cambridge of 15 guineas each, given annually by the hon. Mr. Finch, and the hon. Mr. Townshend, were adjudged to Mr. Rosenhagen, of St. John's college; and to Mr. Eyre, of Peter-house, senior bachelors. And to Mr. Maddison, of Sidney, and to Mr. Zouch, of Trinity college, middle bachelors.

In the Gazette of this day 6th. is the following intelligence from the Hague.

“ The Hermione, a Spanish register ship, which left Lima the 6th of January, bound for Cadiz, was taken the 21st of May off Cape St. Vincent, by three English frigates, and carried into Gibraltar. Her cargo is said to consist of near twelve millions of money registered, and the unregistered to be likewise very considerable, besides 2000 serons of cocoa, and a great deal of other valuable merchandize.”

An account of her cargo from other papers.

5243 arobes of cocoa.

1193 quintals of tin.

2,276,715 dollars in silver and gold coined.

25 arobes of Alpaca wool.

6 quintals of Virginia wool.

Two boxes with letters, which were thrown overboard from the Hermione, have been taken up at sea, near Faro in Portugal.

A committee of the society 7th. for the encouragement of arts, made an experiment of an engine invented by a Swift, for rooting up trees. The engine answered the intentions, but broke in the operation. It is a very simple machine, and capable of great improvements.

Three Cherokee chiefs, 8th. lately arrived from South Carolina in order to settle a lasting peace with the English, had their first audience of his majesty. The head chief called Outacite or Man-killer, on account of his many gallant actions, was introduced by Ld. Eglington, and conducted by Sir Clement Cotterell, master of the ceremonies. They were upwards of an hour and a half with his majesty, who received them with great goodness,



ness, and they behaved in his presence with remarkable decency and mildness. The man who assisted as interpreter on this occasion, instead of one who set out with them, but died on his passage, was so confused that the king could ask but few questions.

These chiefs are well-made men, near six feet high, their faces and necks coarsely painted of a copper colour, and they seem to have no hair on their heads. They came over in the dress of their country, consisting of a shirt, trowsers, and mantle, their heads covered with skull caps, and adorned with shells, feathers, ear-rings, and other trifling ornaments. On their arrival in London they were conducted to a house taken for them in Suffolk-street, and habited more in the English manner. When introduced to his majesty, the head chief wore a blue mantle covered with lace, and had his head richly ornamented. On his breast hung a silver gorget with his majesty's arms engraved. The two other chiefs were in scarlet richly adorned with gold lace, and gorgets of plate on their breasts.

During their stay in England, of about two months, they were invited to the tables of several of the nobility, and were shewn by a gentleman, appointed for that purpose, the tower, the camps, and every thing else that could serve to inspire them with proper ideas of the power and grandeur of the nation; but it is hard to say what impression these sights made on them, as they had no other way of communicating their sentiments but by their gestures. They were likewise conducted every day to one or another of the places of amusement, in and

about London, where they constantly drew after them innumerable crowds of spectators, to the no small emolument of the owners of these places, some of which raised their prices to make the most of such unusual guests. Here they behaved in general with great familiarity, shaking hands very freely with all those who thought proper to accept that honour. They carried home with them articles of peace between his majesty and their nation, with a handsome present of warlike instruments, and such other things as they seemed to place the greatest value on.

A dew of honey fell in the neighbourhood of Rath- 9th. thiermuc in Ireland, which loaded the trees and long grass in such a manner, that quantities of it were saved by scoops, a method used of saving water in some parts of the West Indies. [Something of this sort, but not in any quantity, may, at this time, be observed on the leaves of oaks, but whether an exudation, or a dew, we do not pretend to determine.]

A young gentleman, near Ormond-street, shot a servant maid of the family, on her refusing to marry him, in a very dangerous manner. However, she soon recovered; and on his being tried for it, as an assault, gave such evidence, as made it appear he was out of his senses; upon which he was committed to a mad-house.

Was opened in Westminster 10th. Abbey, near the Poets Corner, a monument in memory of the late George Frederick Handel, Esq. He is represented pointing to the back of the monument, where David is playing on the



the harp. In Mr. Handel's right hand is a pen, writing part of the Messiah.

"I know that my Redeemer liveth; &c." and the following inscription,  
**GEORGE FREDERICK HANDEL, Esq;**

Born February 23. 1684.

Died April 14. 1759.

12th. At lord Peterborough's, at Parson's Green, just as the gardeners had left work to go to dinner, a whirlwind came, and took up seven of the bell-glasses into the air above twenty feet: one of them went over the garden wall into the King's road, and had like to have fell on a man's head going along; three others were blown upon the hot-house, and broke a great quantity of the lights; the house was about twenty yards distance: and what is very remarkable, there were two rows of glasses, and the seven were the first row that was blown up, and in the other row there was not one stirred.

A curious collection of above 30,000 tracts with some manuscripts, formerly collected and bound up in volumes for the use of king Charles I. but which fell into private hands, and for many years past have been in the possession of a lady, were lately purchased by order of his majesty, and presented to the trustees of the British Museum.

14th. The harbour of Rye in Suffex was opened, pursuant to an act of parliament passed the last session, by letting the sea and tides into the new cut up to Winchelsea wall, where vessels of 300 tons burthen, and upwards, can ride with the greatest safety.

A most beautiful monument, designed by Mr. Stuart, and executed by Mr. Scheemaker, to the me-

mory of the late gallant lord Howe, was opened in Westminster Abbey. On the top is a trophy of arms in white marble; and on a flat pyramid of black marble, highly polished, are his lordship's arms; coronet; and crest: in white marble; on the top of the monument; sits a beautiful figure of a woman in a melancholy position, inimitably well executed; representing the province of Massachusetts Bay, and underneath the following inscription:

"The province of Massachusetts Bay, in New England, by an order of the great and general court; bearing date Feb. 1, 1759, caused this monument to be erected to the memory of George Augustus, lord viscount Howe, brigadier-general of his majesty's forces in America, who was slain July 6, 1758, on his march to Ticonderoga, in the 34th year of his age, in testimony of the sense they had of his services and military virtues, and of the affection their officers and soldiers bore to his command.

He lived respected and beloved; the public regretted his loss; to his family it is irreparable."

Was laid before the governors of the city of London 15th. lying-in hospital for married women, in Aldersgate-street, a state of the hospital, by which it appeared, that from the institution of it to that day, there had been 3655 women delivered in the hospital, 45 of whom had twins, and one was delivered of three children: 3702 children were born; males 1896, females 1806: that there had been received from the institution to the 14th instant 12,240 l. 5 s. 8 d. and expended to the same day 9,749 l. 14 s. all the tradesmens bills being paid up to Midsummer last.

A cen-



A centinel, on duty at Chatham, was struck with lightning, the upper leather of the shoe on his left foot was shattered, and his foot wounded, a hole was made through the blade of his sword, and about two inches of the edge melted; the hilt was melted and soldered to his bayonet, as was one of the locks of his musket to the iron ramrod; his face was scorched, and he lay an hour speechless, but has since recovered.

The sessions ended at the Old Bailey, when eight persons received sentence of death; John Placket, for robbing, wounding, and leaving for dead Mr. Faye, a Danish gentleman, whom he had decoyed late at night into Islington fields, on a pretence of conducting him to his lodgings near the Tower; James Hardy and Richard Mitchell for a highway robbery; two gentlemen and a servant of theirs, for ravishing a woman whom one of them picked up in the Park, and carried to his lodgings; and Sarah Metyard, and Sarah Morgan Metyard her daughter, for wilfully and maliciously murdering Anne Nailer, a poor parish girl her apprentice, about four years since, by beating, bruising, and tying her up to a door in a garret, and with-holding from her victuals, and other necessaries, and thereby starving her to death. The trial lasted seven hours, and the jury, without going out of court, brought them in both guilty. The reader will find an account of this horrid affair at the end of the Chronicle. Placket, Hardy, and the two Metyards suffered according to their sentence; the other four capitally convicted have been transported, or sent to serve as soldiers in Jamaica.

16th. The society of arts paid Mr. Boulton, of Staines, 20l.

for the first premium of the four-wheeled machine for the conveyance of fish; and 14l. for the first premium of the two-wheeled machine for the same purpose.

James Costard, tried for killing his mother, by firing a <sup>21st.</sup> gun at her, and Susannah Harris, for the murder of her bastard child, were both found guilty, and executed pursuant to their sentence at the assizes at Oxford, the day before. Costard said, he was not in his senses when he committed the fact; but it appeared that his frenzy was only the effect of drunkenness.

A fire broke out at the Bull-head inn at Wareham, <sup>25th.</sup> which, in a few hours, reduced near three parts of that town to ashes. The meeting-house, and Mr. Kain's at the post-office, are burned; but neither of the churches nor the town-hall. The corporation of Blandford immediately sent to Wareham two cart loads of provisions, and two more were likewise sent from Pool.

An ingenious artist has now in his possession the identical mourning ring which king Charles II. wore in memory of the murder of his father, whose picture is on the top inimitably done in enamel, and, in a socket under it, some of that monarch's real hair. Within-side is engraved on the gold as under,

*Chr. rex*  
*Remem—Obiit—ber*  
30 Jan. 1648.

*Remember* was the last word that king Charles spoke to bishop Juxon before his martyrdom. And likewise a tooth-pick case curiously ornamented with silver, made of the piece of the oak which king Charles



Charles II. cut from the tree while secreted there from the pursuit of his enemies; on the top is engraved a crown, and the words *Royal Oak*. His majesty wore it in his pocket for 20 years. They will shortly be presented to the university of Cambridge.

The king has granted a pension of 300l. per ann. to Mr. Samuel Johnson, a gentleman well known in the literary world.

The right honourable the earl Temple has lately dedicated a most magnificent building at Stowe, of the Ionic order, *CONCORDIÆ ET VICTORIÆ*.

In the pediment of the portico is a fine alto relievo, representing the four quarters of the world bringing gifts to Britain. In the portico, or anti-temple, two medallions, *Concordia fœderatorum, concordia civium*. Over the door, *Quo tempore salus eorum in ultimas angustias deducta nullum ambitioni locum relinquebat*. In the inner temple, in a niche facing the entrance, the statue of *BRITANNIA*; over which in a tablet, *Candidis autem animis voluptatum præbuerint in conspicuo posita, quæ cuique magnifica merito contigerunt*. On the walls, fourteen medallions, representing the taking of Quebec, Martinico, &c. Louisbourg, Guadeloupe, &c. Montreal, &c. Pondicherry, &c. Naval victory off Belleisle, naval victory off Lagos, Crevelt, and Minden, Fellinghausen, Senegal and Goree, Niagara and Crown-point, Beau Sejour and Fort du Quesne, Cherburg and Belleisle. On a hill at a distance, in a diagonal line, runs an obelisk above an hundred feet, inscribed,

TO MAJOR-GENERAL WOLFE.

*Ostendunt Terris hunc tantum Fata.*

Mr. Meerman, syndic of the city

of Rotterdam, who has distinguished himself by his assiduous inquiries into the origin of the art of Printing, has now turned his views to the discovery of the time in which the paper we now use was first employed, and which he supposes was between the years 1270 and 1302; but to ascertain this, he promises a premium of 25 ducats to the person who shall produce the earliest public instrument written on paper made of rags.

Died lately. Mr. Stephens, at Moulsey, Surry, aged 102.

## AUGUST.

This morning, at half an<sup>12th</sup> hour past seven, the queen was happily delivered of a prince. Her royal highness the princess dowager of Wales, several lords of his majesty's most honourable privy council, and the ladies of her majesty's bed-chamber, being present.

This great and important news was immediately made known to the town, by firing of the Tower guns: and the privy council being assembled as soon as possible thereupon, it was ordered, that a form of thanksgiving, for the queen's safe delivery of a prince, should be prepared by his grace the archbishop of Canterbury, to be used within the bills of mortality on Sunday next, and throughout the king's dominions the Sunday after the respective ministers shall receive the same. It was likewise ordered, that in every part of the public service where the royal family is appointed to be particularly prayed for, the following form shall be observed; "Our gracious queen Charlotte, his royal highness



highness the prince, her royal highness the princess dowager of Wales, and all the royal family."

The queen was brought to-bed at 24 minutes after seven, after being in labour somewhat above two hours. Her majesty found herself not well at two o'clock, and about three notice was sent to the princess of Wales, that the queen was not well; upon which her royal highness hastened to St. James's, and was there by four o'clock. About five, orders were sent to the great officers of state to attend; and there were present the archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of Devonshire, the duke of Rutland, the lords Hardwicke, Huntingdon, Talbot, Halifax, Bute, Masbam, and Cantalupe, and all the ladies of the bed-chamber, and the maids of honour. The queen was delivered by Mrs. Draper: Dr. Hunter was in waiting, in case of his help being wanted. The archbishop was in the room; and the lords in a room adjoining, with a door open into the queen's apartment. The person that waited on the king with the news of her majesty's being delivered of a prince, received a present of a 500 l. bank bill.

Just after her majesty was safely in her bed, the waggons with the treasure of the *Hermione* entered St. James's street: on which his majesty and the nobility went to the windows over the palace-gate to see them, and joined their acclamations on two such joyful occasions. From hence the procession proceeded to the Tower in the following order:

A company of light horse attended with kettle drums, French horns, trumpets, and hautboys.

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A covered waggon decorated with an English jack, and a Spanish flag underneath, hanging behind the waggon.

Two more covered waggons.

Seven waggons uncovered.

And lastly, a covered waggon, decorated with an English jack, and a Spanish flag.

In the whole twenty waggons.

The procession was concluded with an officer on horseback, carrying an English ensign, attended by another holding a drawn cut-lafs.

The escort to each waggon consisted of four marines, with their bayonets fixed.

The whole cavalcade was saluted by the people with acclamations of joy.

On first opening some of the chests at the Bank, they were agreeably surprized to find a bag full of gold instead of silver; in one of them several were afterwards found of the same kind, which made a very considerable difference to the captors. A vast deal of private property has likewise been discovered. In short, this is, probably, the richest prize ever brought into England, every private man's share amounting to about 900 l. It is somewhat remarkable, that this *Hermione* is the very ship that detained the *Antigallican* and her prize in Cadiz bay at the beginning of the French war.

The following anthem composed by Dr. Nares was performed before his majesty at the chapel royal, in thanksgiving for her majesty's safe delivery of a prince.

"O clap your hands together,  
all ye people.

[H]

O sing



O sing with the voice of melody.

O sing praises, sing praises, unto our God! O sing praises unto our King!

Lo, children, and the fruit of the womb, are an heritage and gift that cometh of the Lord.

Like as the arrows in the hand of the giant, even so are the young children.

Happy is the man that hath his quiver full of them. He shall not be ashamed when he speaketh with his enemies in the gate.

Lo, thus shall the man be blessed that feareth the Lord.

Hallelujah."

On the seventeenth the king was pleased to order letters patent to pass under the seal of Great Britain, for creating his royal highness the prince of Great Britain (electoral prince of Brunswick-Lunenburg, duke of Cornwall and Rothsay, earl of Carrick, baron of Renfrew, lord of the isles, and great steward of Scotland) prince of Wales, and earl of Chester. And

On the 18th of September the ceremony of the christening his royal highness was performed in the great council-chamber of his majesty's palace, by his grace the archbishop of Canterbury. His royal highness the duke of Cumberland, his most serene highness the reigning duke of Mecklenburgh-Strelitz, (represented by the duke of Devonshire, lord chamberlain of his majesty's household) being godfathers; and her royal highness the princess dowager of Wales being godmother.

The young prince was named George Augustus Frederick.

Attendants on his royal highness the prince of Wales.

Governess, lady Charlotte Finch.

Deputy governess,

Mrs. Henrietta Coultsworth.

Wet nurse, Mrs. Scott.

Dry nurse, Mrs. Chapman.

Necessary woman, Mrs. Dodson.

Rockers, Jane Simpson, and

Catharine Johnson.

The right honourable the lord mayor, alderman, and commons of the city of London, the two universities, &c. presented addresses to his majesty on this joyful occasion: that of the city of London was as follows.

*Most gracious sovereign,*

"We your majesty's ever dutiful and loyal subjects, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of your city of London, in common council assembled, humbly beg leave to embrace this earliest opportunity of congratulating your majesty upon the safe and happy delivery of the queen, and the auspicious birth of a prince.

So important an event, and upon a day ever sacred to liberty, and these kingdoms, fills us with the most grateful sentiments of the divine goodness, that had thus early crowned your majesty's domestic happiness, and opened to your people the agreeable prospect of permanence and stability to the blessings they derive from the wisdom and steadiness of your majesty's victorious reign.

May the same gracious Providence soon restore your majesty's most amiable and beloved consort, and give perfect health, and length of days, to the royal infant!

Long, very long, may your majesty live, the guardian and protector,



tor, the ornament and delight, of Great Britain; and, by your instructions and example, form the mind of your royal son to the government of a free, brave, and generous people; and in the fulness of time may that son succeed to the virtues, as well as to the throne, of his royal father; and preserve, for a long succession of years, the glory, happiness, and prosperity of his country!"

To which address his majesty was pleased to return the following most gracious answer:

*I receive, with the greatest pleasure, these very affectionate expressions of your duty and attachment to me, and to my family; and thank you for your congratulations upon an event so interesting to me, and to the future welfare of my people, with which my own happiness, upon this and every other occasion, is inseparably connected. The city of London may always depend upon my constant favour and protection.*

Some time ago a farmer at Chilmark in Wilts, having laid some pieces of bread and butter in the pantry, with arsenic spread upon them for the destruction of rats, poisoned two of his men, who, coming in from labour, eat the bread and butter, and expired in great agonies.—A necessary caution to prevent such practices.

Worcester, Aug. 11. A dreadful accident has just now happened at Mr. Rufford's, by the blowing up of some gunpowder brought from London by his waggon, by which his warehouse was entirely destroyed, and prodigious damage was done to his dwelling house, and to other houses adjoining and opposite to it.

Several persons who were going along the street at the time, were thrown down and terribly burnt, six of whom were sent to the infirmary, where two of them have since died. The quantity of powder blown up, it is said, was near 300 weight, the explosion of which was heard several miles off.

At the anniversary feast of St. Luke's hospital 266 l. 12th. was collected for that charity.

According to the gaolers calendars throughout England, only 22 persons have received sentence of death, four of whom, for murder, have been executed.

Was held a board of longitude at the admiralty, at 17th. which a great number of persons of distinction were present, when 500 l. was ordered to be given to Mr. Irwin, for his invention of a marine chair, with which some farther experiments are ordered to be made. Mr. Harrison and son attended likewise, and laid before the board the improvements made in their time-piece, and the observations made in a late voyage to the West Indies, and received 1500 l.

In a piece lately published by Mr. Hanway, entitled, *Serious Considerations on the salutary design of the Act of Parliament, for a regular uniform Register of the parish poor infants*, there is the following calculation, by which not only the usefulness of the regulations proposed by the said act, but likewise of the Foundling Hospital, seems to be fully proved.

“ The precautions intended by this bill, granting some parishes to  
[H] 2 have



have done their duty, may, I think, save annually to the state, on a low computation, 500 subjects. I suppose the number of infants under 12 to 18 months old, being such as are in the most imminent danger of their lives, to be near 1500: that, upon the whole, a very small proportion of these has, for time immemorial, been preserved: that taking into the account all contingencies, 1 in 3 may be easily kept alive: and I conclude, that some parishes will hereafter preserve 1 in 2, or 3 in 5. Notwithstanding the moral impossibility of finding proper nurses for 4000 infants annually crowded, in the wildest manner, upon the Foundling Hospital, the managers of that hospital have preserved 1 in 3, past the dangerous part of life."

There is in Berlin, and in every great town in the Prussian dominions, a certain edifice, properly furnished, and properly attended, to which any young woman, who has the misfortune of being with child, may repair, before her shame becomes public. The utmost secrecy is preserved; she is treated with all possible care and indulgence; and a month after her lying-in discharged, with 50 crowns in her pocket, if she has had a son; and 10 crowns if she has had a daughter. By this means the murder of bastard children is effectually prevented, by removing every temptation to it. The children are preserved to the state, and such children only as are proper objects of its care. The unhappy women are covered from shame, and return again into society without scandal. All this is so far from encouraging prostitution, that

it has the very contrary effect; for every shameless common woman is severely punished; and those only that are unhappily seduced receive the benefit of this benevolent charity.—An institution of the like kind is to be met with in the city of Copenhagen.

This day died the right hon. lady Mary Wortley 21st. Montague, mother of the countess of Bute: she was daughter of the first duke of Kingston, and was the introducer of inoculation for the small-pox into this kingdom, the usefulness of which method, and consequently the obligations of the nation to her ladyship, will appear by turning to page 78.

About ten at night a most dreadful storm of thunder 24th. and lightning began at London, which greatly alarmed the inhabitants; about eleven it was accompanied by a heavy rain, which, with some intermission, continued till near four the next morning. The flashes of lightning were particularly pale: these flashes were very frequent, and sometimes there were six or seven of them successively, almost without intermission. They cast such a light that objects in the adjacent parts of this metropolis were plainly distinguished at two or three miles distance.

His royal highness the duke of York arrived in 25th. town from Sir Edward Hawke's fleet, which is returned to England.

The British herring fishery off Shetland has been very successful this season under Mr. George Tyme-well, the superintendant; the British jagers having got the first market both at Hamburgh, and Bremen, though



though the Dutch employed (as usual) a great number of vessels on the above fishery, and the English but few.

At the assizes at Winchester, 5 criminals received sentence of death; at Worcester 1, for the murder of his daughter; at Norwich 1; at Durham 2, one of them for murder; at Maidstone 2; at Warwick 2, one for murder; at Bury 2; at Chelmsford 2; at Exeter 1; at Bridgewater 4.—Bodmyn, Gloucester, Dorset, Abingdon, Salisbury, Stafford, Shrewsbury, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Bedford, Guildford, Hertford, York, Northampton, and for Suffex and Northumberland, proved maiden assizes.

Oxford, Aug. 7. The subjects appointed for the current year, for two orations to be spoken in our theatre, for the prizes of four five-guinea pieces, given by the Rev. Dr. Thomas Wilson, prebendary of Westminster, are,

For the Latin Oration,

—*Nunquam Libertas gratior extat, quam sub Rege Pio?*

For the English Oration,

*Quæ Domus tam stabilis, quæ tam firma Civitas est, quæ non Odiis atque Dissidiis funditus possit everti?*

The following is a list of the ships, and the success of the whale fishery:—The Dutch fleet of 154 ships have taken 43 fish. London ships: Young Eagle 2, Duke of Bedford 1, Providence 1, Reading 1, Adriatic 1, Parnassus 1, Britannia 11 very small. Two Hull ships both clean; four Newcastle ships 1, two Liverpool ships 1, one Exeter ship 11 very small; four Leith ships 1; Borrowstownness ships clean. Anstruther ships, Hawke

lost, Rising-sun clean; Dundee ships, Grand Tully, 2 very small. Dundee clean; three Dunbar ships 1 each; Aberdeen one ship 1.

This day the following letter was received by the 30th. right hon. the lord mayor.

To the right hon. the lord mayor.

“ My lord,

“ I have the earl of Egremont’s directions to acquaint your lordship, that, in consequence of his most christian majesty’s nomination of the duke de Nivernois to come here to treat of peace, the king has been pleased to name the duke of Bedford to go to Paris for the same purpose; and his grace’s appointment will be declared on Wednesday next, the first of September. My lord Egremont thinks it may be of use to make this public in the city as soon as possible.

I am, with the greatest respect,

My lord,

Your lordship’s most obedient,  
humble servant,

R. Wood.”

A Dutch man of war, with four merchantmen un- 31st.  
der her convoy, failed lately from Amsterdam, but were separated in a gale of wind. Soon after one of them was brought to by one of our frigates from the Downs, and was found to be laden with ship timber, supposed to be for the French; upon which the commodore in the Downs ordered two frigates to cruize off Goree, who fell in with the man of war and the other three ships, and demanded to search them, which the captain of the Dutch man of war having refused, some broadsides were exchanged between them, in which seven Dutchmen were killed; after which they

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struck



struck their colours, and were all brought into the Downs for farther examination.

About 700 old Roman coins were lately found in a ford in the river Pettarel near Carlisle. They appear to be of eleven different reigns, some very fresh, and some 1650 years old. Many are as large as crown-pieces, and some no bigger than a farthing; of a base metal, but sold at a high price to the curious.

A letter from a Jesuit missionary in China, dated October 20, 1761, gives an account, that, in the preceding summer, they had in that country such prodigious rains, as to cause the waters to rise, and overflow whole provinces, by which some millions of people were drowned.

Extract of a letter from Paris.

“Monsieur de Voltaire, the prince of our poets in this age, is preparing for press a new edition of the works of the great Corneille, the prince of French poets in the last age, with notes. This undertaking is the more laudable, as the profits of it are to be applied for the benefit of a girl of eighteen or nineteen, the heiress of the name of Corneille, whom M. de Voltaire has generously taken into his house, and treats as his own child. Her father, descended from one Peter Corneille, uncle to the great poet, is a very honest man, but very simple, and has at present a pretty good place belonging to the hospital of the French army. The work is printing at Geneva in 12 or 13 volumes in octavo, price two Louis d'ors. Voltaire sends his remarks from time to time to the French academy. The king of France has subscribed for 200 copies; other subscribers are the infant duke of

Parma, almost all the princes of the blood, the duke de Choiseul, madame Pompadour, most of the *Quarante Immortels* of the French academy, and many other persons of distinction. The duchess of Grammont is most industrious in promoting this work. M. de la Borde, banker to the court, hath got above an hundred subscribers to it. M. de Voltaire hath generously subscribed for a hundred copies. In the list of the subscribers there are also the names of several English and German noblemen.

Died lately. Mrs. Easton, of Mitre-court, Fleet-street, who understood nine languages.

Mr. Leggatt, cornfactor, at Hemnal, Norfolk, aged 100.

At Birr, in Ireland, Mr. Timothy O'Mara, aged 100.

Relict of the Rev. Mr. Pope, at Burstock, Dorsetshire, aged 106.

At Bremen, Mrs. Jane Burrow, aged 109.

## SEPTEMBER.

Was opened in Westminster 2d. Abbey, a fine new monument, erected by Mr. John Wilton, statuary to his majesty, at the expence of the princess dowager of Wales, to the memory of Stephen Hales, D. D. and F. R. S. clerk of the closet to the princess dowager, minister of Teddington in Middlesex, and rector of Farringdon in Hants; grandson of Sir Robert Hales, of Breaksburne in Kent, bart. and uncle to the present Sir Thomas Hales. He died in January 1761, aged 82 years. See our last vol. p. 46.

At the anniversary meeting of the sons of the clergy, held at Newcastle, the collection amounted to upwards of 288 l.



4<sup>th</sup>. An experiment was tried before several gentlemen in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, with a new invented engine for cutting down corn, when the inventor, in the space of an hour and twenty minutes, cut down a full quarter of an acre of barley. An acre in Scotland is the French arpent, about a 5<sup>th</sup> more than an acre in England.

5<sup>th</sup>. The duke of Bedford set out for France to negotiate a peace.

5<sup>th</sup>. A fire broke out, at two in the morning, in the Press-yard in Newgate, which caused great consternation in the neighbourhood. It raged for two hours and an half, and destroyed a building next to the college of Physicians. Capt Ogle, a lunatic, confined for a murder committed some years since, and one Smith, confined for robbing the stables of Ald. Masters, perished in the flames. None of the prisoners escaped in the confusion.

The following melancholy accident happened lately in the parish of Aberlour, in Barmshire: A servant lad, fond of a little boy of his master's, took the child in his arms to dandle him; unfortunately passing by a boiling cauldron, the child, by a sudden spring, leaped out of his arms, and fell into the boiling liquor; and before it could be got out by the unhappy and almost distracted lad, was scalded to death.

At the triennial meeting at 9<sup>th</sup>. Hereford, for the benefit of the widows and orphans of the poor clergy of the three dioceses of Worcester, Gloucester, and Hereford, the collection amounted to 257 l.

Two little boys, one five, 11<sup>th</sup>. the other three years of age, sons to a gentleman in Pilgrim-street, Newcastle, being tempted by the beautiful appearance of the

fruit of the deadly night-shade, as it grew in the garden, eat of it. The eldest died the night after, and the youngest, after continuing 16 hours in convulsions, by taking oil, was happily recovered (See before, p. [85.]) A German physician gives the following specific: Take two ounces of lavender vinegar, and two ounces of water, mixt, and drink them at one draught; repeat the dose if there be occasion.

A sea-monster was cast ashore at Newhaven near Leith. It is supposed to be of the shark kind; is about 15 or 16 feet long, has 3 rows of very strong teeth, an extensive mouth, and surprisingly wide throat. It has also 5 rows of an astonishing hard and rough skin, on each side, which seems to serve as a coat of mail for its defence.

A fine bronze bust of the E. of Halifax, is put up at the Senegal and Goree coffee-house in Cornhill, on which is the following inscription:

GEORGE DUNK, Earl of Halifax, under whose most auspicious patronage the plan for conquering the French settlements of Senegal and Goree, on the coast of Africa, was happily carried into execution in the year MDCCLVIII.

Tivoli, August 11. Some days ago, as workmen were digging the foundation for a house on the eminence of Saracinesco, they found a subterraneous edifice, consisting of ten chambers, paved with beautiful marble; and in one of the chambers three statues six feet high, one representing Antoninus Caracalla, the other Julia his stepmother, and the third Geta his brother. On the first was this inscription; *Antoninus imperator Romanorum decus.* On the second; *Julia in honestate excellens.*



*excellens*. And on the third; *Sit Geta divus dum non sit vivus*. They are bought by M. P. Archinto, to be made a present of to the general marquis Clerici.

The duke de Nivernois, 12th. with the character of ambassador and plenipotentiary from the court of France, arrived at London to treat of peace.

The first night after his excellency arrived in England, he lay at Canterbury, when the inn-keeper's bill in the morning was as follows:

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Tea, coffee, and chocolate - - - -	1	4	0
Supper for self and servants - - - -	15	10	0
Bread and beer - - -	3	0	0
Fruit - - - - -	2	15	0
Wine and punch - - -	10	8	8
Wax candles and charcoal - - - - -	3	0	0
Broken glass and china	2	10	0
Lodging - - - - -	1	7	0
Tea, coffee, and chocolate - - - - -	2	0	0
Chaise and horses for next stage - - - -	2	16	0

The whole company, consisting of twelve persons, drank mostly port wine: according to the quantity, it comes to 11s. per bottle, and punch the same. One of the secretaries of state, being informed of this treatment by an English gentleman who accompanied his excellency, made an apology to his excellency for so flagrant an imposition, and so great a breach of the laws of hospitality; telling his excellency at the same time, that orders should be given for prosecuting the offender. But his excellency very generously interposed in his behalf. It is imagined, however, that he has since paid dearly for his

offence, as the other inn-keepers in Canterbury lost no time in informing the public, that it was not at their houses the duke put up.

His excellency, finding, on his arrival in London, that some French goods, intended for sale, had been introduced, duty-free, as part of his excellency's baggage, immediately ordered them to the custom-house, nobly disdaining to prostitute the name of a great nation to cover so base a fraud.

Monsieur Anquetel du Perron, a French gentleman, having lately laid before the Royal academy of Sciences at Paris, an account of a voyage made by him to the East-Indies, in order to obtain the books of Zoroaster, legislator of the ancient Persians, we thought it our duty to give our readers so valuable a piece, and have accordingly inserted it among our Antiquities.

The king has made a present of 400l. to King's college in New York, and 200l. to the colleges in Philadelphia, &c.

There have been this season brought to the silature in Georgia, upwards of 15,000 lb. weight of cocoons, which is three thousand pounds more than were ever produced there in any former year. A convincing proof that the culture of silk in that province is neither a job nor a chimerical project.

Ended the sessions at the Old Bailey, when John Kello, 18th. for forging a draught of 1000 l. [Kello's forgery is so remarkable, that we shall give our readers an account of it at the end of the Chronicle] and James Collins and James Whem, for robberies near Pancras, received sentence of death: 18 were to be transported for seven years, and one for 14 years; one was burnt

in



in the hand, and one privately whipped.

22d. A man who went to see the Tower, imprudently putting his hand through the grate to take a sheep's head from one of the lions, lost a finger by his folly, the lion snapping it off in an instant.—A caution, we hope, to others.

23d. His royal highness prince William, and the earl of Bute, were installed knights of the Garter, at Windsor, with great magnificence; the king as sovereign, and the rest of the royal family, being present.

25th. Their majesties, on their return from Windsor, honoured Eton college with their presence, being attended by the lords and ladies of the court.

They were waited on by the provost and fellows at the great gates of the college, and conducted into the school, where the masters were prepared to receive them, with the scholars standing in their places, to the number of 500.

Their majesties passed between them to their chairs at the upper end of the school; and being seated, the company standing behind their chairs, one of the scholars advanced from his place into the middle of the school, and addressed the king in a speech in English; which was graciously received by his majesty.

Their majesties had then the condescension to look into the long chamber or dormitory. In the interim the scholars and masters went into the chapel, and took their places there. On their majesties coming into the chapel, a solemn piece of music was performed on the organ, accompanied with many other instruments.

Their majesties walked the whole length of the chapel to the rails of the communion-table, viewing the scholars on each side, and expressed very great satisfaction in the sight. From thence their majesties went to the hall, and to the library, where many of the young noblemen were presented to them; and the valuable collection of drawings, &c. belonging to the college, being carried into the election chamber, a room adjoining, they were pleased to spend a considerable time in examining what was worthy of notice.

On their going down from the Provost's Lodge into the quadrangle, the whole school was drawn up in several lines to receive their majesties, and saluted them as they went into their chaise, with a joyful cry of, *Vivat Rex & Regina*.

My lord chamberlain, by his majesty's order, left a very noble present, amounting to 230 l. to be disposed of as the provost and masters of the school should think best.

The Thames rose on a sudden in a surprising manner, (though it was a dead calm), as if agitated by some violent gust of wind. The ships lying at some of the wharfs were driven against each other with great fury. This commotion is supposed to be owing to an earthquake in some distant quarter of the globe.

The duke of York arrived at Portsmouth, and on the 28th, 30th sailed from St. Helen's, with the Princess Amelia, Magnanime, Essex, and Pearl frigate, in quest of a French squadron.

The king has granted a pension to the learned Dr. Kennicott.

At the clergy's sons feast at Bristol above 832 l. was collected.

An



An officer of excise at Falmouth lately seized there, from on board a ship, 27,529 pounds weight of tea, and 9000 gallons of brandy, with the ship, for the use of his majesty's customs. The officer by this gets at least 3000 l. It is the greatest seizure of tea ever known.

Extract of a letter from on board the Hampden packet, of eight carriage guns and thirty men, capt. John Broad, stationed between Faro and Gibraltar, dated at Gibraltar, Aug. 2.

“ S I R,

“ When we came off Teneriff, we had a prospect of eleven privateers, all coming down in order of battle; the commodore was a barcolongo of eight guns and sixty men; his second was a xebeque, of the same number of guns and men; these two led the van; five others of a lesser size came a little astern of the commodore, the other four, of 25 or 30 men each, with one gun in the prow, brought up the rear: the engagement began at 11 o'clock, and at half past one they hauled their wind, and returned from whence they came, and left us to proceed to Gibraltar, where we arrived about 3 o'clock, without one man either killed or hurt.

Our sails and rigging are greatly damaged. The soldiers on the quarter-deck behaved extremely well, and fired 16 rounds each, which did great execution, as they took aim, and never discharged in vain.

No persons could behave better on our side, nor worse on the part of the Spaniards; we were so near Gibraltar, that some of the inhabitants were spectators all the time, and at our coming ashore caressed

us greatly, and the men of war sent their surgeons to assist us; but, happily for us, their services then were not wanted. By a Spanish boat, that arrived here after the engagement, I hear they had four men killed, and eight wounded; the commodore is shot through the right arm.”

The celebrated Dr. Storck, author of the Treatise on the Medicinal Virtues of Hemlock, hath lately published a small treatise, proving from experiments made on himself, that the thorn apple, (*pomme épineuse*,) henbane, and wolfbane, which have hitherto been considered as poisons, may be taken inwardly with safety and advantage.

Died lately, Signior Francisco Geminiani, the famous performer on the violin, aged 96.

Mrs. Hill, of Fetter-lane, aged 100.

Donald M<sup>c</sup> Donald, at Aix-la-Chapelle, aged 110.

## O C T O B E R.

A terrible storm did great damage to the shipping on 3<sup>d</sup>. the sea-coasts of this island, particularly at Yarmouth, where the fishery suffered irreparably.

The earl of Litchfield, lately elected chancellor of 5<sup>th</sup>. the university of Oxford, was installed at his lordship's seat at Ditchley in that county, at which ceremony the vice-chancellor, heads of colleges, proctors, the public orator, and other proper officers attended. This ceremony has been usually performed in the university, but dispensed with in honour of his lordship, though not without precedent.

The



12th. The following letter was sent to the lord-mayor.

“ My Lord,

“ I have the commands of the lords commissioners of the admiralty to acquaint your lordship, that they have received an account this morning of St. John's in the island of Newfoundland being taken, by his majesty's ships and troops under the command of lord Colville and colonel Amherst: the French garrison, consisting of eight hundred men, being made prisoners of war; but their ships of war escaped by means of a fog.

I have the honour to congratulate your lordship on this great event, which my lords hope you will make publicly known.

I am, with very great respect,

My Lord,

Your most obedient,

And most humble Servant,

J. CLEVELAND.”

14th. The earl of Halifax was sworn one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state.

21st. This evening there was great lightning without any thunder, the flashes were white, and very luminous, and the weather changed from extreme cold to unusual heat.

A bill of indictment was lately found by the grand jury at the general quarter-sessions held at Westminster, against a famous print-seller, for vending in his shop divers wicked and obscene pictures, tending to the corruption of youth, and the common nuisance.

The king has bestowed on Mr. Sheridan a pension of 200l. per annum.

The prize questions of the Haerlem academy of sciences for this year are:

I. What are the best methods to

be taken with children, with respect to cloathing, food, and exercise, from their birth to the age of puberty, in order to a long life, and the preservation of health?

II. How to turn high or low lands to the best advantage, each according to its nature.

Many woods caught fire in the late very dry season, in New-England, and did some damage to the neighbouring settlements.

The diet of Poland having assembled on the 4th instant on extraordinary affairs, a motion was made for the election of a new marshal, but on some objections being started, the assembly was adjourned to the next day. On that day the motion was again renewed; and it being proposed to clear the house of such members who had no right to vote, and young count Bruhl being particularly objected to, who, it was said, being no Polander, either by birth or naturalization, could not possibly be admitted; in an instant sabres were drawn, and all fell into confusion. On these occasions the motion of any one member to break up the diet, is, if not soon withdrawn, sufficient for that purpose.

The waters in the several parts of England, particularly 24th. in the low grounds to the east of London, began to rise with great fury, and continued so doing for two or three days, in consequence of heavy rains, and strong north winds, which hindered several of the rivers from flowing as fast as usual into the sea. In some places the inundation began suddenly in the dead time of the night, and rose twelve feet in four or five hours. At Norwich all the lower parts of the city, and between two and three thousand houses, were under water for two

or



or three days. Several persons lost their lives on this occasion; many houses and bridges, with all the cattle, hay, linens on the printing and bleaching grounds, &c. that lay in the way of the floods, were swept away by them, to the amount of several thousand pounds.

The fleet under Sir Cha. 30th. Hardy, and the duke of York, arrived at Plymouth from the Bay.

Died lately, Mr. Sampson Gideon, who has left, among other legacies, 1000*l.* to the London hospital; 2000*l.* to the corporation of the sons of the clergy; and 1000*l.* to the Jewish Synagogue, on condition that he should be interred in the Jews burying-ground, and prayed for in the Jewish service, as a Jew and a married man: which was done accordingly.

Alderman Newton, of Leicester, aged 79; who dying worth 14,000*l.* left the greater part of it to educate poor children. At Leicester 35; at Athby de la Zouch 35; at Earl Shilton 20; at Northampton, St. Neots, Hertford, Huntingdon, Bedford, and Buckingham, 25 each.

Mr. Barnard, in Great Wildstreet, aged 102.

## N O V E M B E R.

6th. A violent shock of an earthquake was felt at Aquila in Spain, which threw down several houses, and cracked the walls of the church from top to bottom. In 1703 more than 2000 persons lost their lives by a like accident.

The following letter was received by the right hon. the lord-mayor.

8th. Cleveland-Row, Monday,  
Nov. 8, 1762.

“ My lord,

I am directed by my lord Egremont to acquaint your lordship, that

one of his majesty's messengers has this moment brought an account of the duke of Bedford's having signed the preliminary articles of peace with France and Spain, at Fontainebleau, on the 3d instant. The secretary of state's intention, in making this immediate communication to your lordship, of the first account relative to the signature of the preliminaries, which has been transmitted to his office by the king's minister at Paris, is, in order to have it publicly known in the city, without loss of time. Your lordship will, no doubt, take such steps as are most proper to answer that purpose.

I am, with the greatest respect,

My lord,

Your lordship's

Most obedient humble servant,

ROBERT WOOD.”

Soon after this, passes for ships, &c. were interchanged by the courts of London and Versailles. On the 22d the ratification of these preliminaries were interchanged at Versailles. On the first of December the cessation of arms was proclaimed in London, and leave given to go out of the kingdom on board the packet-boats, without taking passes from the secretary of state's office. The substance of the declaration was, that to prevent all occasions of complaints and disputes which might arise upon account of ships, merchandizes, and other effects which might be taken at sea, it had been mutually agreed, That the ships, merchandizes, and effects, which should be taken in the channel, and in the north seas, after the space of 12 days, to be computed from the ratification of the preliminary articles; and that all ships, merchandizes, and effects, which should be taken after six weeks from the said ratification, beyond the channel,



channel. the British seas, and the north seas, as far as the Canary islands inclusively, whether in the ocean or Mediterranean; and for the space of three months from the said Canary islands to the equinoctial line or equator; and for the space of six months beyond the said equinoctial line or equator, and in all other places of the world; should be restored on both sides.

12th. Some hours before day-break, there was seen in the air, in the southern parts of France, a globe of fire, a little less than the moon, which was then in her full, but much more luminous. According to some letters, this meteor appeared at half an hour after two in the morning, and its direction was from S.W. Others say, that it was perceived between four and five, and that its direction was from N. to E. It drew after it a long and brilliant tail, and vanished in about three minutes, dividing itself into three parts, with an explosion that shook the windows in many houses.

General Lally, governor of Pondicherry, was lately arrested at Fontainebleau, by order of the French king, and sent to the Bastille. Soon after the officers of the garrison of Pondicherry, to the number of sixty, transmitted nine articles of impeachment against him, for embezzlement and misbehaviour. It is said that no less than 12 officers have been, in a few days, privately put to death in that state prison for misbehaviour.

14th. The fleet under the duke of York, and Sir Charles Hardy, sailed to the westward from Plymouth.

The following inscription is on the monument (now erecting in Westminster-abbey) of the honourable Roger Townshend, Esq; fifth son of

the right honourable the lord viscount Townshend, who lost his life in July, 1759, in North America.

This monument was erected by a disconsolate parent,

The lady viscountess Townshend,  
To the memory of her fifth son,  
The honourable lieutenant-colonel Roger Townshend, who was killed by a cannon-ball, on the 25th of July, 1759, in the 28th year of his age,  
As he was reconnoitring the French lines At Ticonderoga in North America.  
From the parent, the brother, and the friend,

His social and amiable manners,  
His enterprising bravery,  
And the integrity of his heart,  
May claim the tribute of affliction.  
Yet, stranger, weep not:  
For, though premature his death,  
His life was glorious;  
Enrolling him with the names of those immortal statesmen and commanders,  
Whose wisdom and intrepidity,  
In the course of this comprehensive and successful war,  
Have extended the commerce,  
Enlarged the dominion,  
And upheld the majesty of these kingdoms,  
Beyond the idea of any former age.

Eleven fishermen have been killed and 17 wounded at Carpoon, a small island at the entrance of the straits of Belleisle, by the Eskimaux Indians. (See our last vol. p. [182.]

His majesty went this day to the house of Peers, and 25th. opened the session of parliament with a most gracious speech.

His majesty went in a new state coach, of which the following is a description:

The carriage is composed of four Tritons, who support the body by cables fastened to the roots of their fins: the two placed on the front of the carriage, bear the driver on their shoulders, and are represented in the action of sounding shells to

-an-



announce the approach of the monarchs of the sea; and those on the back part carry the imperial fasces, topped with tridents instead of the ancient fasces. The driver's foot-board is a large scollop-shell, supported by branches of reeds, and other marine plants. The pole represents a bundle of lances, and the wheels are imitated from those of the ancient triumphant chariots. The body of the coach is composed of eight palm-trees, which, branching out at the top, sustain the roof. The four angular trees are loaded with trophies, allusive to the victories obtained by Britain during the course of the present glorious war. On the centre of the roof stand three boys, representing the Genii of England, Scotland, and Ireland, supporting with their heads the imperial crown, and holding in their hands the sceptre, the sword of state, and ensigns of knighthood: their bodies are adorned with festoons of laurel, which fall from thence towards the four corners of the roof. The intervals between the palm-trees which form the body of the coach, are filled in the upper parts with plates of glass, and below the pannels adorned with paintings. On the front pannel is represented Britannia seated on a throne, holding in her hand a staff of liberty, attended by religion, justice, wisdom, valour, fortitude, and victory, presenting her with a garland of laurel: on the back pannel, Neptune issuing from his palace, drawn by sea-horses, attended by the winds, rivers, Tritons, Naiads, &c. bringing the tribute of the world to the British shore. On one of the doors are represented Mars, Minerva, and Mercury, supporting the imperial crown of Britain; and on the other, industry and integrity

giving a cornucopia to the Genius of England. The other four pannels represent the liberal arts and sciences protected; history recording the reports of fame; and peace burning the implements of war. The inside of the coach is lined with crimson velvet, richly embroidered with gold. All the wood work is triple gilt, and all the paintings highly varnished. The harness is of crimson velvet, adorned with buckles and other embellishments of silver gilt; and the saddle cloths are of blue velvet, embroidered and fringed with gold.

The following proclamation was some time ago published by the Prussian governor of Freyberg:

‘Whereas I have been informed that some of the inhabitants of Freyberg, and particularly certain merchants, have taken it into their heads to forge, and publish for true, reports to the disadvantage of the arms of Prussia; I declare by these presents, that the first who shall dare to utter one sentence, either to the disadvantage or the advantage of the Prussian arms, shall be taken up and punished as a spy.

‘It is an indecency not to be suffered, for burghers to presume to talk of state affairs, in which such pitiful creatures can do neither good nor harm: they only expose their ill intentions: but I shall certainly employ rigorous methods to make an example *in terrorem*. Every burgher, who favours the desertion of any of my men, shall be treated as a deserter himself. The magistrates will take care to curb the burghers with more vigilance than hitherto: otherwise I shall make them answerable for all the malevolent reports that may be published, because it is their business to watch over the conduct of the merchants



as well as the other citizens. It belongs not to such as they are to intermeddle in the affairs of war or peace, and much less in the good or bad success of the belligerent powers.'

22d. Mr. Seaton's poetical prize, at Cambridge, is adjudged to the Rev. Mr. Scott of Trinity college.

Extract of a letter from Berne, dated Oct. 20.

'The engine for eradicating trees is brought to such a degree of perfection in this country, that the peasant, who invented it, has engaged to tear up 2000 oaks with it, within a fortnight, at ninepence sterl. for each oak. He has pulled up upwards of 300 in one day, with two engines and five men for both only. Our society has ordered a model to be made of it, to be sent to your society for promoting arts and commerce, which will be more complete than the rude draught after which theirs was made last summer.'

A large sum has been subscribed for carrying into execution the farther laudable and public-spirited views of the marine society. Mr. Hicks, a merchant, who died lately at Hamburgh, has left them his whole fortune, amounting to upwards of twenty thousand pounds. All which, it seems, that useful society intend to apply towards procuring employment, and, till that can be had, relief for the boys who may be discharged from the navy in consequence of a peace, the wages of the said boys being too small to enable them to lay by any part of it.

The following receipt was lately communicated to the Dublin society, by Mr. Wil. Newby, jun. of Kendal, in Westmoreland, being

an easy and expeditious manner of taking off all sorts of plants on paper.—Take a flat cushion of about six inches square, covered with leather, and another of a round kind, bound up so as to form a handle to it; lay on the flat one some printing ink, and level it with the round one; lay any leaf between them, and press it gently, that the ink may be equally divided at each side, then put it between two white papers, and press it with the palm of your hand, and the impression will remain. The printing ink is made of three parts drying linseed oil, one part turpentine oil, brought to a proper consistency with lamp-black.

As some labourers were lately trenching near Polesworth in Warwickshire, they found a large earthen pot full of small copper coins, most part of which appear to bear a beautiful image of Constantine, with the name of *Constantinus* round it; on the other side are two armed figures defending Roman emblems of various sorts, and round them the words *Gloria exercitus*. Some few among them have an armed head on one side, with *URBS ROMA* round it, and Romulus and Remus sitting under a wolf on the reverse side; others have an armed head on one side, with the word *Constantinopolis* round it, and Pallas on the reverse; some have a chariot and four horses on the reversed side; others variety of single figures, something like Britannia with her shield; others a woman with a child in her arms. The workmanship of all the heads appears to be of a much more curious style than that of many coins of a later date: some are so obliterated, that the inscriptions can't be understood; it is certain they are very old, since the freshest of them seem



seem to be those of Constantine, the first Christian emperor.

The following are the dimensions of an ox lately slaughtered at Cowbridge, in the county of Glamorgan, in which county he was also bred. The four quarters of this beast, which for size might, with much greater propriety, have been supposed to have belonged to an elephant, weighed 1642 lb. his hide 161, tallow 148. His height was six feet three inches, his length from head to tail seventeen feet seven inches. He sold on the spot for twenty pounds.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman at Rome, Oct. 16, 1762.

“ Nothing gives me more satisfaction than to find so many fine things purchased for his majesty [the king of Great Britain] of late, in Italy. He is now master of the best collection of drawings in the world, having purchased two or three capital collections in Rome; the last, belonging to cardinal Albani, for 14,000 crowns, consisting of 300 large volumes, one third of which are original drawings of the first masters; the others, collections of the most capital engravings.— And lately there has been purchased for his majesty, all the museum of Mr. Smith, at Venice, consisting of his library, prints, drawings, designs, &c.—I think it is highly probable, that the arts and sciences will flourish in Great Britain, under the protection and encouragement of a monarch, who is himself an excellent judge of merit and taste in the virtù.

And we have at present in Rome, of our own country, many ingenious and excellent artists in the different branches of painting, sculp-

ture, and architecture. In this last an ingenious gentleman, Mr. Byres, obtained a prize in the first class; and has, greatly to his honour, got two medals from the academy of St. Luke.

The grand gallery at Florence lately ran a risk of being entirely consumed by fire; however, very happily, only a few things were lost, and some damaged, The noble group of the Laocöon, and his sons, an excellent copy by Bandinelli, from the original, in the Belvidere, is quite destroyed.”

Translation of part of an intercepted letter from the king of P—— to count Finckenstein, handed about in Holland.

“ So the poor emperor of Russia is dethroned by his wife: this was expected. The empress has a great deal of wit, no religion, and the disposition of the deceased empress; but, at the same time, pretends to be very devout. This is the counterpart of Zeno the Greek emperor, his spouse Ariadne, and Mary of Medicis. The late chancellor B—— was the great favourite of this princess; and, as he had a strong liking to English guineas, I am in hopes that the present connections will continue. The poor emperor wanted to imitate Peter I. but had not his genius.”

A number of people surrounded the house of John 28th. Pritchers, of West Langdon in Kent, and, under a notion of her bewitching one Ladd, a boy of 13 years old, dragged out his wife by violence, and compelled her to go to the said Ladd's father's house, about a mile from her own, where they forced her into the room where the boy was, scratched her arms and face in a most cruel manner, to draw



draw blood, as they said, of the witch, and then threatened to swim her; but some people of condition interposing, the poor woman's life was happily preserved; and the persons concerned in carrying on the imposture, particularly one Beard, and Ladd's wife, being carried before a magistrate, and compelled to make satisfaction to the unhappy injured woman, the mob dispersed, and the country that was every where in tumult is again quieted. The boy pretended to void needles and pins from his body, and his father and mother upheld the deceit, and collected large sums of money of those whose compassion was excited by so melancholy a situation.

The society for the encouragement of arts have adjudged a first premium of 15 guineas, to Mr. Jonathan Spillsbury, of Ruffel-court, portrait painter, for a mezzotinto plate of the earl of Carlisle, done by him from a painting of Mr. Reynolds.

Peter Annett was, by judgment of the court of King's Bench, committed to Newgate for one month. He was also ordered to stand on the pillory twice, within that time, and afterwards to be kept to hard labour in Bridewell, for a year, &c. for writing a piece called *The Free Enquirer*.

As three French men of war, viz. the *Contente* of 94 guns, and two frigates, the *Pleiade* and the *Minerve*, were lately chasing his majesty's ship the *Sheerness* into Villa Franca, the *Minerve*, by the ill management of the crew, struck upon a rock, and in less than two hours afterwards was entirely lost. The sea ran so very high, that

no boats would venture out from the shore to the assistance of the people on the wreck. In this situation, capt. Clarke sent his people to their relief, who exerted themselves so effectually, as to bring them all off, except about 25, who were carried away by the violence of the surf. The French commodore waited afterwards upon the British captain, to thank him for his timely assistance, and to express the great sense he entertained of such benevolence and generosity.

They write from Paris, that one of their ablest mathematicians is going to give public lectures in one of the colleges of the university, on ship-building and navigation.

Though the war between the Corsicans and the Genoese is not generally interesting, yet the following circumstance cannot be omitted. A nephew of Gian Carlo, one of Paoli's principal officers, having been taken prisoner, was generously set at liberty by gen. Matra. The youth, on his return to Paoli, was made governor of the fort of Coscia, built by the rebels to cut off the communication of the Genoese with Macinaggio. As soon as he had taken possession of his new command, to testify his gratitude to Matra, he delivered up to him the fort with which he had been entrusted by Paoli, and which is so strong, that it cannot be easily re-taken. The possession of it makes the Genoese masters of all Cape Corse.

A premium of five guineas was lately given by the Dublin society for the following receipt to kill rats. One quart of oatmeal, four drops of rhodium, one grain of musk, two nuts of nux vomica, the whole made very fine, and placed where



where the rats frequent, and continued while they eat it.

A button-maker's wife, near Birmingham, was lately delivered of three children.

A farmer's wife, at Whitstable, in Kent, of two girls and a boy.

A farmer's wife, at Ashwellthorpe, near Norwich, of four children.

Died lately. The chevalier de St. Croix, at St. Domingo, the brave defender of the citadel of Belleisle.

Mr. Evans, clerk to a lime wharf near Gravesend; he weighed when alive 40 stone.

Mr. Barnard, an upholsterer, in Great Wild-street, aged 102.

Mr. Thomas Shorthall, an Irishman, at Landreci in Flanders, aged 104. He had been lieut. col. in the Irish Brigades, in the French service.

Madame Alexandrina Fatio, of Geneva, aged 104.

Eady Hannum, in St. Christopher's workhouse, near the Bank, aged 114.

## DECEMBER.

6th. A cause was tried at the Common Pleas, Westminster, wherein a merchant of London was plaintiff, and a baronet defendant: the action was brought against the defendant, for winning a sum of money of the plaintiff at gaming, and a verdict given for the plaintiff, for 700 l. damages, besides costs of suit.

Biddeford, Dec. 5. Last night, happening to be walking about a quarter before nine, I instantly saw the street so illuminated, as could not be equalled by a meridian sun. I immediately cast my eyes upwards, and, to my very great surprise, saw falling a luminous body, or flaming

meteor, equal in magnitude to the moon. This meteor, when it first appeared to me, was in a right line with the bright star in Hircus; which I imagine was near the place of its commencement, since the sudden blazing, which it occasioned, must instantaneously attract an amazed eye. It performed its descent gradually, so as to fall about ten degrees in four or five seconds, leaving behind it a long tail, or seeming liquid flame, which subtended, from one extreme to the other, an angle of about ten degrees; that part of the tail next to the body seemed to blaze like the meteor itself; but the other extreme turned blue and smoky. The body diminished or burnt out by degrees to support the tail, whose extremity continued to vanish into smoke, till the whole body was dissolved, which happened to be in a line with the bright star in Orion's shoulder, from whence the direction of its path is known. The tail continued to burn bright for about a minute afterwards, and the fire seemed to vanish last of all at that end, where it first had its beginning; but the brightness and serpentine form continued for five or six minutes, though only as a bright cloud. The atmosphere, at the beginning of this extraordinary phenomenon, was extremely clear, and inclinable to freeze; but after the body was dissolved, a thick smoke descended from its path to the horizon; which disappeared in about a quarter of an hour. This meteor, which was, I believe, by far the greatest seen for half a century past, must have kindled very near the earth's surface, otherwise the blazing would not be great enough to dazzle the strongest eye.

I im-



I immediately went to a very ingenious philosopher of this town, who applied a large telescope to the place of its dissolution, but by that time the fire was incorporated, and almost vanished.

MAL. HITCHINS.

A sea-coal meter's place of this city lately sold for no less than 5210 l.

Since the beginning of this year, the scheme for bringing fresh fish by land-carriage to London, has succeeded beyond the expectation of most people; and therefore we give, in the appendix to the Chronicle, the present state of it at length, as published by the inspector, captain Blake.

9th. Was the most numerous house of commons that has been known this year, in order to take into consideration the preliminary articles of peace; when they were approved of by a great majority. Mr. Pitt was present, tho' unable to stand, and was, by the indulgence of the house, permitted to speak sitting. The addresses presented on this occasion to his majesty by both houses, are among our State Papers.

Translation of a letter from the empress of Russia to M. d'Alembert, at Paris, whom she had invited into Russia to educate her son.

Mr. d'Alembert,

“ I have just received the answer you wrote to Mr. Odar, in which you refuse to transplant yourself to assist in the education of my son. I easily conceive that it costs a philosopher, like you, nothing to despise what the world calls grandeur and honour: these, in your eyes, are very little; and I can readily agree that they are so. Considering things in this light, there would be

nothing great in the behaviour of queen Christina [of Sweden] which hath been so highly extolled; and often censured with more justice. But to be born and called to contribute to the happiness, and even the instruction of a whole nation, and yet decline it, is in my opinion, refusing to do that good which you wish to do. Your philosophy is founded in a love to mankind: permit me then to tell you, that to refuse to serve mankind, whilst it is in your power, is to miss your aim. I know you too well to be a good man, to ascribe your refusal to vanity. I know that the sole motive of it is the love of ease, and leisure to cultivate letters and the friendship of those you esteem. But what is there in this objection? Come, with all your friends; I promise both them and you, every convenience and advantage that depends upon me; and perhaps you will find more liberty and ease here, than in your native country. You refused the invitation of the king of Prussia, notwithstanding your obligations to him; but that prince has no son. I own to you, that I have the education of my son so much at heart, and I think you so necessary to it, that perhaps I press you with too much earnestness. Excuse my indiscretion for the sake of the occasion of it; and be assured that it is my esteem for you that makes me so urgent.

Moscow,

Nov. 3, 1762.

CATHERINE.

In this whole letter I have argued only from what I have found in your writings: you would not contradict yourself.”

The prize-question for the year 1764, proposed to the literati of all nations by the Berlin academy  
[I] 2 of



of sciences and belles lettres, is “When the sovereignty of the Grecian emperors at Rome totally ceased, what was then the government of the Romans? And at what time was the papal sovereignty established?”—The prize is a gold medal of 60 ducats weight: the essays to be transmitted before the 1st of January, 1764, directed to Mr. Formey, secretary to the academy: a motto to be put to them, and inclosed a sealed note, containing the motto, the author’s name, and place of abode. The academy’s judgment will be declared at the public meeting of the 31st of May, 1764.

The academy farther gives notice, that the author of a satisfactory memoir on the following subject, which was to have been determined this year, is, at whatever time it shall be sent, entitled to the prize: “An explanation of hearing, relatively to the manner in which the perception of sound is produced, in virtue of the inward texture of the ear.”

13th. The sessions ended at the Old Bailey, when three received sentence of death; 26 received sentence of transportation for seven years; three to be branded in the hand; 34 acquitted; 12 discharged by proclamation, and three remanded back to take their trials at the assizes for Surry and Radnor. Two for the murder of their bastard children, were acquitted, circumstances being favourable in both cases.

Among the felons for transportation was one Derbin, a house-breaker, against whom several indictments were laid; but there appeared no evidence against him strong enough to affect his life. This man carried on his business systematically, not selling his stolen

goods till he had sufficient reason to believe that nobody thought any more of them, and keeping them in the mean time in a house at a considerable distance from that in which he lived, so that in case this happened to be discovered, nobody could prove they were in his custody.

A prosecution was lately commenced in Ireland, against Mr. Foote, for introducing the character of Mr. George Faulkner, printer of the *Dublin Journal*, a man of property and character, upon the public stage. After a long hearing, a verdict was given in favour of Mr. Faulkner, and Mr. Foote was severely fined.

The following is the receipt against the distemper amongst the horned cattle, which rages with great fury in Thuringia, Erfurth, and other parts of Saxony, as it was prescribed and published by the war and domaine chamber at Magdeburg, and which has been administered with great success.

“Take eight pound of allum, eight pound of coriander seed, eight pound of an herb called chamælion, or carlina, one pound of black-cumin seeds, and one pound of chimney soot. After all these ingredients are reduced to a powder, mix with it two measures of salt, and give to a full-grown beast a spoonful at a time, with some sour leaven dough, and something luke-warm. You must not give them any thing cold to drink, nor cold greens to eat, and must keep the cattle warm, and separate the distempered from the sound. Give them no strong liquors; for it has been remarked that it makes them worse.

Paris, Dec. 1, 1762.

“The fate of the Jesuits in this kingdom is at last determined; at least so much as our parliaments can



can determine it. In spite of their remonstrances against the fairness of the quotations made from some of their writers, and their absolute renunciation of the doctrines contained in some others: in spite of their appeal to the king, and of his majesty's endeavours to put a stop to the proceedings of parliament; nay, in spite of the interposition of the nobility, clergy, and burghers of several places where they had settlements; they have been turned out of their houses, forbid, under the severest penalties, to wear the Jesuits habit, hold any correspondence with their general, or assemble above four or five in a body. Many of their books have been publicly burnt, and what may remain of their effects, after satisfying the intention of the donors, and the creditors of the order, and a small allowance to such among them as may be supposed incapable of otherwise providing for themselves, confiscated to the king. It is said, indeed, that some parliaments have come into these measures, merely to avoid disputes with other parliaments, who claim a jurisdiction over them. Those fathers, however, are not without friends; For prince Charles of Lorraine, and several corporations in the Austrian Netherlands, have given such as thought proper to take shelter among them, a favourable reception."

Extract of a letter from Philadelphia, dated Nov. 11. being an account of the melancholy disaster that befel the Phoenix, capt. M'Gacher, in lat. 37 N. and long. 72. W. from London, bound to Potowmack, in Maryland, from the coast of Africa, with 332 slaves on board.

"On Wednesday the 20th of

October, 1762, at six o'clock in the evening, came on a most violent gale of wind at south, with thunder and lightning, the sea running very high, when the ship sprung a leak, and we were obliged to lie to under bare poles; the water gained on us, with both pumps constantly working. At ten, P. M. endeavoured to put the ship before the wind to no purpose. At twelve the sand ballast having choked our pumps, and there being seven feet water in the hold, all the casks afloat, and the ballast shifted to leeward, cut away the rigging of the main and mizen masts, both which went instantly close by the deck, and immediately after the fore mast was carried away about 20 feet above. Hove overboard all our guns, upon which the ship righted a little. We were then under a necessity of letting all our slaves out of irons, to assist in pumping and baling.

Thursday morning being moderate, having gained about three feet on the ship, we found every cask in the hold stove to pieces, so that we only saved a barrel of flour, 10 lb. of bread, 25 gallons of wine, beer, and shrub, and 25 gallons of spirits. The seamen and slaves were employed all this day in pumping and baling; the pumps were frequently choked, and brought up great quantities of sand. We were obliged to hoist one of the pumps up, and put it down the quarter deck hatchway. A ship this day bore down upon us, and, though very near, and we making every signal of distress, she would not speak to us.

On Friday the men slaves being very fullen and unruly, having had no sustenance of any kind for 48 hours, except a dram, we put one



half of the strongest of them in irons.

On Saturday and Sunday all hands, night and day, could scarce keep the ship clear, and were constantly under arms.

On Monday morning many of the slaves had got out of irons, and were attempting to break up the gratings; and the seamen not daring to go down the hold to clear our pumps, we were obliged, for the preservation of our own lives, to kill fifty of the ringleaders, and stoutest of them.

It is impossible to describe the misery the poor slaves underwent, having had no fresh water for five days. Their dismal cries and shrieks, and most frightful looks, added a great deal to our misfortunes: four of them were found dead, and one drowned herself in the hold. This evening the water gained on us, and three seamen dropt down with fatigue and thirst, which could not be quenched, though, wine, rum, and shrub were given them alternately. On Thursday morning the ship had gained, during the night, above a foot of water, and the seamen quite wore out, and many of them in despair. About ten in the forenoon we saw a sail; about two she discovered us, and bore down upon us; at five spoke to us, being the King George, of Londonderry, James Mackey, master; he immediately promised to take us on board, and hoisted out his yawl, it then blowing very fresh. The gale increasing, prevented him from saving any thing but the white people's lives, (which were 36 in number), not even any of our cloaths, or one slave, the boat being scarce able to live in the sea the last trip she made. Capt.

Mackey, and some gentlemen, passengers he had on board, treated us with great kindness and humanity."

The king went to the house of peers, and was <sup>21st.</sup> pleased to give the royal assent to,

An act for granting an aid to his majesty by a land tax to be raised in Great Britain, for the service of the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three.

An act for continuing and granting to his majesty certain duties upon malt, mum, cyder, and perry, for the service of the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three.

An act to continue and render more effectual two acts of parliament for repairing and widening the road leading from the Black Bull inn in Dunstable, in the county of Bedford, to the way turning out of the said road up to Shafford house, in the county of Hertford,

An act to continue and render more effectual two acts of parliament for repairing the roads from Lemsford Mill through Welwyn and Stevenage, and by Cory's Mill to Hitchin, and from Welwyn through Coldicot to Hitchin, in the county of Hertford.

And to five private bills.

The queen has graciously given 100l. towards enlarging the chapel of the Asylum.

At a meeting of the society of arts, a gold medal was adjudged to the earl of Plymouth, for having planted the greatest number of the small leaved English elm, for raising timber, and for effectually fencing and preserving the same. His lordship planted, on this occasion, 6100 elms.

And at a former meeting of the society



society of arts, a gold medal was adjudged to John Freeman, Esq; of Chute Lodge, for sowing the greatest number of Spanish chesnut-trees, which was about 100,000.

At a late trial on the statute against usury, a verdict was given for the plaintiff, with 900*l.* damages, and treble costs of suit.

Two men lately working in a crane at the customhouse, one of them, without any previous notice, jumped out of the wheel, which went round with such velocity that his companion was dashed to pieces.

The earl of Bute has presented to Winchester College a bronze statue of the founder William of Wykeham, supposed to have been done in the fourteenth century. It is a full-length figure, in the episcopal habit, sixteen inches high, and executed with remarkable elegance.

A legacy of 800*l.* was paid by the executrixes of Mrs. Isabella Smithson, for the use of the county hospital at York.

Letters from Spain take notice, that the king has settled a pension of 300 crowns on the widow of Don Velasco, who so bravely defended Fort Moro; created his son a peer of Castile, by the title of marquis de Fort Moro, and had ordered that one ship of the Spanish navy should always bear the name of Velasco. The governor of the Havannah, and the admiral who commanded the fleet at that place, have been ordered to repair to Madrid, and an enquiry into their conduct is already begun.

25th. Being a high festival, their majesties, preceded by the heralds, &c. went to the chapel

royal, and with others of the royal family received the sacrament from the hands of the bishop of London, and afterwards made their offerings at the altar, for the benefit of the poor, in several purses. The king's is a byzant, or wedge of gold, value 30*l.*

A most intense frost set in with a north-easterly wind, and continued with very little intermission to the 29th of January, when it broke up by a gentle thaw. Besides the general appearance of nature, some experiments, tried during the course of it, proved, that it was some days no less severe, than that of 1740. Particularly, on the 31st of December a glass of water placed upon a table in the open air, in six minutes froze so hard as to bear five shillings upon it; a glass of red port wine, placed upon the same table, froze in less than two hours; and a glass of brandy in six, both with hard ice. By the 2d of January the river Thames was completely frozen over at Richmond; as was the Severn in several places; so that in many places, carriages passed over the ice, and booths were erected and fairs held; the ice being in some parts six feet thick.

Below bridge, the river afforded a most melancholy prospect; the ice, floating up and down with the tide, cut the cables of the shipping, and set whole tiers adrift, many of which were driven on shore, and, with their cargoes, damaged to a great amount. One ship was driven with such violence against London bridge, that her bowsprit beat down upwards of twenty feet of the new stone balusters. Sea-gulls came up as high as London-bridge, and birds were driven from their



usual haunts, and were seen, in great numbers, in the streets of London.

This severe frost put a stop to several handicraft trades, and to all manner of husbandry and inland navigation, so that numbers of the poor, who depended upon such occupations, were obliged to have recourse to the compassion of the public, and went about the streets driving ploughs, or carrying boats on their shoulders to excite it. At the same time necessaries of all kinds, except flesh-meat, (the graziers pouring their cattle into London for want of fodder) rose to such a price, as to distress those who before used to be more at their ease. Collections therefore were set on foot in most parishes, and all ranks of people, that could afford it, contributed cheerfully to them. His majesty sent a thousand pound bank note to the bishop of London for that purpose; and the dukes of Newcastle and Bedford, and Lord Bute, gave between four and five hundred pounds each. Another nobleman, then in the country, is said to have provided cloathing, and all other necessaries for the poor, not only of his own, but of several adjacent parishes. At last the evil produced in some degree its own remedy. As the water in the leaden pipes froze, and there was a greater call for that element than usual, on account of the great number of fires, which broke out during this frost; wooden pipes were inserted into the mains in almost every street, and these wooden pipes being often left open, the ice accumulated to such a degree, that at length it became dangerous to walk the streets, so that there was a necessity for employing

a great number of hands to clear them.

But though by these means few perished for want of food, several persons were frozen to death, in the streets and on the rivers, some of the latter by the ice, on which they ventured, breaking off with them.

This frost has been proportionably intense, and seems to have set in much sooner, in France, Holland, and all the other north-east countries of Europe; whereas in Cornwall, Wales, and Ireland, the weather was milder than usual.

It is very remarkable, that though great numbers of cattle of all kinds perished in the open fields, during this frost, several sheep, which happened to be buried in the snow, fallen in some parts to a great depth, continued well and alive under it five or six weeks. It was even assured in the foreign papers, that the servant of an officer, travelling in Germany in an open sledge, having been left behind on the road, as, in all appearance, frozen to death, recovered his vital heat, by a fall of snow which soon covered him, so thoroughly and speedily, that in three days time he was able to join his master.

Though the fires, which broke out during the frost, were very numerous, scarce a day passing without one, few of them, except one that happened in the Strand, near Somerset-house, were permitted to get a-head. This, besides greatly damaging the back part of the said palace, consumed eight or nine houses; and a poor lady, aged 103, in whose apartment it broke out, while left by herself, unhappily perished in the flames.

A fire likewise broke out in the vaults



vaults of St. James's church, and many bodies were burnt before it could be perfectly extinguished, which proved a work of great difficulty. It was attributed to the carelessness of some undertaker's servants, in leaving a link burning, or sticking it against something, during an interment there a few days before.

*Hints by the late Bishop Berkeley, of the kingdom of Ireland concerning fires.*

“ Whether tiles and plaister may not supply the place of Norway fir, for flooring and wainscot? Whether plaister be not warmer, as well as more secure, than deal? And whether a modern fashionable house, lined with fir, daubed over with oil and paint, be not like a fireship, ready to be lighted up by all accidents?”

*Method of saving lives at dangerous fires.*

“ Into the upper part of a window-frame drive a staple, or screw in an iron bolt with an eye. Provide two blocks with two or three pulleys in each, (which may be had cheap, at any ship block-maker's) pass a rope through each pulley of a length sufficient to reach the ground from the top of the window. Provide also a strong bag or sack, of about four feet deep, and eighteen inches wide, with a wooden bottom, and a few hoops to keep the sack open, as in a hoop petticoat. When an unhappy occasion requires the use of these, let the hook of the upper block be hung in the staple; then the party must stand on the wooden bottom, and draw the sack up about them, and hang the string of the sack on the hook of the under block, when any one person may, with the greatest ease and safety,

let them down to the street; and drawing up the sack again may, in like manner, let down a whole family, women, children, sick, old, and infirm; and, at last, lower himself down, by only holding the same rope in his own hand.

The most tender and timorous must be convinced of the ease and safety of this operation, by recollecting that it is the very same with that, by which the most delicate ladies, when they make a visit on board large ships, without any danger, are hoisted up in a chair from their boat, and replaced there again.”

Copy of a letter from New York,  
Nov. 30, 1762.

“ Since I wrote to you, one of our privateers has sent in a prize here, taken out of a fleet of Frenchmen, bound from Cape François to France: this fleet consisted of about 25 sail of merchant vessels under convoy of three king's frigates, and a merchant frigate of 18 guns. Three privateers belonging to this place, and four West India privateers cruising together, first fell in with them. In the night they took five vessels out of the fleet; and next day Commodore Keppel, who was cruising there with seven men of war, appeared in sight of the French fleet, and with the privateers, has taken every one of them. Commodore Keppel has carried the four frigates and eighteen merchantmen to Jamaica; they are all richly laden with sugar, coffee, and indigo. Three more are ordered here, and expected every hour.”

In the course of the war we have taken from the French 18 ships of the line, and 36 frigates, and destroyed 14 ships and 13 frigates, and



and they have lost by accidents 5 ships and 6 frigates; so that on the whole their navy has been deprived of 37 capital ships, and 55 frigates. From the Spaniards we have taken 12 ships and four frigates. Our loss has been only 2 frigates taken, and 3 destroyed, and 13 ships and 14 frigates lost by accident.

That we may lose no time in exciting the gratitude of the public towards that brave body, which so effectually contributed to put a speedy and glorious end to the war, by the ever-memorable reduction of the Havannah, we give our readers the following specimen, of the unparalleled hardships they were now suffering in their return to Europe, though some of the facts mentioned in it properly belong to the year 1763.

On the 3d of November, admiral Pocock set sail with the transports (in all about 60) from the Havannah. For three weeks they had a fine passage, and were within 200 leagues of the Land's-end, when the wind coming about to the east, and blowing a storm, they were dispersed and driven out of their course, many of them leaky and ill provided, and unable either to make land, or keep the sea; in this wretched condition several perished; the Marlborough bore away in the utmost distress for Lisbon, and providentially was discovered by the Antelope from Newfoundland, just as the ship was ready to founder, fifty men at the pumps having worked night and day incessantly, till the whole crew was spent with fatigue, and unable to have subsisted one night longer; the Temple man of war went to the bottom, but her crew were preserved; the Devonshire shared the same fate! the

Culloden, if not perished, has suffered the utmost distress; 12 of the transports went to the bottom, and the sufferings of those who rode it out, are not to be conceived; reduced by famine, and wasted by fatigue, the men appeared like skeletons, and more than half of them died of thirst, sickness, and fatigue. Many of the ships beat the seas for near a month after they had made the land; and being leaky and worm-eaten when they left the Havannah, the continual apprehensions of death were as terrible to many as death itself. The admiral himself did not reach land till the 13th of January, when he arrived at Portsmouth. It is computed that, besides what perished in the passage home, the conquest of the Havannah has cost the nation upwards of ten thousand men.

Some time ago a man having stolen a sheep at Mitcham in Surry, tied its hind legs together, and put them over his forehead to carry it away; but in getting over a gate, the sheep, it is thought, struggled, and by a sudden spring, slipped its feet down to his throat; for they were found in that posture, the sheephanging on one side of the gate, and the man dead on the other.

There is now living in Yorkshire, one Robert Oglebie, a tinker, who at this time travels the country for a livelihood, who was born Nov. 6, 1647, as appears by the register book in the parish of Rippon, in Yorkshire. He is a tall, upright, thin man, and says, he was married to his wife seventy-three years, by whom he had twelve boys, and thirteen girls, and that she lived to the age of 106. He can hear, and see to work, as well as ever he did in his life.

Died



Died lately Mrs. Basset at Haldane-house, near Exeter; who, it is said, has left to the hospitals of Bath and Exeter 500l. each, and 400l. to the poor of four parishes in Cornwall and Devonshire.

Mr. Evan Owens, at Denbigh, aged 100.

Mrs. Esch, at Agnes-Burton, Yorkshire, aged 100.

At Dijon in France, Touissant Maratrai, aged 112; at the age of 75, he married his second wife, by whom he had children. He was a labouring man, and always enjoyed a good state of health.

A general bill of the christenings and burials in London, from December 15. 1761, to December 14. 1762.

Christened	Buried
Males 7859	Males 13101
Females 7492	Females 13225
<hr/> 15351	<hr/> 26326

Increased in the burials this year 5263.

Died under 2 years of age	8371
Between 2 and 5	2287
5 and 10	936
10 and 20	918
20 and 30	2146
30 and 40	2379
40 and 50	2638
50 and 60	2212
60 and 70	2166
70 and 80	1526
80 and 90	659
90 and 100	85
	100
	102
	114
	<hr/> 26326

In the course of this year were christened at Norwich, Males 525. Females 570. Increased 4. Buried, Males 586. Females 570. Increased 91.

At Liverpool, christ. Males 438. Females 403. Increased 51. Buried, Males 564. Females 562. Increased 375. Marriages 375. Decreased 17.

At Dublin, christened, Males 1043. Females 1447. Increased 281. Buried, Males 1273. Females 1217. Increased 198.

Harlem in Holland, Born, 751. Died 1674. Increased 31.

Amsterdam, christened in the reformed and Lutheran churches 4320. Married 3316. Buried 8412.

Newcastle, christened 522. Increased 101. Buried 532. Increased 131.

At Manchester, christened Males 373. Females 316. Decreased 86. Buried, Males 274. Females 300. Increased 46. Married 351. Increased 11.

*Translation of a letter wrote by prince Ferdinand to General Sporcken, on resigning to him the command of the allied army in Germany; containing his serene highness's thanks to the said army, and likewise his majesty's letter of thanks to his serene highness.*

S I R,  
**H**AVING had the honour, on my arrival at Neuhaus, to write to the king to congratulate him on the peace he had made with France and Spain, and at the same time to ask his permission to quit the army, where my presence is no longer necessary; his majesty was graciously pleased to give me a very favourable answer, in the following letter;



ter; which I fend you, general, to be communicated to the army.

“ Cousin,

I thank you for the obliging congratulations in your letter of the 23d past, on the happy conclusion of the peace, to which your good conduct at the head of my army hath so greatly contributed. I readily consent to your demand, and am very glad, that, after so much fatigue, you will enjoy, in the bosom of peace, that glory which you have so justly acquired. Being, moreover convinced how much I owe to your great merit, you may be assured of my persevering in these sentiments; being, with much esteem and devotion, cousin, your devoted cousin,

St. James's

Dec. 3. 1762.

GEORGE R.”

In consequence of this permission which his majesty has graciously given me, I resign to general Sporcken the command of the army, which I shall leave to-morrow the 24th of December. I am the better satisfied, as his majesty has condescended to repeat to me his approbation of my conduct: and I have the most grateful sense of the favours with which you honoured me during the time that I commanded the army. I shall never forget with how great and happy success I fought at the head of the brave troops that composed the army, for liberty, and for their country and mine. This I shall always remember, and it will make me think continually on the obligations I owe to the generals and officers in particular, who, by assisting me with their experience and their good advice, enabled me to serve my country, and to discharge, at the same time, the trust with

which I was honoured by the king.

I therefore desire, general, that you will return them my sincere thanks, and that you will also thank, in my name, the whole army for the obedience they paid to me whilst I had the honour to command them.

Neuhaus, Dec. FERDINAND,  
23, 1762. Duke of Brunswick.

*The marquis of Granby's letter of thanks to the British forces in Germany. Dated Munster, Jan. 1.*

“ Lord Granby has hoped to have had it in his power to have seen and taken his leave of the troops, before their embarkation for England; but a severe illness having detained him at Warbourg, and his present state of health obliging him to take another route, he could not leave this country without this public testimony of his entire approbation of their conduct, since he has had the honour of commanding them.

These sentiments naturally call for his utmost acknowledgements: He therefore returns his warmest thanks to the generals, officers, and private men composing the whole British corps, for the bravery, zeal, discipline, and good conduct he has constantly experienced from every individual; and his most particular and personal thanks are due to them for their ready obedience, upon all occasions, to such orders as his station obliged him to give.

His best endeavours have always been directed to their good, by every means in his power; and he has the satisfaction to think he has some reason to flatter himself of their being convinced, if not of the efficacy, at least of the sincerity of his intentions, if he may judge by the noble return their behaviour has made



made him; a behaviour that, while it fills him with gratitude, endeared them to their king and country, and has covered them with glory and honour.

Highly sensible of their merit, he shall continue while he lives, to look upon it as much his duty, as it will for ever be his inclination, to give them every possible proof of his affection and esteem; which he should be happy to make as apparent as their valour has been, and will be, conspicuous and exemplary to after-ages.

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*An account of the extraordinary ceremonies observed, on account of the sovereign's presence, at the installation of his royal highness prince William and the earl of Bute, as knights of the garter, at Windsor, Sept. 22. 1762.*

**T**HE installation was preceded by the ceremony of the bishop of Salisbury's taking the oaths as chancellor of the order, after which his majesty put the gold chain with the badge about his neck, and delivered the purse to him, &c.

When the sovereign and the knights had retired to their stalls, Garter, with the usual reverences, took up the banner of the late sovereign, and holding it up, immediately Clarenceux and Norroy, kings of arms, joined, and making their reverences, repaired to his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, and his royal highness the duke of York, the two senior knights; who thereupon joined, and making their reverences together, received the banner from Garter, and being preceded by the two kings of arms, advanced to the first step, or haut-pas, where they repeated their re-

verences, and coming to the rail, made one to the altar; then kneeling, they delivered the banner to the prelate, who, assisted by the prebends, placed it upright at the south end of the altar.

In the mean time, according to his majesty's particular directions, all the other knights, as attending the offering of the sovereign's banner, advanced from under their banners, and made their double reverences: the two knights who made the offering returning with reverences as before under their banners.

The sword of the late sovereign was then delivered by Garter to their royal highnesses, and offered in like manner; and then the helm and crest; which being done, their royal highnesses returned, and went into their stalls.

After the two new knights were installed, divine service began.

And at the words of the offertory, *Let your light so shine*, the organs playing, the officers of the wardrobe spread a carpet on the steps before the altar, and Black rod making his obeisances, went up to the rails of the altar, on the right side, where he received from the yeoman of the wardrobe, a rich carpet and cushion, which, with the assistance of the yeoman, he laid down for the sovereign to kneel upon.

In the mean time Garter, summoned the knights from their stalls, beginning with the junior, each knight making his reverences in his stall, and repeating the same with his companion in the choir, retired under his banner.

All the knights standing under their banners.

The sovereign, making his reverence to the altar, descended from his stall, and then making another re-

reve-



reverence, proceeded to the offering.

As the procession passed the duke of Newcastle, the senior knight (not of the blood royal) who was to deliver the offering to the sovereign, he came from his banner, placing himself a little behind his majesty on the right side, and coming against the lord chamberlain's stall, he came from under his banner, going on the left side of his majesty.

The sovereign coming to the rails of the altar, Black Rod delivered the offering on his knee to the knight, who presented it to the sovereign; and his majesty taking off his cap, and kneeling, put the offering into the basin held by the prelate assisted by the prebends.

The sovereign then rising, made one reverence to the altar, and being in his stall, another; the lord chamberlain, and the knights who delivered the offering, retiring behind their banners, when they came opposite to them in the return.

Dinner being ended the knights placed themselves on either side, at the upper end of the hall; and grace being said by the prelate, and the sovereign having washed, the knights all together made their reverences to his majesty, who put off his cap and re-saluted them; and a procession was made back to the presence chamber, in the same order they came from thence.

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*An authentic narrative of the death of Mark Antony Calas, and of the trial and execution of his father, John Calas, for the supposed murder of his son. From the French.*

**J**OHAN CALAS was a merchant of the city of Toulouse; where he had been settled, and lived in

good repute, forty years; he married an English woman of French extraction, her grandmother being of the family of Garde-Montesquieu, and related to the chief noblesse of Languedoc.

Calas and his wife were protestants, and had five sons, whom they educated in the same religion: But Lewis, one of the sons, some time since became a Roman Catholic; his father's maid-servant, a religious Catholic, who had lived thirty years in the family, having greatly contributed to his conversion; but the father was so far from expressing any resentment or ill-will on the occasion, that he settled an annuity upon Lewis, and still kept the maid in his family.

In October, 1761, the family seems to have consisted of the father John Calas, and his wife, one woman servant, Mark Anthony Calas, the eldest son, and Peter Calas, the second son. Mark Anthony had been educated a scholar, with a view to his becoming an advocate or counsellor at law; but he was not able to get himself admitted as a licentiate, because he must either have performed some acts, which, as a Protestant, he could not have performed; or have purchased certificates, which he either thought unlawful, or found too expensive; He could not follow the business of a merchant, because he was not qualified for it by his education, nor his turn of mind; he therefore became discontented and melancholy, and endeavoured to dissipate the gloom of his mind by playing at billiards, and other expensive pleasures, of which his father often expressed his disapprobation with some warmth, and once threatened that if he did not alter his conduct, he would turn him out of doors; or expressed



expressed himself in words to that effect. The young man's discontent and melancholy still increased, and he seems to have entertained thoughts of putting an end to his life, as he was continually selecting and reading passages from Plutarch, Seneca, Montaigne, and many other authors on suicide, and could say by heart a French translation of the celebrated soliloquy in Hamlet, which he frequently repeated, with some passages from a French tragedy, called Sidney, to the same effect.

On the 13th of October, 1761, M. Gober la Vaiffe, a young gentleman about nineteen years of age, the son of La Vaiffe, a celebrated advocate of Toulouse, having been some time at Bourdeaux, came back to Toulouse to see his father; but finding that his father was gone to his country-house, at some distance from the city, he went to several places, endeavouring to hire a horse to carry him thither. No horse, however, was to be hired; and about five o'clock in the evening he was met by John Calas, the father, and the eldest son Mark Anthony, who was his friend. Calas, the father, invited him to supper, as he could not set out for his father's that night, and La Vaiffe consented. All three therefore proceeded to Calas's house together, and when they came thither, finding that Mrs. Calas was still in her own room, which she had not quit- ted that day, La Vaiffe went up to see her. After the first compliments, he told her he was to sup with her by her husband's invitation; she expressed her satisfaction, and a few minutes after left him, to give some orders to her maid; when that was done, she went to look for her son

Anthony, whom she found sitting alone in the shop, very pensive; she gave him some money, and desired him to go and buy some Roquefort cheese, he being always the market-man for cheese, as he knew how to buy it good better than any one in the family.

She then returned to her guest La Vaiffe, who very soon after went again to the livery-stable, to see if any horse was come in, that he might secure it for the next morning.

In a short time Anthony returned, having bought the cheese, and La Vaiffe also coming back about the same time, the family and their guest sat down to supper in a room up one pair of stairs, the whole company consisting of Calas the father and his wife, Anthony and Peter Calas, the sons, and La Vaiffe the guest, no other person being in the house except the maid servant, who has been already mentioned.

It was now about seven o'clock; the supper was not long; but before it was over, or, according to the French expression, *when they came to the dessert*, Anthony left the table, and went into the kitchen, which was on the same floor, as he used to do; the maid asked him if he was cold? he answered, *Quite the contrary, I burn*; and then left her: in the mean time his friend and the family left the room they had supped in, and went into a bed-chamber; the father and M. La Vaiffe sat down together on a sofa; the younger son Peter in an elbow chair; and the mother in another chair; and without making any inquiry after Anthony, continued in conversation together till between nine and ten o'clock, when La Vaiffe took his leave, and Peter, who



who had fallen asleep, was awaked to attend him with a light.

On the ground floor of Calas's house was a shop and a warehouse; the warehouse was divided from the shop by a pair of folding-doors. When Peter Calas and La Vaisse came down stairs into the shop, they were extremely shocked to see Anthony hanging in his shirt, from a bar which he had laid across the top of the two folding doors, having half opened them for that purpose. Upon discovery of this horrid spectacle, they shrieked out, and the cry brought down Calas the father, the mother being seized with such a terror as kept her trembling in the passage above. The unhappy old man rushed forward, and taking the body in his arms, the bar, to which the rope that suspended him was fastened, slipped off from the folding doors of the warehouse, and fell down. Having placed the body on the ground, he loosed and took off the cord, in an agony of grief and anguish not to be expressed, weeping, trembling, and deploring himself and his child. The two young men, his second son and La Vaisse, who had not had presence of mind enough to attempt taking down the body, were standing by, stupid with amazement and horror; in the mean time the mother, hearing the confused cries and complaints of her husband, and finding nobody coming to her, found means to get down stairs. At the bottom she found La Vaisse, and hastily and eagerly demanded what was the matter; this question roused him in a moment, and instead of answering her, he urged her to go again up stairs, to which, with much reluctance, she consent-

ed; but the conflict of her mind being such as could not be long borne, she sent down the maid, Jannet, to see what was the matter; when the maid discovered what had happened, she continued below, either because she feared to carry an account of it to her mistress, or because she busied herself in doing some good office to her master, who was still embracing the body of his son, and bathing it in his tears. The mother, therefore, being thus left alone, went down, and mixed in the scene, that has been already described, with such emotions as it must naturally produce. In the mean time, Peter had been sent for La Moire, a surgeon in the neighbourhood; La Moire was not at home, but his apprentice, M. Grosse, came instantly. Upon examination, he found the body quite dead; and upon taking off the neckcloth, which was of black taffeta, he saw the mark of the cord, and immediately pronounced, that the deceased had been strangled. This particular had not been told; for the poor old man, when Peter was going for La Moire, cried out, "Save at least the honour of my family; do not go and spread a report that your brother has made away with himself."

By this time a crowd of people was gathering about the door, and one Casing, with another friend or two of the family were come in; some of those who were in the street had heard the cries and exclamations of the father, the mother, the brother, and his friend, before they knew what was the matter; and having by some means learned that Anthony Calas was suddenly dead, and that the surgeon

who



who had examined the body, declared he had been strangled, they took it into their heads that he had been murdered; and as his family were Protestants, they presently supposed that the young man was about to change his religion, and had been put to death for that reason. The cries they had heard, they fancied were those of the deceased, while he was resisting the violence that was offered him. The tumult in the street increased every moment; some said that Anthony Calas was to have abjured the next day; others, that Protestants are bound by their religion to strangle or cut the throats of their children, when they are inclined to become Catholics; others, who had found out that La Vaisse was in the house when the accident happened, very confidently affirmed, that the Protestants, at their last assembly, appointed a person to be their common executioner on these occasions, and that La Vaisse was the man, who, in consequence of the office to which he had been appointed, had come to Calas's to hang his son.

The poor father, therefore, who was overwhelmed with grief for the loss of his child, was advised by his friends to send for the officers of justice to prevent his being torn to pieces for having murdered him.

This was accordingly done: One was dispatched to the Capitoul, one David, the first magistrate of the police, or principal civil magistrate of the place; and another to an inferior officer, called an assessor. The Capitoul was already set out, having been alarmed by the rumour of a murder before the messenger sent from Calas's got to his house: He entered the house with

40 soldiers, took the father, Peter the son, the mother, La Vaisse, and the maid, all into custody, and set a guard over them: He sent for M. de la Tour, a physician, and M. la Marque and Perronet, surgeons, who examined the body for marks of violence, but found none except the mark of the ligature on the neck; they found also the hair of the deceased done up in the usual manner, perfectly smooth, and without the least disorder; his cloaths were also regularly folded up, and laid upon the counter, nor was his shirt either torn or unbuttoned.

Notwithstanding these appearances, David thought fit to give into the opinion of the mob, and took it into his head that old Calas had sent for La Vaisse, telling him he had a son to be hanged; that La Vaisse had come to perform the office of executioner; and that the father and the brother had assisted him in it.

The body, by order of this poor ignorant bigot, was carried to the town-house, with the cloaths. The father and son were thrown into a dark dungeon; and the mother, La Vaisse, the maid, and Casing, were imprisoned in one that admitted the light. The next day, what is called the verbal process, was taken at the town-house, instead of the spot where the body was found, as the law directs, and was dated at Calas's house, to conceal the irregularity. This verbal process is somewhat like our coroner's inquest; witnesses are examined, and the magistrate makes his report, which is the same there as the verdict of the coroner's jury with us. The witnesses examined by this Capitoul, were the physician and surgeon, who proved



Anthony Calas to have been strangled; the surgeon, having been ordered to examine the stomach of the deceased, deposed also, that the food which was found there had been taken four hours before his death. As no proof of the supposed fact could be procured, the Capitoul had recourse to a Monitory, in which the crime was taken for granted, and all persons were required to give such testimony concerning it as they were able, particularizing the points to which they were to speak. This Monitory recites, that La Vaisse was commissioned by the Protestants to be their executioner in ordinary, when any of their children were to be hanged for changing their religion; it recites also, that when Protestants thus hang their children, they compel them to kneel, and one of the interrogatories was, whether any person had seen Anthony Calas kneel before his father when he strangled him; it recites too, that Anthony died a Roman Catholic, and requires evidence of his catholicism. These ridiculous opinions being thus adopted and published by the principal magistrate of a considerable city, the church of Geneva thought itself obliged to send an attestation of its abhorrence of opinions so abominable and absurd, and of its astonishment that they should be suspected of such opinions by persons whose rank and office required them to have more knowledge and better judgment.

But before this Monitory was published, the mob had got a notion, that Anthony Calas was the next day to have entered into the confraternity of the White Penitents. The Capitoul immediately adopted this opinion also, without

the least examination, and ordered Anthony's body to be buried in the middle of St. Stephen's church, which was done; forty priests, and all the White Penitents, assisting in the funeral procession.

Four days afterwards the White Penitents performed a solemn service for him in their chapel; the church was hung with white, and a tomb was raised in the middle of it, on the top of which was placed a human skeleton, holding in one hand a paper, on which was written *abjuration of heresy*, and in the other a palm, the emblem of martyrdom.

The next day the Franciscans performed a service of the same kind for him; and it is easy to imagine how much the minds of the people were inflamed by this strange folly of their magistrates and priests.

The Capitoul continued the prosecution with unrelenting severity; and though the grief and distraction of the family, when he first came to the house, were alone sufficient to have convinced any reasonable being that they were not the authors of the event which they deplored, yet having publicly attested that they were guilty in his Monitory without proof, and no proof coming in, he thought fit to condemn the unhappy father, mother, brother, friend, and servant, to the torture, and put them all into irons on the 18th of November. Casing was enlarged upon proof that he was not in Calas's house till after Anthony was dead.

From these dreadful proceedings the sufferers appealed to the parliament, which immediately took cognizance of the affair, annulled the sentence of the Capitoul as irregular,



regular, and continued the prosecution.

When the trial came on, the hangman, who had been carried to Calas's house, and shewn the folding doors and the bar, deposed, that it was impossible Anthony should hang himself as was pretended; another witness swore that they looked through the key-hole of Calas's door into a dark room, where they saw men running hastily to and fro; a third swore, that his wife had told him, that a woman named Mandrill had told her, that a certain woman unknown had declared she heard the cries of Mark Anthony Calas at the farther end of the city. Upon such evidence as this, the majority of the parliament were of opinion, that the father and mother had ordered La Vaisse to hang their son, and that another son, and a maid servant, who was a good Catholic, had assisted him to do it.

One La Borde presided at the trial, who had zealously espoused the popular prejudices; and though it was manifest to demonstration that the prisoners were either all innocent or all guilty, he voted that the father should first suffer the torture ordinary and extraordinary, to discover his accomplices, and be then broken alive upon the wheel, to receive the last stroke when he had laid two hours, and then to be burnt to ashes. In this opinion he had the concurrence of six others, three were for the torture alone, two were of opinion that they should endeavour to ascertain upon the spot whether Anthony could hang himself or not, and one voted to acquit the prisoner. After long debates the majority was for the torture and the wheel, and probably condemned the father by way of

experiment whether he was guilty or not, hoping he would, in the agony, confess the crime, and accuse the other prisoners, whose fate, therefore, they suspended. It is, however, certain, that if they had had evidence against the father that would have justified the sentence they pronounced against him, that very evidence would have justified the same sentence against the rest; and that if they could not justly condemn the rest, they could not justly condemn him, for they were all in the house together when Anthony died, all concurred in declaring he hanged himself, which those who did not help to hang him, if hanged by others, could have had no motive to do, nor could any of the prisoners have hanged him by violence, without the knowledge of the rest.

Poor Calas, however, an old man of sixty-eight, was condemned to this dreadful punishment alone; he suffered the torture with great constancy, and was led to execution in a frame of mind which excited the admiration of all that saw him.

Two Dominicans, father Bourges and father Caldagues, who attended him in his last moments, wished 'their latter end might be like his,' and declared that they thought him not only wholly innocent of the crime laid to his charge, but an exemplary instance of true christian patience, fortitude, and charity.

One single shriek, and that not very violent, escaped him when he received the first stroke, after that he uttered no complaint. Being at length placed on the wheel, to wait for the moment which was to end his life and his misery together, he expressed himself with an humble hope of an happy immortality, and a compassionate regard for the judges



who had condemned him. When he saw the executioner prepared to give him the last stroke, he made a fresh declaration of his innocence to father Bourges; but while the words were yet in his mouth, the Capitoul, the author of this catastrophe, and who came upon the scaffold merely to gratify his desire of being a witness of his punishment and death, ran up to him and bawled out, *Wretch, there are the faggots which are to reduce your body to ashes; speak the truth.* Mr. Calas made no reply, but turned his head a little aside, and that moment the executioner did his office.

Though the testimony of a dying man had thus acquitted the rest of the prisoners, yet the judges, that they might act with an uniform absurdity throughout the whole affair, banished Peter Calas for life, and acquitted the rest. The widow and the other sufferers are seeking such redress from the king as can now be had, to whom the sentence of the judge was not sent for confirmation, as it ought to have been.

The judges have thought fit to suppress this trial; the widow petitions that it may be ordered to be laid before the parliament of Paris for a revision.

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*Some account of the murder of Anne Naylor, by Sarah Metyard, and her daughter Sarah Morgan Metyard.*

**I**N the year 1758, Sarah Metyard, the mother, kept a little haberdasher's shop in Bruton-street, Hanover-square, and her daughter, then about 19 years old, lived with her: their chief business was making of silk nets, purses, and mit-

tens, and they took parish children apprentices. They had then five, Philadelphia Dowley, about 10 years old; Sarah Hinchman, about 12; Anne Naylor, about 13; Mary, her sister, about eight; and Anne Paul, whose age does not appear; but as Hinchman is said to have been the biggest girl, she was probably not more than 10.

These children were kept to work in a small slip of a room, so close, that their breath, and the heat of their bodies, made it suffocating and unwholesome, and they were not only treated with unkindness and severity, but were not allowed sufficient food. As it was natural to suppose they would complain, another punishment became necessary, and they were suffered to go out of doors but once a fortnight, and then were never alone. Anne Naylor had a whitloe upon her finger, so bad that it was obliged to be cut off, and, being besides a weak sickly child, she became particularly obnoxious to the inhumanity and avarice of the petty tyrant, of whom she was condemned to be the slave.

Being almost worn out by a long series of ill-treatment, the girl, at length, ran away, but was soon brought back; after this she was treated with yet greater severity, and kept so short of food, that finding her strength decay, she watched for an opportunity to run away a second time; but this was now become very difficult, for the mother and daughter being apprehensive of such an attempt, and dreading the consequences of a complaint, yet more than the loss of the girl, were careful to keep the street-door fast, and their unhappy victim in the upper part of the house.



It happened, however, that, on the 29th of September, she watched the door's being opened for the milkman, and creeping down stairs, took the opportunity of the daughter's back being turned, to slip out; but the daughter missing her while she was yet in sight, called out to have her stopped, and the milkman, as she was running with what strength she had left, caught her in his arms. The poor child expostulated with the man, and pressed him with a moving earnestness to let her go; *Pray, milkman, says she, let me go, for I have had no victuals a long time, and if I stay here I shall be starved to death.* By this time the daughter was come up, and the milkman having no power to detain the child, and it being impossible for her to escape, she fell again into the hands of her merciless tyrants; and the daughter having dragged her into the house by the neck, flapped to the door, and then forced her up stairs into the room, where the old woman was still in bed, though she had started up, and joined in the cry, upon the first alarm. Here she was thrown upon the bed, and the old woman held her down by the head, while the daughter beat her with the handle of a hearth-broom; after this, she was forced into a two pair of stairs back room, and a string being tied round her waist, she was made fast to the door with her hands bound behind her, so that she could neither lie nor sit down. In this manner was she kept standing without food or drink for three days, being untied only at night that she might go to bed, and the last night she was so feeble, that she was obliged to crawl up to bed upon her hands and knees. During this time,

the other children were ordered to work in the room by her, that they might be deterred from attempting to escape, by seeing the punishment that was inflicted upon one who had thus offended already.

The first day she said little, her strength failing her apace; the next day, she said nothing, but the pains of death coming on, she groaned piteously; on the third day, soon after she was tied up, her strength wholly failed her, and she sunk down, hanging double in the string which bound her by the waist. The children being then frightened, ran to the top of the stairs, and called out, *Miss Sally! Miss Sally! Nanny does not move.* The daughter came up stairs, and found her without any appearance of sense or motion, hanging by the string with her head and her feet together; but she was so far from being touched with pity, that she cried out, *If she does not move, I'll warrant I'll make her move,* and immediately began to beat her with the heel of her shoe: finding, however, notwithstanding the blows, which were very hard, that the poor wretch shewed no signs of sensibility, fear took the alarm, and she hastily called up her mother. When the old woman came up, she sat down upon the garret-stairs, at the door where the child was still hanging, and the string being at length cut, she laid her across her lap, and sent Sally Hinchman down stairs for some drops. When the drops were brought, the girls were all sent down stairs, and the mother and daughter were soon convinced that their victim was dead.

Having consulted together, they carried the body up stairs into the fore garret, next to that where the



child used to lie, and locked the door that the other children might not see it. They pretended she had had a fit, from which she soon recovered; and for two or three days they insinuated, that she was confined in the garret to prevent her running away, having made a third attempt to escape; and the mother herself, in sight of the children, took victuals and carried it up into the garret, pretending it was Nanny's dinner.

On the fourth day, the body being stripped, was locked up in a box: and, in consequence of a plan concerted between the mother and daughter, the garret-door was left open when the children were sent down to dinner, and the street-door was also opened and left ajar; when they were at dinner, the mother said to the daughter, *Hark! Sally, don't you hear a noise? go and see what it is*; to which the daughter, as had been agreed, replied, *There is no noise*, and continued at table: then said the old woman to Sally Hinchman, *Go and fetch Nanny down, she shall dine below to-day*. Hinchman went up, and finding the garret-door open, and the child not there, ran back frightened, and said, *Madam, Nanny is not there—Run down then*, said the old woman, *and look below*; upon this several of the children ran down; and finding the street-door also open, came up, and told what they had seen—*Aye*, said the old woman, *then she is run away at last*; and it was she that I heard, when I mentioned the noise. *Girls, did not you hear a noise? O! law, madam*, said the poor children, implicitly concurring in an opinion they did not dare to contradict, *so we did*.

Thus they hoped to account for

the child's absence to her fellow-prentices, who were not, however, without suspicions; one of them, in particular, observed, that if she had run away, she had run away without her shoes, of which she was known to have but one pair, and they were found in the garret soon after the supposed escape; another remarked, that they had all her shifts in the wash, and that it was not likely she should escape without either shift or shoes. The old woman hearing this whispered, said, *That she went without her shoes for fear of being heard to go down stairs, and that if she could but get into the street, she would not mind being bare-foot*; the shifts she could not so readily account for; and a person who lodged in the house, having asked what was become of Nanny, was answered by her sister, *that she was dead*. The lodger was satisfied with the answer, having no suspicion that her death was not natural; but the mother hearing of it, asked Molly Naylor, Who told her, that her sister was dead; she replied, Philly Dowley, one of her fellow-prentices; Philly, therefore, was sharply reproved. Molly was soon after destroyed as her sister had been, and the horrid secret slept with the mother and daughter.

It became necessary, however, to keep the children out of the garret, for the body was become very offensive; they were therefore ordered not to wash their hands there as usual, but to wash them in the kitchen, and the garret-door was kept locked. But at the end of two months, the putrefaction was so great, that the whole house was infected, and it became absolutely necessary to remove the body.



The old woman, therefore, took the body out of the box, and cut it to pieces, thinking it more easy to dispose of it in parts than whole: she endeavoured to cut off the head, but could not; she therefore tied up the head and body in a piece of brown cloth, which was part of the bed furniture, and the limbs in another piece of the same, except the hand which had lost the finger, that being so remarkable as to make a particular caution necessary.

This was on the 5th of December, the depth of winter, when the nights were dark and long; and all being thus far in readiness, the children were sent to bed: the old woman then fetched down the hand which wanted the finger, and burnt it: but her fear was so little mixed with remorse or pity, that she cursed the unhappy creature she had murdered because her bones were so long in consuming, and comforted herself at the same time, by saying, that the fire told no tales. She would have burnt the rest of the body, but was afraid of alarming the neighbourhood by the smell: she, therefore, the same night took the two bundles, and carried them to the great gully-hole in Chick-lane, where the kennel water runs into the common-shore, whence it falls into the Thames. When she came thither, she took them out of the cloths, and endeavoured to throw them piece-meal over the wall, behind which the common-shore is open, but could not; she therefore threw them down in the mud and water before the grate, and returned home.

About twelve o'clock the same night, the mangled body was seen where Metyard had left it, by two watchmen, who gave notice of it

to the constable, who went immediately to the overseer of the parish, St. Andrew's, Holborn, and desired he would come and remove it: the overseer went with the constable and watchmen to the place, and all the parts of the body being collected, except the hand, it was carried to the workhouse; the next day Mr. Umfreville, the coroner, was acquainted with it, who directed the parts to be put together and washed, which being done, he came, and having taken a view of it, he gave an order for its burial, without summoning any jury, probably supposing it had been in the hands of some surgeon.

Thus was the child murdered, and the body disposed of without raising any suspicion; no inquiry was made or apprehended, and the murderers were in the hands only of each other.

They had, however, always lived upon very ill terms, and though the daughter was between 19 and 20 years old, the mother used frequently to beat her; the daughter hoping to terrify her mother into better behaviour, would, when thus provoked, threaten to accuse her of the murder, and make herself an evidence to prove it, supposing that the mother's testimony would not then be admitted against her: this rendered their animosities more bitter; sometimes she urged the mother to let her go to service, and sometimes declared she would drown herself. The mother always opposed her going to service, because she found her assistance necessary in her business, and considered her talk about drowning herself, as the mere unmeaning ravings of passion, which, as soon as the passion subsided, were thought of no more.



Thus they continued to hate, to reproach, and to torment each other, till about two years after the child had been dead; when one Mr. Rooker, who appears to have been a dealer in tea, took a lodging in their house.

Rooker observed, that the daughter was very ill treated by the mother, who still continued to beat her, and, after lodging with them about three months, he took a house the upper end of Hill-street, Berkeley-square; and, when he went away, he took the daughter, in mere compassion, as a servant.

The old woman, upon the daughter's leaving her, became quite outrageous; she went almost every day to Rooker's, and abused both him and the girl in the most opprobrious terms, and with such clamour and vehemence as frequently to breed a riot about the door: this, however, in compassion to the girl, he endured patiently at first, hoping time would put an end to it. It was not long before a little place fell to him at Ealing, and he immediately quit-  
ted his house in town, and went to live there, taking the girl with him: but the mother, neither softened by time, nor discouraged by distance, followed her thither, and continued her abuse with yet more malice and vociferation. When orders were given to refuse her admittance, she forced her way in, and, at other times, behaved in such a manner before the house, that to let her in was thought the least evil of the two. Rooker was loaded with reproaches, and the girl was often cruelly beaten. It is probable that she would have been killed if assistance had not been at hand, for she was once found forced up into a corner by the mother, who having

torn off her cap and handkerchief, and greatly bruised and scratched her face, had laid hold of a pointed knife, which she was aiming at her breast. This continued till the 9th of June last, and it had been observed, that, in the height of their quarrels, many doubtful and mysterious expressions were used that intimated some secret of importance between them.

The mother used to call Rooker, "The old perfume tea dog;" and the daughter would reply, *Mother, remember, you are the perfumer*, alluding to her having kept the child's body in a box till it could not be endured: at other times the daughter, when provoked, would say, *You are the Chick-lane ghost; remember the gully-hole in Chick-lane*.

These obscure hints made Rooker uneasy: and one day, after the mother was gone, he urged the girl so pressingly to tell what they meant, that, with many tears and great reluctance, she gave him an account of the murder, begging, at the same time, that it might be a secret.

As by this account the girl did not appear to be any otherwise culpable than by concealing the mother's crime, and as Mr. Rooker supposed also that the fact could not be proved without her evidence, he immediately wrote an account of what he had learnt to the officers of the parish of Tottenham-High-Cross, by whom the deceased had been put out an apprentice, that a prosecution against the mother might be commenced.

In consequence of this letter, the parish-officers applied to Sir John Fielding, at whose house they were met by Rooker and the daughter,  
and



and proper persons were sent to bring the mother and her apprentices before the justice. The mother was soon brought, with Dowley and Hinchman, two of the girls who lived with her when the murder was committed: the daughter's examination was taken, which contained a very full, direct, and clear charge against the mother, who was therefore committed to New Prison; the girls were sent for further examination to the workhouse of St. George, Hanover-square, and the daughter was dismissed; but the mother and the apprentices being examined a second and third time, some evidence came out which affected the daughter, who was therefore committed to the Gatehouse on the 5th of July.

Bills of indictment were soon after found against both mother and daughter, and the evidence of the girls was thought sufficient to convict them both.

On the 16th of July they were brought to their trial at the sessions house in the Old Bailey, when the two girls deposed, that the deceased was tied up and cruelly beaten by the daughter, and kept without victuals, till she died, by the joint consent of both daughter and mother. Mr. Rooker deposed, that the daughter related the circumstances of the murder to him as she had related them in her examination, and told him, that the mutilated hand was burnt, and the rest of the body thrown into the gully-hole in Chick-lane. The constable proved that all the corpse, except the hand, was found there; and Rooker also deposed, that the children who lived with her, when he lived in her house, were ill treated.

The mother, in her defence, alleged, that the deceased was sickly, and was therefore kept apart from the rest; that she had a fit, from which she was recovered by hartshorn drops, and that soon after she ran away. The daughter gave a long and circumstantial account of the whole transaction, but imputed all the guilt to the mother. She said, that the night before the child died, she intreated her mother to send her some victuals, which she refused with many oaths and execrations: that she, the daughter, did not tie her, nor know she was tied the last morning; that she generally gave the children victuals by stealth, for which her mother, when she discovered it, used to upbraid and to beat her; that after Nanny died, she urged the mother to have the body buried, which the mother refused, calling her fool, and saying, *That the body, upon view, would shew that the child had been starved*; that the mother urged her to assist in cutting it to pieces, which she refused; and used to threaten if ever she spoke of it, that she would swear first, and become an evidence against her; she also denied that she ever beat the children, and declared that she had suffered much from the mother's cruelty, because she would not be the instrument of it against them.

If this, however, had been true, the girls, on whose testimony she was convicted, would have had no motive to depose against her; they necessarily would have loved her in proportion as they hated the old woman; and as they could have no interest in accusing her, neither could they have had any inclination.

They



They were, after a long trial, both convicted, and received sentence of death; but even after this there continued so bitter an animosity between them, that it was necessary to confine them apart.

Both denied the charge constantly and invariably, but with this difference; the mother declared the child was not starved, and the daughter declared the mother starved her; so that though the daughter accused the mother, the mother did not accuse the daughter. The daughter also pleaded pregnancy, but a jury of matrons declared she was not pregnant.

They were both overwhelmed with a sense of their condition, and about six o'clock in the evening before the execution, the mother, who had neither eaten or drank for some time, fell into convulsions, and continued speechless and insensible till her death. The daughter, though she was present when this happened, took no notice of it, but continued her conversation with a friend who was come to take leave of her.

The daughter persisted to the last in declaring herself innocent of all but concealing the murder, which she extenuated by saying, She thought it was her duty. *What could I do, says she, she was my mother!* She also solemnly declared, that she had no criminal connection with any man, particularly with Mr. Rooker, whom she yet always mentioned rather as a friend than a master; and that though she pleaded pregnancy, it was only done as an expedient to gain a short respite, not knowing that a jury would determine the fact imme-

diately. This declaration has been confirmed by the testimony of some persons who were present at the dissection of her body; and it is said, that though a little woman, she was remarkably pretty, and had a form extremely delicate and well proportioned.

The mother was executed in the 44th, and the daughter in the 24th year of her age.

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*Some account of a remarkable forgery committed by John and Joseph Kello.*

**J**OHNN KELLO was 26 years old, and Joseph 24. John came over in partnership with a gentleman from Virginia about three years ago, as his brother Joseph swore at his trial; but it does not appear that this partnership produced him more than one remittance of 300l. in three years. From his coming over to his being apprehended he lived in Bloomsbury; and Joseph was, during the same time, clerk to Mr. Charles More of Aldermanbury, and swore that for the last year and a half he supported not only himself but his brother John, though when questioned by John at the trial, it appeared that he had received about 30 guineas of him to pay his debts.

Joseph had before served an apprenticeship to Mr. John Howell, a Blackwell-hall factor, and during that apprenticeship he became acquainted with Mr. Joseph Cotton, who was also then apprentice to a packer, and used to be sent by his master to assist Kello.

Mr. Cotton coming into business for himself, still continued his



acquaintance with Kello, who used to be continually backwards and forwards at his house in Aldermanbury, where Kello also lived.

Mr. Cotton, at this time, did a good deal of business for Mr. Partridge in the pressing and packing way, was conversant in his other branches of business, and greatly trusted by him; so that Kello had great opportunities of becoming acquainted with Mr. Partridge's affairs, but did not know him personally.

The two brothers being necessitous, conceived a design of obtaining money by forgery above a year ago, but could not determine in whose name to practise the fraud. Joseph's acquaintance with Mr. Partridge's affairs, by Mr. Cotton's means, at length determined them to practise it on him.

With this view Joseph took an opportunity to take a draft of Mr. Partridge's from a file in his counting-house, and from this draught he forged another, in the following words:

*To Mess. Amyand, Staples, and Mercer.*  
August 28, 1762.

*Pay to Bearer a thousand Pounds.*  
£. 1000. *W. Partridge.*

He had before forged several others, all for a thousand pounds, but the resemblance was not thought so great as in this.

The 28th of August, the day of the date of the note, was Saturday, and Joseph Kello had learnt of Mr. Cotton, that Mr. Partridge would, on that day, go to Harlow, and in his way dine at Woodford. He and his brother John, therefore, determining that this was an opportunity not to be lost, went together to the Red-lion alehouse in Moor-fields, where John Kello wrote the follow-

ing letter in Mr. Partridge's name to Mr. Cotton:

*Woodford, Aug. 28, 1762.*

*Mr. Cotton,*

*Receive the inclosed draught yourself in bank, and carry it directly under cover, directed for Mr. Rous, to be left at the bar of Sam's coffee-house; leave the bill with the banker: should not this come time enough this evening, be sure carry it early, as above, on Monday; but don't fail this evening, if possible. Your's*

*Wm. Partridge.*

When the body of the letter was written by John, who, it should seem, had, by some means, learnt also to imitate Mr. Partridge's hand, Joseph counterfeited the name to it, and dated it; they then inclosed in it the draught for 1000l. and, to give it colour, a forged bill of exchange for 350l. supposed to be from a clothier, in favour of Mr. Partridge.

The letter, with the draft and bill, were then put into a cover, which they directed to Mr. Cotton, at Mr. Elliot's, in Aldermanbury; and as they could procure no wax at the alehouse, they went to a stationer's in Whitechapel, where they bought a stick, and where they also borrowed the use of a seal, and sealed up their packet.

It was now about five o'clock, and the business being thus far dispatched, Joseph Kello went immediately to Mr. Cotton, whom he found at his warehouse, contiguous to Mr. Partridge's house; and soon after his brother John, with whom he had left the letter, sent it from the Change by a porter, as directed.

When Cotton received the letter, Joseph Kello was with him: he asked the porter whence he brought it, who answered, from a gentleman who



who gave it him in the street, and that it required no answer.

When he had read the letter, and examined the draught and bill it contained, having no suspicion of forgery, as the similitude was very great, he immediately set about obeying Mr. Partridge's orders. It was now about near the time when bankers shut up their shops; for expedition's sake, therefore, Kello directed a blank cover to Mr. Rous, with which Cotton ran to Mr. Amyand's, taking with him the draft and bill: he happened to find Mr. Mercer, one of the partners, who expressed some surprise at his coming so late, but however gave him a bank-note of 1000l. in exchange for the draft.

This bank-note he inclosed in the cover directed by Joseph Kello, and borrowing a wafer in the shop, sealed it, and went himself with it to Sam's coffee-house, in Exchange-alley, being well acquainted with a gentleman whose name was Rous, who lived at Hackney, and for whom he supposed the bank-note was intended by Mr. Partridge.

He asked for the master or mistress of the house, but both were abroad; he then left the cover, with the note sealed up in it, at the bar, but did not leave the house.

Having waited there three hours, and nobody coming for the letter, he took it back from the waiter, and left a paper instead of it at the bar, on which he wrote, *The letter for Mr. Rous is at J. Cotton's, Aldermanbury*: he then went home, where he found Joseph Kello still waiting, for he would not venture to call or send for the letter till he knew Cotton was returned from the coffee-house.

Kello asked him if he had left

the letter; and he said, No, he was afraid. Kello then went to his brother, who was waiting to know how matters went on, at Seymour's coffee-house, in Pope's-head alley. It was there agreed that John should send a verbal message by a chairman to Cotton, from the Antigallican, desiring him to deliver to him the letter that was to have been left at Sam's for Mr. Rous.

Kello then hastened back again to Cotton, and soon after the chairman came for the letter.

Mr. Cotton said he would go along with him, and see the gentleman to whom the letter was to be delivered; he did so; and the mistress of the house told him the gentleman was gone, but would return in ten minutes; for John Kello had the precaution not to stay in the house, but to watch the porter's return, and see whether he came alone.

Cotton then sat down, waiting the return of the gentleman; and having staid till near 12 o'clock, returned again back with the letter and note, leaving a billet at the coffee-house, purporting, that the letter should be delivered the next morning at Mr. Rous's at Hackney, by 10 o'clock.

At his return, he found Joseph Kello still waiting, who asked, if he had left the parcel: he said No. Why, says Kello, Mr. Partridge will be very angry; you don't know the consequence of not leaving it. Cotton, however, still continued firm in his intention of carrying it himself to Hackney in the morning, and immediately wrote a letter to Mr. Partridge, telling him what he had done, and what he intended to do; with which he and Kello both went to the Post-office; and it being



ing past twelve, Cotton gave sixpence to have it received.

Jos. Kello lay with Cotton that night; and in the morning he got up before six, and went to his brother John, and acquainted him with what had happened, and with Cotton's intention of carrying the note to Hackney.

It was then agreed that another letter should be written to Mr. Cotton as from Mr. Partridge, to acquaint him that he had learnt by express, that he (Cotton) had not been agreeable to the direction in the first letter, and desiring that he should leave the note at Sam's without delay.

Joseph Kello leaving his brother to write and send the letter, returned to Cotton, whom he found setting out for Hackney, and set out with him, in order, if possible, to find some means of delay. Mr. Cotton had proposed to call at the inn at London Wall, and while they were drinking a pot of beer, Kello pretended to have forgotten his handkerchief, and made an excuse to go back and fetch it. In Aldermanbury he was told by Mr. Partridge's porter, that there was a letter left for Mr. Cotton, and he directed the porter to carry it to London Wall, where Cotton still was, to whom he might deliver it.

This stratagem produced the desired effect. Mr. Cotton, upon reading the contents, carried the letter with the bank note in it to the coffee-house, and returned to Aldermanbury to Kello, shewing him the letter he had received, and telling him what he had done.

As the body of the letter was written by John, and the name by Joseph, Joseph took care to destroy

it, and after dining with Mr. Cotton, he went and acquainted John, that the note was left at the coffee-house, and that he might now receive it. This he presently did, and then both went into the fields by Sadler's-wells, where they opened the letter, and found the note. About six they agreed to meet at John's lodgings, at the crown coffee-house, Peter-street, Bloomsbury, and there they talked of different ways of getting it exchanged. At length it was concluded that the prisoner should go to Bristol as the most eligible place, but, having no money, Joseph borrowed ten guineas of a relation, and on Tuesday morning the prisoner set out in a post-chaise for Bristol.

On Friday, Sept. 3, Mr. Culverwell, the landlord of the King's Head, at Bridgewater, applied to Mr. Baker, clerk to the general receiver for the county of Somerset, for money for 1000l. bank-note, and Mr. Baker told out 888 guineas, and 2s. which, together with three small notes, one of 30l. one of 25l. and one of 10l. made the sum of 997l. 10s. and 5s. per hundred, to wit, 2l. 10s. for exchange, completed the whole sum of a 1000l. Mr. Culverwell examined the cash, and the prisoner appeared as the owner of the note, and received the money as it was retold. Mr. Baker asked the prisoner his name, that he might enter it in his book; and he said, John Hyndman,

The prisoner having now succeeded to his wish, instead of endeavouring to make his escape, as he probably might have done from Bristol, returned to Westminster, to the house where one Phoebe Laskard lives, in Wood-street. To this woman he gave both the money and



and the bills : the money, sealed up in a bag, he pretended to be half-pence to the amount of about 5 l. and the bills, he said, were foreign bills, of no use to any body but himself : the bills she afterwards delivered to a porter that was sent for them, and the money was carelessly laid about, at one time on the dresser, and at another time in the window, till at length Sir John Fielding, having got some information where the prisoner might be found, caused him to be apprehended.

The constable who found him, found also the money in the bag ; and when he was examined, the bills were found upon him. The particulars here related were all authentically proved upon his trial ; and when he was called upon to make his defence, he endeavoured to throw the whole blame upon the brother, and appealed to the court which had the appearance of most guilt. The master of the coffee-house where he lived, gave him the character of an extreme sober man, but the jury paid no regard to his former character, but brought in their verdict, *Guilty, death.*

He was soon afterwards executed at Tyburn, pursuant to his sentence. He behaved, during his confinement, with great obstinacy and indecorum, making little account of religion, and the comforts of a christian faith. He said, *he had some particular opinions of his own, that he should never quit in this life, nor after it.* He is said to have been the son of a merchant in Houndsditch, who gave him a liberal education, and left him about 300 l. with which he equipped himself for Virginia, and having resided there some time,

returned to London, and carried on a kind of commercial correspondence with some persons there, that produced but little profit : and having rather a turn for pleasure than business, his friends had long expected some unlucky issue to his affairs, tho' not so fatal as to affect his life. He was about 26 years of age, and, in many respects, what is commonly called a clever fellow.

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*A summary account of the proceedings in regard to some strange noises, heard the beginning of the year at a house in Cock-lane, West Smithfield.*

MR. P—, the officiating clerk of St. Sepulchre's, observing one morning at early prayers a genteel couple standing in the aisle, ordered them into a pew ; and, being afterwards thanked for his civility by the gentleman, was asked if he could inform him of a lodging in the neighbourhood : P— offered his own house, which was accepted of. Some time after, in the absence of the gentleman, who was in the country, Mr. Parsons's daughter, a child of 11 years of age, being taken by Miss Fanny (the name the gentlewoman went by) to her bed, Miss Fanny complained one morning to the family, of both having been greatly disturbed by violent noises. Mrs. P—, at a loss to account for this, bethought herself of a neighbouring industrious shoemaker, whom they concluded to be the cause of this disturbance. Soon after, on a Sunday night, Miss Fanny, getting out of bed, called



called out to Mrs. P——, “ Pray, does your shoemaker work so hard on Sunday nights too ? ” to which being answered in the negative, Mrs. P——, &c. were desired to come into the chamber, and be themselves witnesses to the truth of the assertion. At this time several persons were invited to assist, and among the rest the late reverend Mr. Linden, but he excused himself; and the gentleman and lady removing into the neighbourhood of Clerkenwell (where she soon after died) the noise discontinued at the house of P——, from the time of their leaving it to the first of January, 1762, or thereabouts, the space of above a year and a half; and then began this second visitation, as, for distinction’s sake, we may venture to call it.

In this visitation, then, the child, upon certain knockings and scratchings, which seemed to proceed from beneath her bedstead, was sometimes thrown into violent fits and agitations, and a woman attendant, the father, Mr.——, put questions to the spirit or ghost, as it was supposed by the credulous to be, and they had also dictated how many knocks should serve for an answer, either in the affirmative or negative; and though these scratchings and knockings disturbed Fanny before her death, it was now supposed to be her spirit, which thus harrassed the poor family. In this manner of converse she charged one Mr.——, whose first wife was her sister, and with whom she afterwards lived in fornication, with having poisoned her, by putting arsenick in purl, and administering it to her, when she had the small-pox. Numbers of persons, of fortune and character,

and several clergymen, assisted at the vagaries of the invisible knocker and scratcher, and though no discovery could be made, by the several removals of the girl to other houses, where the noises still followed her, (the supposed ghost protesting she would follow her wherever she went) though wainscots and floorings were torn away to facilitate a detection of any imposture, to no purpose; yet the rational part of the town could not be brought to believe, but that there was some fraud in the affair, considering the known faculty many people, called *Ventriloqui*, have had of uttering strange noises, and making them appear to come from any place they thought proper, without any visible motion of their lips; and this suspicion was confirmed by the attestations of the clergymen, and some gentlemen of the faculty, who visited the deceased in her illness, and of some other persons of unquestionable credit; and the guilt of the imposture in some measure, fixed upon the parents, and their friends, by some facts contained in the following advertisement:

To the public.—We, whose names are underwritten, thought it proper, upon the approbation of the lord-mayor, received on Saturday last in the afternoon, to see Mr. P—— yesterday, and to ask him in respect of the time when his child should be brought to Clerkenwell. He replied in these words: “ That he consented to the examination proposed, provided that some persons connected with the girl might be permitted to be there to divert her in the day-time.” This was refused, being contrary to the plan. He then mentioned a wo-



man, whom he affirmed to be *unconnected*, and *not to have been with her*. Upon being sent for, she came, and was a person well known by us to have been *constantly with her*, and *very intimate with the family*, as she is called. Upon this he, Mr. P——, recommended an unexceptionable person, the daughter of a relation, who was a gentleman of fortune. After an inquiry into her character, he informed us, that this unexceptionable person *had disoblighed her father, and was out at service*. Upon this we answered, “ Mr. P——, if you can procure any person or persons, of strict character and reputation, who are house-keepers, such will be with pleasure admitted.” Upon this he required a little time to seek for such a person. Instead of coming, as he promised and we expected, one William Lloyd came by his direction, and said as follows :

“ Mr. Parsons chuses first to consult with his friends, who are at present not in the way, before he gives a positive answer concerning the removal of his daughter to the Rev. Mr. Aldrich’s.”

Signed, WILL. LLOYD,  
Brook-street, Holborn.

Within three hours after, we received another message from Mr. Parsons by the same hand, to wit :

“ If the lord-mayor will give his approbation, the child shall be removed to the Rev. Mr. Aldrich’s.”

The plan before-mentioned was thus set forth in the public papers : The girl was to be brought to the house of the said clergyman, without any person whatever that had, or was supposed to have, the least connection with her. The fa-

ther was to be there ; not suffered to be in the room, but in a parlour where there could be no sort of communication, attended with a proper person. A bed, without any furniture, was to be set in the middle of a large room, and the chairs to be placed round it. The persons to be present were some of the clergy, a physician, surgeon, apothecary, and a justice of the peace. The child was to be undressed, examined, and put to bed by a lady of character and fortune. Gentlemen of established character, both of clergy and laity (amongst whom was a noble lord, who desired to attend) were to have been present at the examination. We have done, and still are ready to do every thing in our power to detect an imposture, if any, of the most unhappy tendency, both to the public and individuals.

STE. ALDRICH,  
Rector of St. John’s, Clerkenwell,  
JAMES PENN,  
Lecturer of St. Ann’s, Aldersgate.

In pursuance of the above plan, many gentlemen, eminent for their rank and character, by the invitation of the Rev. Mr. Aldrich, of Clerkenwell, assembled at his house the 31st of January, and next day appeared the following account of what passed on the occasion :

“ About ten at night the gentlemen met in the chamber, in which the girl, supposed to be disturbed by a spirit, had, with proper caution, been put to bed by several ladies. They sat rather more than an hour, and hearing nothing, went down stairs, where they interrogated the father of the girl, who denied, in the strongest terms, any knowledge or belief of fraud.

As



As the supposed spirit had before publicly promised, by an affirmative knock, that it would attend one of the gentlemen into the vault, under the church of St. John, Clerkenwell, where the body is deposited, and give a token of her presence there by a knock upon her coffin; it was therefore determined to make this trial of the existence or veracity of the supposed spirit.

While they were inquiring and deliberating, they were summoned into the girl's chamber by some ladies, who were near her bed, and who had heard knocks and scratches. When the gentlemen entered, the girl declared that she felt the spirit like a mouse upon her back, and was required to hold her hands out of bed; from that time, though the spirit was very solemnly required to manifest its existence by appearance, by impression on the hand or body of any present, by scratches, knocks, or any agency, no evidence of any preternatural power was exhibited.

The spirit was then seriously advertised, that the person to whom the promise was made of striking the coffin, was then about to visit the vault, and that the performance of the promise was then claimed. The company, at one, went into the church, and the gentleman, to whom the promise was made, went, with one more, into the vault: the spirit was solemnly required to perform its promise; but nothing more than silence ensued. The person supposed to be accused by the ghost then went down, with several others, but no effect was perceived. Upon their return they examined the girl, but could draw no confession from her. Between two and three she desired, and was per-

mitted, to go home with her father.

It is therefore the opinion of the whole assembly, that the child has some art of making, or counterfeiting, particular noises, and that there is no agency of any higher cause."

To elude the force of this conclusion, it was given out that the coffin, in which the body of the supposed ghost had been deposited, or at least the body itself, had been displaced, or removed out of the vault. Mr. K—therefore thought proper to take with him to the vault the undertaker, who buried Miss F—, and such other unprejudiced persons, as on inspection might be able to prove the weakness of such a suggestion.

Accordingly, on February 25, in the afternoon, Mr. K—, with a clergyman, the undertaker, clerk, and sexton of the parish, and two or three gentlemen, went into the vault; when the undertaker presently knew the coffin, which was taken from under the others, and easily seen to be the same, as there was no plate or inscription; and, to satisfy further, the coffin being opened before Mr. K—, the body was found in it.

Others, in the mean time, were taking other steps to find out where the fraud, if any, lay. The girl was removed from house to house, and was said to be constantly attended with the usual noises, though bound and muffled hand and foot; and that without any motion in her lips, and when she appeared asleep. Nay, they were often said to be heard in rooms at a considerable distance from that where she lay.



At last her bed was tied up, in the manner of a hammock, about a yard and a half from the ground, and her hands and feet extended as wide as they could without injury, and fastened with fillets for two nights successively, during which no noises were heard.

The next day, being pressed to confess, and being told, that if the knockings and scratchings were not heard any more, she, her father, and mother, would be sent to Newgate; and half an hour being given her to consider, she desired she might be put to bed, to try if the noises would come: she lay in bed this night much longer than usual; but no noises. This was on a Saturday.

Sunday, being told that the approaching night only would be allowed for a trial, she concealed a board, about four inches broad, and six long, under her stays. This board was used to set the kettle upon. Having got into bed, she told the gentlemen she would bring F—— at six the next morning.

The master of the house, however, and a friend of his, being informed by the maids, that the girl had taken a board to bed with her, impatiently waited for the appointed hour, when she began to knock and scratch upon the board; remarking, however, what they themselves were convinced of, that “these noises were not like those which used to be made.” She was then told, that she had taken a board to bed; and, on her denying it, she was searched, and caught in a lye.

The two gentlemen, who, with the maids, were the only persons present at this scene, sent to a third gentleman, to acquaint him that

the whole affair was detected, and to desire his immediate attendance; but he brought another along with him.

Their concurrent opinion was, that the child had been frightened into this attempt, by the threats which had been made the two preceding nights; and the master of the house also, and his friend, both declared, “That the noises the girl had made that morning, had not the least likeness to the former noises.” Probably the organs, with which she performed these strange noises, were not always in a proper tone for that purpose, and she imagined she might be able to supply the place of them by a piece of board.

At length Mr. K—— thought proper to vindicate his character in a legal way. On the 10th of July, the father and mother of the child, one Mary Frazer, who, it seems, acted as an interpreter between the ghost and those who examined her, a clergyman, and a reputable tradesman, were tried at Guildhall, before lord Mansfield, by a special jury, and convicted of a conspiracy against the life and character of Mr. K——.

But the court, chusing that Mr. K——, who had been so much injured on this occasion, should receive some reparation by the punishment of the offenders, deferred giving sentence for seven or eight months, in hopes the parties might make it up in the mean time. Accordingly the clergyman and tradesman agreed to pay Mr K—— a round sum, some say between 5 and 600l. to purchase their pardon, and were thereupon dismissed, with a severe reprimand. The father was ordered to be set in the pillory three times in  
one



one month, once at the end of Cock-lane, and after that to be imprisoned two years; Elizabeth his wife, one year; and Mary Frazer, six months in Bridewell, and to be there kept to hard labour.

The father appearing to be out of his mind at the time he was first to stand in the pillory, the execution of that part of his sentence was deferred to another day, when, as well as on the other days of his standing there, the populace took so much compassion of him, that instead of using him ill, they made a handsome collection for him.

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*State of the Land-carriage Fishery in London, to the end of September 1762; submitted to the public by the superintendant.*

THE superintendant of the land-carriage fish plan, in order that all ranks of people might reap the benefit thereof, did, at the commencement of this undertaking, direct certain prices for the several kinds and sizes of fish to be publicly fixed, at as moderate rates as the nature thereof admitted; at which they continued till four o'clock in the afternoon, and from that hour till seven they were reduced one-third, in order that families of middling rank might partake of this desirable food, as well as the great and opulent, and at lesser prices; and what remained after the last-mentioned hour, were further reduced to half price, for the benefit of persons of lower degree; and moreover, any surplus quantity left at the shutting up the places of sale at night (as has often been the case) were directed to be sprinkled with salt, and exposed to sale the next

morning, at two-thirds less than the first price the day before, for the benefit of poor families: and if not sold by twelve at noon the second day, were then given to the prisons and workhouses, so that no part thereof might be wasted.

These methods have been hitherto continued; but the superintendant has found that this proceeding, which was calculated for general benefit, has been perverted to very opposite purposes, and greatly to the disadvantage of this undertaking; several dealers in fish having made it their practice (especially since the weather has been so cool for the fish to keep good till the next, or succeeding day) to wait for the hour of half-price, and then to purchase the fish; which he is informed they sell in their shops the next day, at the same (and often at a less) price, than that affixed in the morning at the land-carriage places of sale for fish newly arrived; and by this means have had an opportunity of underselling this plan with its own fish; or, in case no fish arrived by land-carriage, to get extraordinary prices for the same; besides leaving a door open to impositions of another kind.

For these reasons, the superintendant finds himself necessitated to make an alteration in his measures, and to direct that no fish be sold at reduced price on the day of their arrival; and thinks it proper to give this notice to the public, lest it should be imagined that such an alteration of measures proceeds from lucrative views, which is not the case, as the fish, which remains after the sale of the first day is over, will be sold the next day at proper prices, according to the state and condition thereof; and care will be



taken to distribute what remains unsold, while it is wholesome and fit for use; and which, he can with confidence assure the public, has hitherto been done; so that out of 45 tons, or 917 cwt. (the quantity brought from the commencement of this undertaking, between the 16th of May and the 30th of September last, both inclusive) there has not been one cwt. lost, and that unavoidable. Moreover, he may venture to assert, that the prices first affixed in the morning, have been at least one-third, or rather one-half, less than those for which such fish were usually sold before this undertaking was set on foot; not to mention the further

benefit which has accrued to the middle and lower rank of people; by the reduced prices, and to the poor, by what has been given away, amounting together to 931 l. 9s. 10d. within the above-mentioned time, as appears in the monthly account annexed.

The superintendant conceiving it may be some satisfaction to the public, to be acquainted with the state and progress of this undertaking, has taken this early opportunity to give an account of the several species of fish brought in consequence of this plan, within the time above mentioned, with the tale and weight of the same; which are as follow:

			C.	qrs.	lb.
39518	Pair of Soals	—————	684	2	14
14190	Mackerel	—————	84	3	5
867	Brill or Pearl	—————	32	2	4
286	Turbots	—————	25	2	6
1443	Thornback	—————	24	2	18
135	Salmon	—————	15	1	25
4538	Herrings	—————	12	0	15
704	Pipers and Gurnets	—————	8	0	11
497	Crabs	—————	7	3	20
570	Dories	—————	7	0	21
1988	Plaife and Dabs	—————	5	1	17
40300	Prawns	—————	3	2	11
136	Lobsters	—————	1	2	20
249	Trout	—————	1	2	17
122	Eels	—————	0	2	26
1426	Crayfish	—————	0	1	27
51	Red Mulletts	—————	0	1	3
	Flounders, &c.	—————	0	1	18
Total			917	1	3



The MONTHLY ACCOUNT whereof stands as underneath :

	Weight.			Charged to Markets.			Produce of Sale.			Given away.		
	cwt.	qrs.	lb.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
In May —	65	3	20	307	6	9	281	8	0	25	18	8
In June —	165	0	16	783	2	8	671	0	1	172	2	7
In July —	248	0	4	1771	16	0	1545	6	10	226	9	2
In August —	204	0	14	1400	8	3	1260	19	8	139	8	7
In Sept. —	234	0	4	1695	0	1	1327	9	10	367	10	10
Total	917	1	2	5957	14	4	5026	4	5	931	9	10

From this account it appears, that the fish sent to the markets at its first charge amounted nearly to 6000l. and if admitted (as it may in justice be) that they were rated, at the first price, one half less than what they used to be sold for, it will follow that the public have reaped a benefit equal to the above-mentioned sum by this undertaking, besides a plentiful supply, and some variety of fish little known in this metropolis before; such as brills, pipers, dories, and red mullet; and to these advantages may be added near 1000l. more, by what was sold at

reduced prices, and given away as before mentioned.

The above having been communicated to some friends of the plan, they were of opinion, that the public would be glad to see some state of the general expences, &c. conceiving many persons might, thro' mistake, conclude that the deficiency of the first price sent to the markets, amounting to 931l. 9s. 10d. was a sum sunk in the capital granted by the society: the superintendant, therefore, desirous to give all the satisfaction in his power, hath hereto annexed,

*A sketch of the state of the land-carriage fishery, from the commencement to the 30th of September inclusive.*

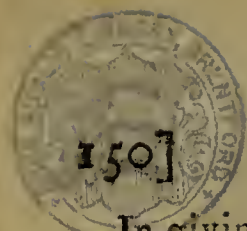
Cash advanced by the society	—	—	2000	0	0
Cash engaged by the superintendant	—	—	1500	0	0
Cash received for fish	—	—	5026	4	5
Total	—	—	8526	4	5

Cash paid for fish bought at the sea-ports, boat-hire and hire of horses for conveying the same to London—Solicitor's bill for attending the fish-act—Salaries and wages—Fitting up the general receptacle, the office, and a place of sale in St. James's market—Rents—Travelling expences for settling the fishery at the sea-ports and on the roads—Coals, candles, and stationary—Porterage, criers, and dispersing hand-bills—Baskets for the carriages, &c.—Scales, weights, and other utensils—Advertising, printing, and sundry incidental expences; together with cash paid for 23 new machines, and repairs done to the same —

4918 11 3

Remains 3607 13 2





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In giving this state to the public, the superintendant thinks it necessary to take notice, that though there appears but 107l. 13s. 2d. over and above the capital of 3500l. yet it is to be considered, that there were at the drawing up of this sketch 23 fish machines paid for, and then in use, besides including the fundry expences as above to the 30th of September last; and this appears to him beyond what he could have expected from such an undertaking in its infancy, and with the many difficulties to be encountered. It is moreover to be observed, that the above sum of 3607l. 13s. 2d. is not to be understood as cash in hand, the whole being engaged by the superintendant for the purposes of supporting and extending this undertaking, by opening some other ports

on the sea coast, for procuring a greater variety of fish, which the town seems to desire and expect; and to that end he has now in use 54 machines, besides 26 made, and making, to complete the number 80; with which, and such further encouragement as the public may think proper to give, fish of inferior sorts may be brought for the benefit of labouring persons at moderate prices; more especially if he shall be assisted with a proper place of general sale, where dealers and hawkers may be supplied out of the quantities that may occasionally be brought, beyond what the present established place of sale can find vent for, agreeable to his original plan; the want of which has hitherto been the greatest disadvantage he has laboured under in the prosecution of this undertaking.

## *An Account of the Sums raised by the LAND-TAX since the REVOLUTION.*

Years.	Tax per pound.	Produce.	Brought forwards	—	
1688	1s.	500,000	16	4s.	45,250,000
89	2	1,000,000	17 to 21	2	2,000,000
90	2	1,000,000	22 to 26	4	5,000,000
91	2	1,000,000	27	3	10,000,000
92	3	1,500,000	28, 29	2	1,500,000
93	3	1,500,000	30, 31	3	2,000,000
94	3	1,500,000	32, 33	1	3,000,000
95, 96, 97	3	6,000,000	34 to 39	2	1,000,000
98, 99	3	3,000,000	40 to 49	4	6,000,000
1700	2s. 6d.	1,250,000	50 to 52	3	20,000,000
1701 to 12	4	24,000,000	53 to 55	2	4,500,000
13 to 15	2	3,000,000	56 to 60		3,000,000
Carried over	—	45,250,000	inclusive	4	10,000,000
			Total	—	£. 113,250,000

SUPPLIES



# SUPPLIES granted by Parliament for the Service of the Year 1761, and not published in last Year's Register.

NOVEMBER 27.

£. s. d.

1. That for the support of his majesty's household, and of the honour and dignity of the crown, there be granted to his majesty, during his life, such a revenue as, together with the annuities payable by virtue of any acts of parliament, made in the reign of his late majesty king George II. (of blessed memory) out of the hereditary civil list revenues, shall amount to the clear yearly sum of 800,000*l.* to commence from the demise of his said late majesty — —

800000 0 0

2. That the said revenue, for the support of his majesty's household, and of the honour and dignity of the crown, be charged upon, and made payable out of, the aggregate fund.

3. That the several revenues, which were payable to his said late majesty, during his life, and had continuance to the time of his demise, (other than such payments as were charged upon, and issuing out of, the aggregate fund) be granted and continued, from the time of the said demise, to his present majesty, during his life; and the produce of the said revenues, together with the produce of the hereditary revenues, which were settled, or appointed to be, towards the support of the household of his late majesty, and of the honour and dignity of the crown, be, during the said term, carried to, and made part of, the aggregate fund.

4. That 70000 men be employed for the sea service, for 1761, including 18355 marines.

5. That a sum, not exceeding 4*l.* *per man per* month, be allowed, for maintaining them for 13 months, including the ordnance for sea service —

3640000 0 0

NOVEMBER 29.

1. That a number of land forces, including those in Germany, and 4008 invalids, amounting to 64971 effective men, commission and non-commission officers included, be employed for the service of 1761.

[L] 4

2. That,



£. s. d.

2. That, for the charge of the said number of men, for guards and garrisons, and other of his majesty's land forces in Great Britain, Guernsey, and Jersey, for 1761, *there be granted a sum, not exceeding* \* — — 1576985 10 7

3. That, for maintaining his majesty's forces and garrisons, in the Plantations, Gibraltar, Guadaloupe, Africa, and the East Indies; and for provisions for the garrisons in Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Gibraltar, Providence, Quebec, Guadaloupe, Senegal, and Goree, for 1761 — — — — 843756 12 9

4. That, for defraying the charge of three regiments of foot, on the Irish establishment, serving in North America, for 1761 — — — — 22179 0 0

5. That, for the pay of the general, and general staff-officers, and officers of the hospitals for his majesty's land forces, for 1761 — — — — 72896 14 2

6. That, for defraying the charge of the embodied militia, of the several counties in South Britain, and of the fencible men of Argyleshire, and of lord Sutherland's battalion of Highlanders, in North Britain, for 122 days, from 25 December, 1760, to 25 April, 1761, both days inclusive — — — — 140358 19 4

7. That, upon account, for defraying the charge of cloathing for the embodied militia, for 1761 — — — — 56568 15 2

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2712745 12 0

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## DECEMBER 2.

1. That, for the charge of the office of ordnance for land service, for 1761 — — — — 302267 9 2

2. That, for defraying the extraordinary expence of services performed, by the office of ordnance, for land service, and not provided for by parliament, in 1760 426449 4 9

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728716 13 11

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## DECEMBER 9.

1. That, for the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to the sea officers, for 1761 — — — — 258624 7 10

2. That, for completing the works of the hospital for sick and wounded seamen, at Haslar, near Gosport 7130 0 0

3. That, towards carrying on the works of the hospital for sick and wounded seamen, building near Plymouth, for 1761 — — — — 10000 0 0

4. That, for the charge of transport service, between the 1st of October, 1759, and the 30th of September,

\* *These words, in Italics, are to be repeated at the end of almost every resolution.*



	£.	s.	d.
1760, including the expence of victualling his ma- jesty's land forces within the said time	479035	19	2
5. That, towards paying off and discharging the debt of the navy	1000000	0	0
6. That, towards the buildings, rebuildings, and repairs, of his majesty's ships, for 1761	200000	0	0
	1954790	7	0

DECEMBER 11.

1. That, to enable his majesty to discharge the like sum, raised in pursuance of an act made in the last session of parliament, and charged upon the first aids, or supplies, to be granted in this session	1000000	0	0
2. That, to be applied towards the improving, widening, and enlarging, the passage over and through London-bridge	15000	0	0
	1015000	0	0

DECEMBER 15.

That, to enable his majesty to pay off, and dis- charge, such Exchequer bills as were made out be- fore the 11th of December, 1760, by virtue of an act passed in the last session of parliament, intituled, <i>An act to enable his Majesty to raise a certain Sum of Money, towards paying off and discharging the Debt of the Navy, &amp;c.</i> and charged upon the first aids, or sup- plies, to be granted in this session	1232000	0	0
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DECEMBER 16.

1. That, for defraying the charge of 39773 men of the troops of Hanover, Wolfenbuttle, Saxe-Gotha, and count of Buckeburg, together with that of ge- neral and staff-officers, actually employed against the common enemy, in concert with the king of Prussia, from 25 December, 1760, to 24 December, 1761, both inclusive, to be issued in advance every two months, in like manner as the pay of the Hessian forces, now in the service of Great Britain; the said body of troops to be mustered by an English com- missary, and the effective state thereof to be ascertain- ed by the signature of the commander in chief of the said forces	463874	19	1 $\frac{3}{4}$
2. That, for defraying the charge of 2120 horse, and 9900 foot, together with the general and staff- officers, the officers of the hospital, and others, be- longing to the train of artillery, the troops of the land- grave of Hesse-Cassel, in the pay of Great Britain, for 365 days, from 25 December, 1760, to 24 De-			

cember,



	£.	s.	d.
cember, 1761, both days inclusive; together with the subsidy for the same time, pursuant to treaty —	268360	8	8
3. That, for defraying the charge of an additional corps of 1576 horse, and 8808 foot, together with the general and staff-officers, the officers of the hospital, and officers and others belonging to the train of artillery, the troops of the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, in the pay of Great Britain, for 365 days, from 1 January, 1761, to 31 December following, both days inclusive, pursuant to treaty —	147071	5	2
4. That, for defraying the charge of 1205 cavalry, and 2208 infantry, the troops of the reigning duke of Brunswick, in the pay of Great Britain, for 365 days, from 25 December, 1760, to 24 December, 1761, both days inclusive; together with the subsidy for the said time, pursuant to treaty —	57798	10	0
5. That, to make good a deficiency in the sum, voted last session of parliament, for the charge of the troops of Brunswick, to 24 December, 1760 —	2569	16	0
6. That, for defraying the charge of five battalions, serving with his majesty's army in Germany, each battalion consisting of one troop of 101 men, and four companies of foot, of 125 men in each company, with a corps of artillery, for 365 days, from 25 December, 1760, to 24 December, 1761, both days inclusive —	25504	6	8
7. That, for defraying the extraordinary expences of his majesty's land forces, and other services, incurred to the 19th of November, 1760, and not provided for by parliament —	1167903	12	6
8. That, upon account, towards defraying the charges of forage, bread, bread-waggons, train of artillery, and of provisions, wood, straw, &c. and other extraordinary expences and contingencies of his majesty's combined army, under the command of prince Ferdinand —	1000000	0	0
	3133082	18	1 $\frac{1}{4}$

## DECEMBER 23.

That, to enable his majesty to make good his engagements with the king of Prussia, pursuant to a convention between his majesty and the king of Prussia, concluded 12 December, 1760 —

67000 0 0

## JANUARY 15, 1761.

1. That, to replace to the sinking fund, the like sum paid out of the same, to make good the deficiency, on the 5th of July, 1760, of the several duties on

malt,



malt, granted by act 33 Geo. II. to answer annuities, after the rate of 4 l. *per cent.* charged thereupon —

£. s. d.

49424 0 0

2. That, to replace to the sinking fund, the like sum paid out of the same, to make good the deficiency, on the 5th of July, 1760, of the several rates and duties upon offices and pensions, and upon houses, and upon windows or lights, which were made a fund by an act 31 George II. for paying annuities, at the bank of England, in respect of five millions, borrowed towards the supply for 1758 — —

72011 6 11

3. That, to replace to the sinking fund, the like sum paid out of the same, to make good the deficiency, on the 5th of January, 1760, of the subsidy of poundage upon certain goods and merchandizes imported, and an additional inland duty on coffee and chocolate, to answer annuities, after the rate of 3 l. *per cent.* charged thereupon, by an act of 32 Geo. II.

5969 12 8½

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127404 19 8½

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## JANUARY 20.

1. That, to enable his majesty to give a proper compensation to the respective provinces in North America, for the expences incurred by them in the levying, cloathing, and pay, of the troops raised by the same, according as the active vigour, and strenuous efforts, of their respective provinces shall be thought, by his majesty, to merit — —

200000 0 0

2. That, upon account, to be paid to the East-India company, towards enabling them to defray the expence of a military force in their settlements, to be maintained by them, in lieu of colonel Adlercron's battalion, withdrawn from thence, and now in Ireland

20000 0 0

3. That, upon account of the reduced officers of his majesty's land forces and marines, for 1761 —

34854 9 2

4. That, for allowances to the several officers and private gentlemen, of the two troops of horse-guards, and regiment of horse, reduced, and to the superannuated gentlemen of the four troops of horse-guards, for 1761 — — — —

2973 19 2

5. That, for paying pensions to the widows of such reduced officers and marines, as died upon the establishment of half pay, in Great Britain, and who were married to them before the 25th of December, 1716, for 1761 — — — —

1922 0 0

6. That, upon account, for out-pensioners of Chelsea-hospital, for 1761 — — —

18360 2 11

7. That, upon account, for supporting and maintaining the settlement of Nova Scotia, for 1761 —

10595 12 9

8. That,



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£. s. d.

8. That, upon account, for the civil establishment of Georgia, and other incident expences attending the same, from 24 June, 1760, to 24 June, 1761 —

4057 10 0

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292763 14 0

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## JANUARY 22.

That, for defraying the extraordinary expences of his majesty's land forces, and other services incurred, from 20 November, 1760, to 24 December following, and not provided for by parliament —

993844 4 4½

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## JANUARY 29.

1. That, to enable his majesty to pay off and discharge such Exchequer-bills, as have been made out since the 10th of December, 1760, by virtue of an act of last session, for paying off the navy-debt (before mentioned) and charged upon the first aids or supplies, to be granted in this session — —

268000 0 0

2. That, for defraying the charge of his majesty's mints, and the coinage of gold and silver monies, and other incident charges of the mints, and thereby to encourage the bringing in of gold and silver to be coined, a revenue, not exceeding 15000 l. *per ann.* be made up, settled, and secured, for seven years, from 1 March, 1761, and until the end of the first session of parliament then next ensuing — —

15000 0 0

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283000 0 0

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## FEBRUARY 9.

1. That, upon account, towards enabling the governors and guardians of the foundling-hospital, to maintain and educate such children as were received into the said hospital, on or before the 25th of March, 1760, from 31 December 1760, exclusive, to 31 December 1761, inclusive; and that the said sum be issued and paid for the use of the said hospital, without fee or reward, or any deduction whatsoever —

44197 10 0

2. That, to be employed in maintaining and supporting the fort of Annamaboo, and the other British forts and settlements upon the coast of Africa —

13000 0 0

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57197 10 0

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## FEBRUARY 17.

That, for discharging the extraordinary expences, not provided for by parliament, of bread, forage, and fire-wood, furnished by the chancery of war, at Hanover, in the years 1757 and 1758, to the Hessian and Prussian forces, acting in the army in Germany

336479 14 1½

FEBRUARY



£. s. d.

## FEBRUARY 18.

1. That, for the difference between the pay of major-general Anstruther's regiment of foot, on the British establishment, and the sum paid by Ireland for the said regiment, from 25 December, 1761, both days inclusive, being 365 days; and of several augmentations to his majesty's forces, since the estimates for the year 1761 were presented to parliament, from the respective times of the commencement of their establishment, to the 24th of December, 1761, inclusive

22361 11 8

2. That, in addition to the sum of 140,358l. 19s. 6d. already granted, for defraying the charge of the embodied militia of the several counties in South Britain, &c. from 25 December, 1760, to 24 December, 1761, both days inclusive, being 365 days

298668 9 10

321030 1 6

## FEBRUARY 19.

That, upon account, for paying and discharging the debts and wadset sums, with the necessary expences attending the payment of the same, claimed and sustained upon the lands and estate, which became forfeited to the crown, by the attainder of Simon lord Lovat, or so much of the said debts and sums, as shall be remaining unsatisfied, according to the several decrees in that behalf, respectively made by the lords of session, in Scotland, and pursuant to an act of 25 Geo. II. intituled, *An act for annexing*, &c.

38553 12 14

## FEBRUARY 23.

1. That, to make good the deficiency of the grants, for the service of 1760

89510 12 11

2. That, upon account, towards defraying the charge of the pay of the militia of England, when unembodied, and of the cloathing of the part of the said militia, now unembodied, for one year, beginning 25 March, 1761

70000 0 0

159510 12 11

## MARCH 7.

1. That, upon account, to enable his majesty to defray any extraordinary expences of the war, incurred, or to be incurred, for the service of 1761; and to take all such measures as may be necessary to disappoint, or defeat, any enterprizes or designs of the enemies, and as the exigency of affairs may require

1000000 0 0

2. That, on account, towards assisting his majesty



	£.	s.	d.
to grant a reasonable succour, in money, to the land- grave of Hesse Cassel, pursuant to treaty	120000	0	0

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1120000	0	0
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Sum total of the supplies granted for the ser- vice of the year 1761.	19616119	19	9 $\frac{3}{4}$
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On the 27th of November, 1760, as soon as these resolutions of the committee of supply were agreed to, it was resolved, That the house would, next morning, resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider of ways and means for raising the supply granted to his majesty; and the said committee being thus established, it was continued to the 9th of March, 1761, in which time it came to the following resolutions, which were agreed to by the house, as follow:

NOVEMBER 29.

1. A resolution, in the usual form, for continuing a land-tax of 4 s. in the pound, for a year ensuing, from 25 March, 1761

2037854 19 11

2. A resolution, in the usual form, for continuing an annual malt-tax of 6 d. *per* bushel, for a year ensuing, from 24 June, 1761

750000 0 0

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2787854 19 11

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DECEMBER 18. Resolved,

1. That the sum of 12 millions be raised in manner following; that is to say, That the sum of 11400000 l. be raised by annuities, after the rate of 3 l. *per cent. per annum*, transferrable at the Bank of England, and redeemable by parliament; and that every contributor to the said 11400000 l. shall also be intitled to an annuity of 1 l. 2 s. 6 d. for every 100 l. contributed, to continue, for a certain term of 99 years, irredeemable, and to be transferrable at the Bank of England; the said annuities of 3 l. *per cent.* and 1 l. 2 s. 6 d. *per cent.* to commence from the 5th day of January, 1761, and to be payable half-yearly, on the 5th day of July, and the 5th day of January, in every year; and that the sum of 600000 l. be also raised, by a lottery, attendant on the said annuities, the blanks and prizes whereof to be converted into like 3 l. *per cent.* transferrable annuities, at the Bank of England, with the above-mentioned 3 l. *per cent.* annuities to be payable in respect of the said 11400000 l. the said lottery annuities to be payable half-yearly, in like

manner,



manner, to commence from the 5th of January, 1762; and that as well the said 3 *per cent.* annuities, payable in respect of 11400000 l. as the annuities, payable in respect of the said 600000 l. be added to, and made part of, the joint stock of 4 *per cent.* annuities consolidated at the Bank of England; that every subscriber shall, on or before the 3d day of January next, make a deposit of 15 l. *per cent.* on such sum as he shall chuse to subscribe towards the said sum of 12 millions, with the cashiers of the Bank of England, as a security for his making the future payments, on or before the times herein limited; that is to say,

On the 12000000 l.

£. 15 *per cent.* deposit, on or before the 3d day of January next, on the whole 12 millions.

On the 11400000 l. in annuities.

£. 15 *per cent.* on or before the 28th day of February next.

10 *per cent.* on or before the 14th day of April next.

10 *per cent.* on or before the 27th day of May next.

10 *per cent.* on or before the 23d day of June next.

10 *per cent.* on or before the 31st day of July next.

10 *per cent.* on or before the 28th day of August next.

10 *per cent.* on or before the 25th day of September next

10 *per cent.* on or before the 20th day of October next

On the Lottery for 600000 l.

£. 25 *per cent.* on or before the 21st day of March next.

30 *per cent.* on or before the 29th day of April next.

30 *per cent.* on or before the 15th day of July next.

Which several sums, so received, shall, by the said cashiers, be paid into the receipt of his majesty's Exchequer, to be applied from time to time, to such services, as shall then have been voted by this house, in this session of parliament, and not otherwise; and that every subscriber, who shall pay in the whole of his subscription to the said 11400000 l. on or before the 18th day of September, 1761, shall be allowed a discount, after the rate of 3 l. *per cent. per annum*, from the day such subscription shall be so completed to the 20th day of October next; and that all such persons, as shall make their full payments on the said lottery, shall have their tickets delivered, as soon as they can conveniently be made out.

1. That an additional duty be paid for every barrel of beer, or ale, above six shillings the barrel (exclu-



£. s. d.

five of the duties of excise) brewed by the common brewer, or any other person or persons, who doth, or shall, sell, or tap out, beer or ale, publicly or privately, (to be paid by the common brewer, or by such other person or persons respectively) of three shillings, and so proportionably for a greater or lesser quantity.

## DECEMBER 20.

That the annuities which shall be payable in pursuance of a resolution of this house, of the 18th of this instant December, be charged upon the additional duties upon beer and ale, mentioned in a resolution of this house of the same day, for which the sinking fund shall be the collateral security — 12000000 0 0

## JANUARY 22, 1761.

That an act made 6 Geo II. for encouraging the trade of our sugar colonies, is near expiring, and fit to be continued.

## FEBRUARY 5.

1. That, for defraying the charges of his majesty's mints, &c. the duties of 10s. *per* ton, upon all wines, vinegar, cyder, and beer, imported into Great Britain, which, by an act of 27 Geo II. were continued, be further continued for seven years, from the 1st of March, 1761, and until the end of the next session then next ensuing — 15000 0 0

2. That all the powers, privileges, and advantages, which were granted by the act 18 Charles II. chap. 5. and are now in force, relating to the mints, and coinage of gold and silver monies, be further continued for seven years from the said day, &c.

## MARCH 3.

That, for raising the sum of one million, granted to his majesty, towards paying off and discharging the debt of the navy, and also the sum of 500000 l. in part of the supply granted to his majesty for naval services, the sum of 1500000 l. be raised by loans or Exchequer bills, to be charged upon the first aids to be granted in the next session of parliament; and such Exchequer bills, if not discharged, with interest thereon, on or before the 25th of March, 1762, to be exchanged and received in payment, in such manner as Exchequer bills have usually been exchanged and received in payment — 1500000 0 0

## MARCH 7.

That the sum of 88667 l. 10s. remaining in the receipt of the Exchequer, being part of the sum of 90000 l. granted to his late majesty, in 1759, upon

account,



£. s. d.

account, towards defraying the charge of 'pay and  
cloathing for the militia, from 31 December, 1758,  
to 25 March, 1760, and for repaying the sum of  
1332 l. 10 s. advanced by his said majesty for the  
service of the militia, be issued and applied towards  
raising the supply granted to his majesty in this  
session of parliament

88667 10 0

MARCH 10.

1. That there be raised, by loans or Exchequer  
bills, to be charged on the first aids to be granted in  
the next session of parliament, the sum of

1000000 0 0

2. That there be issued and applied, out of such  
monies as shall or may arise, of the surplusses, ex-  
cesses, or overplus monies, composing the sinking  
fund, the sum of

1762400 0 0

2762400 0 0

And to these resolutions of the committee of ways  
and means, we must add what was provided for by  
the 2d and 3d resolutions of the committee of supply,  
agreed to November 27th, as before mentioned, viz.  
the sum of

800000 0 0

Sum total of the provisions made by the last session  
of last parliament

19953922 6 11

Sum total granted

19616119 19 9 $\frac{3}{4}$

More provided for than granted

337802 10 1 $\frac{1}{4}$

*State of the whole of the grants made by this parliament during the seven  
years of its continuance.*

The first session sat but a very few days, and no  
money was granted by it.

By the second session there was granted

4073779 11 6 $\frac{1}{2}$

By the third

7229117 4 6 $\frac{3}{4}$

By the fourth

8350325 9 3

By the fifth

10486457 0 1

By the sixth

12761310 19 5 $\frac{1}{2}$

By the seventh

15503563 15 9 $\frac{1}{2}$

And by the eighth and last

19616119 19 9 $\frac{3}{4}$

Sum total of the money granted by last parliament

78020674 0 5 $\frac{3}{4}$



*An Account of the Public Debts, at the receipt of the Exchequer, standing out at Jan. 5, 1761, with the annual interest or other charges payable for the same.*

# E X C H E Q U E R.

Annuitiēs for long terms, being the remainder of the original sum contributed and unsubscribed to the South-Sea company	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
Ditto for lives, with the benefit of survivorship, being the original sum contributed	-	1,836,275	17	10 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	136,453	12
Ditto for two and three lives, being the sum remaining after what is fallen in by deaths	-	108,100	-	-	7,567	-
Exchequer bills made out for interest of old bills	-	77,005	14	10 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	9,335	12
<i>Note.</i> The land taxes and duties on malt being annual grants, are not charged in this account, nor the 1,000,000 l. charged on the deductions of 6d. per pound on pensions, &c. nor the sum of 1,000,000 l. charged on the supply, anno 1761, nor the 1,500,000 l. towards paying off the navy debt, &c. 1760.	-	2,200	-	-	-	-

# E A S T - I N D I A Company.

By two acts of parliament 9 Will. III. and two other acts 6 and 9 Anne, at 3 per cent.	3,200,000	-	-	97,285	14	4
Annuitiēs at 3 l. per cent. anno 1744 charged on the surplus of the additional duties on low wines, spirits, and strong waters	-	1,000,000	-	-	30,401	15

# B A N K of E N G L A N D.

On their original fund at 3 l. per cent. from 1 August 1743	-	-	-	100,000	-	-
For cancelling Exchequer bills 3 George I.	-	-	-	15,000	-	-
Purchased of the South-sea Company	-	-	-	121,898	3	5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Annuitiēs at 3 per cent. charged on the supplies of the funds for lottery, 1714	-	-	-	37,500	-	-
Ditto at 3 per cent. charged on the duties on coals since Lady-day, 1719	-	1,250,000	-	52,500	-	-
Ditto at 3 per cent. 1746, charged on the duties on licences for retailing spirituous liquors since Lady-day, 1746	-	1,750,000	-	-	-	-
Ditto at 3 per cent. charged on the sinking fund by acts 25, 28, 29, 32, and 33 George II.	-	986,800	-	29,604	-	-

13,537,821 5 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>

Ditto at 3 per cent. charged on the duties of offices and pensions, &c. by the act 31 George II.	500,000	-	-	-	-	-
Ditto at 3 per cent. charged on the additional subsidy on poundage, &c. by the act 32 George II.	6,600,000	-	-	21,627,821	5	1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
Ditto at 3 per cent. additional capital of 5 per cent, on the above 6,600,000 l. charged on the said fund by the said act	330,000	-	-	660,838	5	3



Ditto at 3 <i>per cent.</i> charged on the sinking fund by the act 25 Geo. II.	17,781,323	16	4	540,996	14	—
Ditto at 3 1-half <i>per cent.</i> charged on the said fund by the act 19 Geo. II.	1,500,000	—	—	53,343	15	—
Ditto at 3 1-half <i>per cent.</i> charged on the duties on offices and pensions, &c. by the act 31 Geo. II.	4,500,000	—	—	160,031	5	—
Ditto at 4 <i>per cent.</i> charged on the additional duty on malt, &c. by the act 33 Geo. II.	8,000,000	—	—	329,600	—	—
Ditto at 4 <i>per cent.</i> additional capital of 3 <i>per cent.</i> in lottery tickets on 8,000,000 l. charged on the said fund by the said act	240,000	—	—	—	—	—

*Memorandum.* The subscribers of 100 l. to the lottery 1745, were allowed an annuity for one life of 9 s. a ticket, which amounted to 22,500 l. but is now reduced, by lives fallen in, to 19,089 l. 15 s. and the subscribers of 100 l. to the lottery 1746, were allowed an annuity for one life of 18 s a ticket, which amounted to 45,000 l. but is now reduced, by lives fallen in, to 38,638 l. and also the subscribers of 100 l. for 3 *per cent.* annuities, anno 1757, were allowed an annuity for one life of 1 l. 2 s. 6 d. which amounted to 33,750 l. but is now reduced, by lives fallen in, to 33,082 l. 15 s. which annuities are an increase of the national debt, but cannot be added thereto, as money was advanced for the same

[M] 2

## SOUTH-SEA COMPANY.

On their capital stock and annuities, 9 George I.

Annuities at 3 l. *per cent.* anno 1751 charged on the sinking fund

25,025,309	13	11	1	765,329	3	1
2,100,000	—	—	—	648	5	—
98,604,836	8	2	1	3,302,673	15	11

*Memorandum.* The accounts of the Exchequer continuing to be made up to the old quarter days, is the reason that this account is made up to the 5th of January 1761, and not to Christmas last, as directed by order of the house.



SUPPLIES granted by Parliament for  
the Year 1762.

## NOVEMBER 21.

1. That 70,000 men be employed for the sea service, for 1762, including 19,061 marines.

2. That a sum, not exceeding 4*l. per man, per* month, be allowed for maintaining them for 13 months, including the ordnance for sea service

3640000 0 0

## NOVEMBER 26.

1. That a number of land-forces, including those in Germany, and on an expedition, and 4008 invalids, amounting to 67,676 effective men, commission and non-commission officers included, be employed for the service of 1762.

2. That for defraying the charge of the said number of land forces for 1762, *there be granted to his majesty \**

1629320 18 3

3. That for maintaining his majesty's forces and garrisons in the Plantations, Gibraltar, Guadaloupe, Africa, and the East-Indies, and for provisions for the garrisons in Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Gibraltar, Providence, Quebec, Guadaloupe, Senegal, and Goree, for 1762

873780 18 7

4. That for defraying the charge of four regiments of foot, on the Irish establishment, serving in North America, for 1762

23284 0 6

5. That for the charge of the office of ordnance, for land service, for 1762

343754 17 11

6. That for defraying the charge of an augmentation to his majesty's forces, consisting of 9370 men from 25 December 1761, to 25 December 1762, both inclusive

163711 12 6

7. That for the pay of the general, and general staff officers, and officers of the hospitals, for the land forces for 1762

72896 14 2

8. That for defraying the extraordinary expence of services performed by the office of ordnance for land service, and not provided for by parliament in 1761

299161 4 4

3405910 6 1

\* These words in Italics are to be repeated at the end of almost every resolution.

NOVEMBER



## NOVEMBER 28.

	£.	s.	d.
1. That for the ordinary of the navy, including half pay to sea officers, for 1762 — — —	272226	9	1
2. That for completing the chapel, for the use of the hospital for sick and wounded seamen, at Haslar, near Gosport, and such other works as may be afterwards found proper to be performed before the whole work is put out of hand — — —	1000	0	0
3. That for completing the works of the hospital for sick and wounded seamen, building near Plymouth — — —	6000	0	0
4. That towards the buildings, rebuildings, and repairs, of his majesty's ships, for 1762 — — —	200000	0	0
5. That towards paying off, and discharging, the debt of the navy — — —	1000000	0	0
	<hr/>		
	1479226	9	1
	<hr/>		

## DECEMBER 7.

1. That for the charge of transport service between the first of October 1760, and the 30th of September 1761, including the expence of victualling the land forces within the said time — — —	835025	3	8
2. That to enable his majesty to pay off and discharge the Exchequer bills, made out by virtue of an act of last session, and charged upon the first aids, or supplies, to be granted in this session of parliament — — —	1500000	0	0
	<hr/>		
	2335025	3	8
	<hr/>		

## DECEMBER 10.

1. That for defraying the charge of 39,773 men of the troops of Hanover, Wolfenbuttle, Saxe-Gotha, and the count of Buckeburg, together with that of general and staff officers, actually employed against the common enemy, in concert with the king of Prussia, from 25 Dec. 1761, to 24 Dec. 1762, both inclusive, to be issued in advance every two months, in like manner as the pay of the Hessian forces, now in the service of Great Britain, the said body of troops to be mustered by an English commissary, and the effective state thereof to be ascertained by the signature of the commander in chief of the said forces — — —	465638	16	2½
2. That for defraying the charge of 2120 horse, and 9900 foot, together with the general and staff officers, the officers of the hospital, and the officers, [M] 3			



£. s. d.

and others, belonging to the train of artillery, the troops of the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, in the pay of Great Britain, for 365 days, from 25 Dec. 1761, to 24 Dec. 1762, both inclusive, together with the subsidy for the said time, pursuant to treaty —

268360 8 8

3. That for defraying the charge of an additional corps of 1576 horse, and 8808 foot, together with the general and staff officers, the officers of the hospital and officers, and others, belonging to the train of artillery, the troops of the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, in the pay of Great Britain, for 365 days, from the first of January 1762, to the 31st of December following, both inclusive, pursuant to treaty

147071 5 2

4. That for defraying the charge of 1444 cavalry, and 2330 infantry, the troops of the reigning duke of Brunswick, in the pay of Great Britain, for 365 days, from 25 December 1761, to 24 December 1762, both inclusive, together with the subsidy for the said time, pursuant to treaties — —

68008 9 1

5. That for defraying the charge of five battalions, serving with his majesty's army in Germany, each battalion consisting of one troop of 101 men, and four companies of foot of 125 men each, with a corps of artillery, for 365 days, from 25 December 1761, to 24 December 1762, both inclusive

25504 6 8

6. That for defraying the charge of the embodied militia, of the several counties in South Britain, and of the sensible men in Argyleshire, and of lord Sutherland's battalion of Highlanders, in North Britain, from 25 December 1761, to 24 December 1762, both inclusive, being 365 days — —

443952 10 10

7. That for defraying the charge of cloathing for the embodied militia, for 1762, upon account

60706 4 1

8. That to enable his majesty to discharge the like sum, raised in pursuance of an act of last session, and charged upon the first aids, or supplies, to be granted in this session of parliament — —

1000000 0 0

9. That towards defraying the charges of forage, bread, bread-waggons, train of artillery, and provisions of wood, straw, &c. and other extraordinary expences and contingencies of his majesty's army, under the command of prince Ferdinand —

1000000 0 0

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 3479242 0 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ 


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## DECEMBER 14.

That for defraying the extraordinary expences of his majesty's land forces, and other services incurred,



to 24 November 1761, and not provided for by parliament

DECEMBER 22.

1. That for defraying the charge for allowances to the several officers, and private gentlemen of the two troops of horse guards, and regiment of horse reduced, and to the superannuated gentlemen of the four troops of horse guards, for 1762

2952 13 4

2. That for the paying of pensions to the widows of such reduced officers of his majesty's land forces and marines, as died upon the establishment of half pay in Great Britain, and who were married to them before 25 December 1716, for 1762

1838 0 0

3. That upon account of the reduced officers of his majesty's land forces and marines, for 1762

34383 0 0

4. That, to be applied towards the improving, widening, and enlarging the passage over, and through London bridge

15000 0 0

54173 13 4

JANUARY 26, 1762.

1. That to enable his majesty to give a proper compensation to the respective provinces in North-America, for the expences incurred by them in the levying, cloathing, and paying of the troops, raised by the same, according as the active vigour and strenuous efforts of the respective provinces shall be thought by his majesty to merit, upon account

133333 6 8

2. That to be paid to the East India company, towards enabling them to defray the expence of a military force in their settlements, to be maintained by them, in lieu of the battalion commanded by general Adlercron, withdrawn from thence, and now returned to Ireland

20000 0 0

3. That for out-pensioners of Chelsea Hospital, for 1762, upon account

13749 10 5

4. That for maintaining and supporting the civil establishment of Nova Scotia, for 1762, upon account

5684 1 10

5. That for defraying the charge of the civil establishment of Georgia, and other incidental expences attending the same, from 24 June 1761, to 24 June 1762, upon account

4057 10 0

6. That to be employed in maintaining and supporting the fort of Annamaboo, and the other British forts and settlements upon the coast of Africa.

13000 0 0

[M] 4

7. That



£. s. d.

7. That to replace to the sinking fund the like sum, paid out of the same, to make good the deficiency on 5 July 1761, of the several rates and duties upon offices and pensions, and upon houses, and upon windows, or lights, which were made a fund, by an act 31 George II. for paying annuities at the Bank, in respect of five millions borrowed, towards the supply for 1758 — —

52393 16 9½

8. That to replace to the sinking fund the like sum, paid out of the same, to make good the deficiency on 5 July 1761, of several duties on malt, granted by an act 33 George II. to answer annuities, after the rate of 4l. *per cent.* charged thereupon

10540 0 0

9. That to replace to the sinking fund the like sum paid out of the same, to make good the deficiency on 5 July 1761, of the additional duty on strong beer and ale, to answer and pay the several annuities of 3l. *per cent.* and 1l. 2s. 6d. *per cent.* on 11,400,000l. part of 12 millions borrowed, towards the supply granted by an act of 1 George III. for 1761 — — —

103906 0 0

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 356664 5 8½
 

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## JANUARY 28.

That for defraying the extraordinary expences of his majesty's land forces, and other services incurred, from 24 November 1761, to 24 December following, and not provided for by parliament —

958384 0 10

## FEBRUARY 1.

That towards enabling the governors and guardians of the Foundling Hospital, to maintain and educate such children as were received thereinto, on or before 25 March 1760, from 31 December 1761, exclusive, to 31 December 1762, inclusive: and that the said sum be issued and paid, for the said use, without fee or reward, or any deduction whatsoever

41752 10 0

## MARCH 23.

1. That towards enabling the trustees of the British Musæum to carry on the execution of the trust reposed in them by parliament — —

2000 0 0

2. That to be applied towards new paving the squares, streets, lanes, and alleys, of the city and liberty of Westminster, the parishes of St. Mary-le-bone, St. Giles in the fields, St. George the Martyr, St. George Bloomsbury, that part of the parish of St. Andrews, Holborn, which lies in the county of Mid-

dlesex,



Middlesex, the several liberties of the Rolls and Savoy,  
and that part of the duchy of Lancaster which lies  
in the county of Middlesex — —

£. s. d.

5000 0 0

7000 0 0

MARCH 26.

1. That towards defraying the charge of the pay  
of the militia of England, when unembodied, and of  
the cloathing of part of the said militia, now unem-  
bodied, for one year, beginning 25 March, 1762,  
upon account — —

20000 0 0

2. That towards enabling the commissioners ap-  
pointed by an act passed 33 George II. *for repairing  
and widening the roads from Deanburn-bridge, through  
Greenlaw, and part of the Jedburg road, by Lauder,  
in Berwickshire, to Cornhill, in Durham county, and  
for building a bridge over the Tweed, near Coldstream,*  
to build the said bridge, and to defray such other ex-  
pences as may be found necessary in relation thereto

4000 0 0

24000 0 0

APRIL 1.

1. That towards assisting his majesty to grant a  
reasonable succour, in money, to the landgrave of  
Hesse-Cassel, pursuant to treaty, on account — —

50000 0 0

2. That to make good the deficiency of the grants,  
for 1761 — — — —

112613 5 5½

162613 5 5½

MAY 13.

1. That to enable his majesty to defray any extra-  
ordinary expences of the war, incurred, or to be in-  
curred, for the service of 1762, and to assist the king-  
dom of Portugal, an ancient and natural ally of his  
majesty's crown, and to take all such measures, as  
may be necessary to disappoint and defeat any enter-  
prizes, or designs of his enemies, against his majesty,  
or his allies, and as the exigency of affairs may re-  
quire, upon account — —

1000000 0 0

2. That to make good the like sum, issued, pur-  
suant to address of this house, by his majesty, to Je-  
remlah Dyson, Esq; towards defraying the expence  
of printing the journals of this house, from the be-  
ginning of the 9th parliament, of Great Britain, to  
the end of the last session of parliament, and also to-  
wards defraying the expence of making and print-  
ing indexes to the 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th

volumes,



# 170] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1762.

volumes, of the said journals, which have been already printed — — —

£. s. d.  
1500 0 0

1001500 0 0

Sum total of the supplies granted by this session

18299153 18 11½

From hence we may see, that if from the sum total of the supplies granted by the last preceding session, we deduct the 800,000l. then granted for the support of the civil list, and the 670,000l. then granted to the king of Prussia, the sum total of the supplies granted by this session, will exceed what was granted by the last in the sum of — — —

19616119 19 9¾  
1470000 0 0

18146119 19 9¾

153033 19 1¼

And as to the provisions made by the session for raising these supplies, I shall observe, that as soon as the house had, on 21 November; agreed to the two first resolutions of the committee of supply, it was resolved, that the house would, on the 22d, resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider of ways and means for raising the supply granted to his majesty; and the resolutions of this committee, as agreed to by the house, were as follow:

## NOVEMBER 24.

1. That, *towards raising the supply granted to his majesty*, a land-tax of 4s. in the pound, and no more, be raised within the space of one year from, &c. —
2. That the duties on malt, &c. be further continued for one year, &c. — — —

2037854 19 11

750000 0 0

2787854 19 11

## DECEMBER 15.

1. That the sum of twelve millions be raised by annuities in manner following; that is to say, that every contributor to the said twelve millions shall, for every 100l. contributed, be entitled to an annuity transferrable at the Bank of England, after the rate of 4 *per cent. per annum*, for nineteen years, and then to stand reduced to 3l. *per cent. per annum*, redeemable by parliament; and also to an annuity, transferrable at the Bank of England, of 1l. *per cent.* to continue irredeemable for a certain term of 98 years, and then to cease; the said annuities of 4l. *per cent.* and 1l. *per cent.* to be charged upon the sinking fund, to commence from the 5th day of January, 1762, and to be payable half yearly on the 5th day of July, and on the 5th day of January in every year; and that the said 4 *per cent.* annuities shall be added to, and

made,



L. s. d.

made, one joint stock of transferrable 4 *per cent.* annuities at the Bank of England, with such other 4 *per cent.* annuities transferrable at the Bank of England, as shall, by any act of this present session of parliament, be charged upon, and made payable out of, the sinking fund; and that every such contributor shall, for every sum of 80*l.* *per cent.* paid in to the cashiers of the Bank of England, upon account of his share to the said annuities, after the rate of 4*l.* *per cent. per annum*, be entitled to 100*l.* capital in the said stock of 4*l.* *per cent.* annuities; and for every sum of 20*l.* paid in like manner, upon account of his share of the said annuities of 1*l.* *per cent.* shall be intitled to an annuity of 1*l.* to continue for a certain term of 98 years, in manner above-mentioned.

That every contributor shall, on or before the 23d of this instant December, make a deposit with the cashiers of the Bank of England of 15*l.* *per cent.* on such part of the sum, or sums, to be contributed by him towards the said sum of twelve millions, as shall be payable in respect to his share in the said 4 *per cent.* annuities, and also a deposit of 15*l.* *per cent.* on such part of the sum, or sums, so to be contributed, as shall be payable in respect of his share in the said 1*l.* *per cent.* annuities, as a security for his making the future payments respectively, on or before the times herein after limited; that is to say,

On 9,600,000*l.* to be paid in respect of the said 4 *per cent.* annuities,

10 *per cent.* on or before the 10th day of February next.

10 *per cent.* on or before the 23d day of March next.

10 *per cent.* on or before the 21st day of April next.

10 *per cent.* on or before the 26th day of May next.

10 *per cent.* on or before the 23d day of June next.

15 *per cent.* on or before the 18th day of August next.

10 *per cent.* on or before the 17th day of September next.

10 *per cent.* on or before the 20th day of October next.

On 2,400,000*l.* to be paid in respect of the said 1*l.* *per cent.* annuities,

25 *per cent.* on or before the 10th day of March next.

30 *per cent.* on or before the 12th day of May next.

30 *per cent.* on or before the 21st day of July next.

Which



Which several sums so received shall, by the said cashiers, be paid into the receipt of his majesty's exchequer, to be applied, from time to time, to such services as shall then have been voted by this house, in this session of parliament, and not otherwise.

And that every contributor, who shall pay in the whole of his contribution on account of his share in the said 4 *per cent.* annuities, at any time, on or before the 18th day of September next, or on account of his share in the said 1 *per cent.* annuities, on or before the 13th day of May next, shall be allowed a discount after the rate of 3 *per cent. per annum* on the sum so completing his contribution respectively, to be computed from the day of completing such contribution, to the 20th day of October next, in respect of the sum paid on account of the said 4 *per cent.* annuities, and to the 21st day of July next, in respect of the sum paid on account of the 1 *per cent.* annuities

12000000 0 0

2. That there shall be paid for every window, or light, in every dwelling-house inhabited, or to be inhabited, within the kingdom of Great-Britain, which shall contain eight or nine windows, or lights, and no more, the yearly sum of one shilling, for every window, or light, in such house, to commence from the fifth day of April, 1762.

3. That there shall be paid for every window, or light, in every dwelling-house as aforesaid, which shall contain ten or eleven windows, or lights, and no more, the yearly sum of six-pence for each window, or light, in such house, over and above all duties chargeable thereupon, to commence from the fifth day of April, 1762.

4. That there shall be paid for every window, or light, in every dwelling-house, as aforesaid, which shall contain twelve, thirteen, or fourteen windows, or lights, and no more, the yearly sum of one shilling for each window or light, in such house, over and above all duties chargeable thereupon, to commence from the 5th day of April, 1762.

5. That there shall be paid for every window, or light, in every dwelling-house as aforesaid, which shall contain fifteen, sixteen, seventeen, eighteen, or nineteen windows, or lights, and no more, the yearly sum of three-pence for each window, or light, in such house, over and above all duties chargeable thereupon, to commence from the fifth day of April, 1762.

6. That,



6. That, towards making good to the sinking fund the annuities charged thereupon, in respect of the said sum of twelve millions, the said additional rates and duties upon the windows, or lights, be carried to, and made part of, the said fund.

7. That, towards making good to the sinking fund the said annuities charged thereupon, the surplus of the monies, which shall from time to time arise from the several additional duties laid upon spirituous liquors, by two acts, one made in the 24th and the other in the 33d year of his late majesty's reign, after satisfying all payments charged on the said duties, which surplus is reserved for the disposition of parliament; and also the farther additional duties upon spirituous liquors granted to his majesty, in this session of parliament, be carried to, and made part of, the said fund.

## DECEMBER 17.

1. That the 4 l. *per centum* annuities, transferrable at the Bank of England, payable in respect of the principal sum of eight millions, raised by virtue of an act, made in the 33d year of his late majesty's reign, and also upon the additional capital of 3 l. added to every 100 l. advanced towards the said sum of eight millions, amounting to 240000 l. together with the charges and expences attending the same, be, with the consent of the proprietors of the said annuities, charged upon, and paid out of, the sinking fund; and that such persons, who shall not, on or before the twenty-first day of June, 1762, signify their dissent in books to be opened, at the Bank of England, for that purpose, shall be deemed and taken to assent thereto.

2. That all the monies, that shall or may arise, from and after the fifth day of January, 1762, of the produce of the several duties on malt, which by the said act of the 33d year of his late majesty's reign, were made a fund for payment of the said four pounds *per cent.* annuities, shall be carried to, and made part of, the sinking fund.

## JANUARY 26, 1762.

That, towards paying off and discharging the debt of the navy, and also the sum of 500000 l. in part of the supply granted to his majesty, for naval service, there be raised, by loans or Exchequer bills, to be charged upon the first aids to be granted in the next session of parliament; and such Exchequer bills, if not discharged, with interest thereon, on or before 25



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March 1763, to be exchanged and received in payment in such manner as Exchequer bills have usually been received in payment — — — £. s. d.  
1500000 0 0

MAY 17.

1. That the sum granted by act 2 Geo. II. upon account of arrears of his late majesty's civil list revenues, and now, by his majesty's direction, replaced and refunded out of the arrears of the said revenues, which were standing out at the time of his late majesty's demise, be issued and applied — — — 115000 0 0

2. That the sum remaining in the receipt of the Exchequer, being part of the sum of 100000 l. granted to his late majesty in 1758, upon account, towards defraying the charge of pay and cloathing for the militia for that year, and for defraying such expences as were actually incurred upon the account of the militia in 1757, be issued and applied — — — 20000 0 0

3. That the sum remaining in the receipt of the Exchequer, which was granted to his late majesty in 1760, upon account, towards defraying the charge of pay and cloathing for the unembodied militia, for the year ended 25 March, 1759, be issued and applied — — — 80000 0 0

4. That the sum remaining in the receipt of the Exchequer, which was granted to his majesty, in the last session of parliament, upon account, towards defraying the charge of the pay of the militia of England, when unembodied, and of the cloathing of the part of the said militia then unembodied, for one year, beginning 25 March, 1761, be issued and applied — — — 70000 0 0

5. That the sum remaining in the receipt of the Exchequer, being the surplus of the several duties on malt, established by an act, 33 Geo. II. for paying annuities, granted in 1760, after satisfying all charges and incumbrances thereupon, to the 5th of January, 1762, be issued and applied — — — 73678 0 0

6. That out of such monies, as shall or may arise of the surplusses, excesses, or overplus monies, and other revenues, composing the sinking fund, there be issued and applied the sum of — — — 1009217 2 8½

7. That towards making good and securing the payment of the sums of money, directed by an act of 32 Geo. II. to be applied in augmentation of the salaries of the judges and justices therein mentioned, within England and Wales, there be granted to his majesty an additional stamp-duty of 2 l. upon every piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of

papers



aper, on which shall be ingrossed, or written, any admission into any of the four inns of court.

8. That towards making good and securing the payment of the said Sums, there be granted to his majesty an additional stamp duty of 2l. upon every piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be ingrossed, or written, any register, entry, testimonial, or certificate of the degree of utter barrister, taken in any of the four inns of court.

9. That there be raised by loans or Exchequer bills, to be charged on the first aids to be granted in the next session of parliament, the sum of

—	1000000	0	0
	2367895	2	8½
	18655750	2	8½

Sum total of the provisions made by this session

But to this we must add, what may hereafter be raised by the said 7th and 8th resolutions of May the 7th, which cannot be ascertained, because the deficiency of the fund, established by the act therein mentioned, is not known. However, without this addition, we may see that the total sum provided for by the committee of ways and means, exceeds the total sum granted by the committee of supply by the sum of 356,596 l. 3 s. 9 d. yet notwith-

standing this excess, we may probably have, as usual, a deficiency to be provided for by the next session of parliament; beside providing for such services as may this year be incurred, though not before provided for, which amounted last year to a very large sum, as appears by the 8th resolution of November 17th, the first of December 7th, that of December 14th, and that of January 28th, being, in the whole, 3,646,232 l. 13 s. 11 d.



*An Account of all the Public Debts, at the receipt of the Exchequer, standing out at Jan. 5, 1762, with the annual Interest or other charges payable for the same.*

E X C H E Q U E R.

Annuities for long terms, being the remainder of the original sum contributed and unsubscribed to the South-Sea company —  
 Ditto for lives, with the benefit of survivorship, being the original sum contributed —  
 Ditto for two and three lives, being the sum remaining after what is fallen in by deaths —  
 Exchequer bills made out for interest of old bills —

*Note,* The land taxes and duties on malt being annual grants, are not charged in this account, nor the 1,000,000 l. charged on the deduction of 6 d. *per* pound on pensions, &c. nor the 1,500,000 l. towards paying off the navy debt, &c. *anno* 1761, nor the sum of 1,000,000 l. charged on the supplies, *anno* 1762.

E A S T - I N D I A Company.

By two acts of parliament of 9 Wil. III. and two other acts 6 and 9 Anne, at 3 *per cent*.  
 Annuities at 3 l. *per cent*. *anno* 1744, charged on the surplus of the additional duties on low wines, spirits, and strong waters —

B A N K of E N G L A N D.

On their original fund at 3 l. *per cent*. from 1 August 1743 —  
 For cancelling Exchequer bills 3 George I. —  
 Purchased of the South-Sea company —  
 Annuities at 3 *per cent*. charged on the duties on coals since Lady-day, 1719 —  
 Ditto at 3 *per cent*. charged on the surplus of the funds for lottery, 1714 —  
 Ditto at 3 *per cent*. charged on the duties on licences for retailing spirituous liquors since Lady-day 1746 —  
 Ditto at 3 *per cent*. charged on the sinking fund by the acts 25, 28,

29, 32, and 33 George II. — 21,137,821 5 1¼

Ditto at 3 *per cent*. charged on the duties on offices and pensions, &c. — 500,000 —

by the act 31 George II. —

Ditto at 3 *per cent*. charged on the additional duty on strong beer and ale, by the act 1 Geo. III. — 11,400,000 —

Ditto at 3 *per cent*. in the lottery tickets charged on said fund by the said act — 600,000 —

Principal Debt.

£. s. d.  
 1,836,275 17 10¼  
 108,100 — —  
 76,005 14 10¼  
 2,200 — —

3,200,000 — —

1,000,000 — —

3,200,000 — —

500,000 — —

4,000,000 — —

1,750,000 — —

1,250,000 — —

986,800 — —

33,627,821 5 1¼

£. s. d.  
 136,453 12 8

7,567 — —

9,215 12 —

97,285 14 4

30,401 15 8

100,000 — —

15,000 — —

121,898 3 5½

52,500 — —

37,500 — —

29,604 — —

102,083 5 3



Ditto at 3 *per cent.* charged on the sinking fund by the act 25 Geo. II. — — — — —  
 Ditto at 3 1-half *per cent.* charged on the said fund by the act 29 Geo. II. — — — — —  
 Ditto at 3 1-half *per cent.* charged on the duties on offices and pensions, &c. by the act 31 Geo. II. — — — — —  
 Ditto at 4 *per cent.* charged on the additional duty on malt, &c. by the act 33 Geo. II. — — — — —  
 Ditto at 4 *per cent.* additional capital of 3 *per cent.* in lottery tickets on 8,000,000*l.* charged on the said fund by the said act — — — — —

340,990 14  
 53,343 15  
 160,031 5  
 334,235 —

17,701,323 10  
 1,500,000 —  
 4,500,000 —  
 8,240,000 —

*Memorandum.* The subscribers of 100*l.* to the lottery 1745, were allowed an annuity for one life of 9*s.* a ticket, which amounted to 22,500*l.* but is now reduced, by lives fallen in, to 18,812*l.* 15*s.* and the subscribers of 100*l.* to the lottery 1746, were allowed an annuity for one life of 18*s.* a ticket, which amounted to 45,000*l.* but is now reduced by lives fallen in, to 38,216*l.* and the subscribers of 100*l.* for 3 *per cent.* annuities *anno* 1757, were allowed an annuity for one life of 1*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* which amounted to 33,750*l.* but is now reduced by lives fallen in, to 32,937*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.* and also the subscribers of 100*l.* for 3 *per cent.* annuities *anno* 1761, were allowed an annuity for ninety-nine years of 1*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* amounting to 128,250*l.* which annuities are an increase of the national debt, but cannot be added thereto, as money was advanced for the same.

218,215 17 6

# S O U T H S E A Company.

On their capital stock and annuities, 9 Geo. I. — — — — —  
 Annuities at 3*l.* *per cent.* *anno* 1751, charged on the sinking fund — — — — —

765,326 3 1 1/2  
 64,181 5 —

25,025,309 13 11 1/2  
 2,100,000 — —

3,794,594 3 5

110,603,836 8 2 1/4



## STATE PAPERS.

*His majesty's most gracious speech to both houses of Parliament, on June 2d. 1762.*

*My lords, and gentlemen,*

THE public business, for which you were assembled, being now happily concluded, the advanced season of the year calls upon me to put an end to this session of parliament; which I cannot do, without expressing the highest approbation of the zeal, unanimity, and dispatch, which have so signally appeared in the course of your proceedings.

At the opening of this session I informed you, that it had been my earnest wish to restore the blessings of peace to my people; but that it was my fixt resolution, with your concurrence and support, to carry on the war in the most effectual manner, till that desirable object could be obtained upon equitable and honourable conditions. My sentiments in both these respects continue invariably the same, and I have the satisfaction to find them confirmed by the unanimous voice of my parliament.

The declaration, which motives of humanity have engaged the emperor of Russia to make to all the courts in that alliance, and the great and happy change in the situation of my ally, the king of Prussia, gives us just reason to hope, that the other belligerent powers may be induced to entertain the same pacific dispositions. On the other hand,

our rupture with Spain, notwithstanding my utmost endeavours to prevent it, and the violent and unprovoked attack with which the dominions of my ancient ally, the king of Portugal, are threatened, sufficiently evince the wisdom and necessity of that firmness and resolution in my parliament, which have enabled me to continue our military preparations without the least interruption or delay; and considerably to augment my fleets and armies in those parts, in which our enemies can be more sensibly distressed. The signal success of my arms, in the conquest of Martinico, and the acquisition of many other valuable settlements in the West Indies, have, under the blessing of God, been the happy consequences of these measures. I trust in the Divine Providence, that they will be attended with still farther advantages, until the powers at war with us shall be disposed to such terms of accommodation, as the dignity and just rights of my crown, the future security and commercial interests of my subjects, will permit me to accept.

*Gentlemen of the house of commons,*

When I consider the ample supplies which you have granted, I cannot but lament the heavy burthens, which the necessities of the public service have obliged you to impose upon my people. From this consideration, I have endeavoured, in every instance, to restrain  
my



my demands within as narrow bounds, as the difficulties in which I found myself involved, would allow. From the same motive, my utmost care shall be employed to the most exact œconomy, consistent with the safety of my kingdoms, and the good faith and honour of my crown.

I return you my particular thanks, for the proof which you have given of your regard to me and to my family, in the ample provision you have made for the queen; whose virtues, and affection to this country, will, I am confident, be found to deserve it.

*My lords and gentlemen,*

I have the fullest persuasion, that you will continue to diffuse in your several counties that spirit of concord, which you have yourselves so steadily exerted in parliament: and you may be assured, that I will, on my part, return your zeal and affection for my person and government, by a constant attention to whatever may contribute to the ease of my subjects; and that it is my ardent wish, to found the glories of my reign on the union of my people, and on the welfare and prosperity of these my kingdoms.

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*His majesty's most gracious speech to both houses of parliament, on Nov. 25, 1762.*

*My lords and gentlemen,*

**I** Found, on my accession to the throne, these my kingdoms engaged in a bloody and expensive war. I resolved to prosecute it with the utmost vigour; determined, however, to consent to peace, upon just and honourable terms, whenever the events of war should

incline the enemy to the same pacific disposition.

A negotiation was accordingly begun last year, which proved ineffectual. The war became afterwards more general by the resolution of the court of Madrid to take part with the enemy, notwithstanding my best endeavours to prevent it.

This, with the unexpected attack of my natural and good ally the king of Portugal, greatly affected our commerce, multiplied the objects of our military operations, and increased our difficulties, by adding to the heavy burthens under which this country already laboured.

My object still continued the same, to attain an honourable peace, by pursuing this more extensive war in the most vigorous manner. I embraced therefore an occasion offered me, of renewing the negotiation; but at the same time I exerted so effectually the strength which you had put into my hands, and have been so well served by my fleets and armies in the execution of my plans, that history cannot furnish examples of greater glory, or greater advantages acquired by the arms of this, or any other nation, in so short a period of time. My general prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, and my army in Germany, have gained immortal honour, by many signal advantages obtained during the course of this campaign, over an enemy superior in numbers. The progress of the French and Spanish arms in Portugal has been stopt: and that kingdom preserved by the firmness and resolution of its sovereign, and by the military talents of the reigning count La Lippe, seconded by the valour of the troops under his command. Martinico,



and other islands in the West Indies, have been conquered; the Havannah, a place of the utmost importance to Spain, is in my possession; and with it great treasures, and a very considerable part of the navy of Spain, are fallen into our hands.

I cannot mention these achievements, which reflect such honour on my crown, without giving my public testimony to the unwearied perseverance, and unparalleled bravery of my officers and private men, by sea and land, who, by repeated proofs, have shewn, that no climate, no hardships, no dangers can check the ardour, or resist the valour, of the British arms.

Next to the assistance of Almighty God, it is owing to their conduct and courage, that my enemies have been brought to accept of peace on such terms, as, I trust, will give my parliament entire satisfaction. Preliminary articles have been signed by my minister, with those of France and Spain, which I will order in due time to be laid before you.

The conditions of these are such, that there is not only an immense territory added to the empire of Great Britain, but a solid foundation laid for the increase of trade and commerce; and the utmost care has been taken to remove all occasions of future disputes between my subjects and those of France and Spain, and thereby to add security and permanency to the blessings of peace.

While I carefully attended to the essential interest of my own kingdoms, I have had the utmost regard to the good faith of my crown, and the interest of my allies. I have made peace for the king of Portugal, securing to him

all his dominions; and all the territories of the king of Prussia, as well as my other allies in Germany, or elsewhere, occupied by the armies of France, are to be immediately evacuated.

*Gentlemen of the house of commons,*

I have ordered the proper estimates to be laid before you; and shall, without delay, proceed to make reductions to the utmost extent, where-ever they may be found consistent with wisdom and sound policy. It is the greatest affliction for me to find, that, though the war is at an end, our expences cannot immediately be so much lessened as I desire; but as nothing could have carried us through the great and arduous difficulties surrounding us, but the most vigorous and expensive efforts, we must expect, for some time, to feel the consequences of them to a considerable degree.

*My lords, and gentlemen,*

It was impossible to execute what this nation has so gloriously performed in all parts of the world, without the loss of great numbers of men. When you consider this loss, whether on the principles of policy or humanity, you will see one of the many reasons which induced me to enter early into negotiation, so as to make a considerable progress in it, before the fate of many operations was determined; and now to hasten the conclusion of it, to prevent the necessity of making preparations for another campaign. As by this peace my territories are greatly augmented, and new sources open for trade and manufactures, it is my earnest desire, that you would consider of such methods in the settlements of our new acquisitions, as shall most effectually tend to the security of those



those countries, and to the improvement of the commerce and navigation of Great Britain. I cannot mention our acquisitions, without earnestly recommending to your care and attention my gallant subjects by whose valour they were made.

We could never have carried on this extensive war, without the greatest union at home. You will find the same union peculiarly necessary, in order to make the best use of the great advantages acquired by the peace; and to lay the foundation of that œconomy which we owe to ourselves, and to our posterity, and which can alone relieve this nation from the heavy burthens brought upon it by the necessities of this long and expensive war.

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*The humble address of the right hon. the lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled, Nov. 12, 1762.*

*Most gracious sovereign,*

**W**E your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your majesty our humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

Permit us, sir, to take this earliest opportunity, to entreat your majesty to accept our most sincere and fervent congratulations on the birth of an heir to your crown, which adds to your majesty's domestic happiness, and endears your royal comfort to the people of these realms; and promises, that, under a prince formed to the arts of government by your majesty's royal example, the civil and religious liberties,

the glory, the commerce, and the power of Great Britain, will be transmitted to posterity.

It is with the utmost gratitude that we acknowledge your majesty's unwearied attention to the prosperity and happiness of your people; which made your majesty constantly solicitous, even amidst the glory of your victories, to deliver them from the burthens of war, by a just and honourable peace. At the same time, we cannot but admire the wisdom, which pointed out to your majesty the most vigorous efforts, as the surest means of procuring this blessing for your people.

We beg leave to offer your majesty our humble congratulations on the signal successes, which have attended your majesty's arms in the course of the present year; on the reduction of the strong island of Martinico; on the conquest of the Havannah, the bulwark of the Spanish colonies, and on the acquisition of so much treasure, and of so great a part of the Spanish marine; on the many advantages obtained in Germany over the arms of France, although superior in numbers, by the able conduct of your majesty's general prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, and by the valour of the troops under his command; and on the preservation of Portugal from the dangers which threatened instantly to overwhelm that kingdom, and which could not have been so long withstood, but by the firmness of its sovereign, by the military talents of the reigning count La Lippe, and by the valour of the troops employed in that service. These achievements must be acknowledged to be equal to whatever has been performed in any former year, even



of this prosperous war; though a new enemy necessarily made our military operations more extensive, and added new difficulties to those we struggled with before; achievements which reflect the highest honour on the councils that planned them, on the commanders who carried them into execution, and on the fleets and armies, whose intrepidity no dangers could dismay.

Allow us to express, in the most fervent and grateful manner, our joy and congratulations, that, by these repeated efforts, your majesty has at length compelled your enemies to consent to terms of peace; as well as to offer to your majesty our sincere thanks, for your having informed your parliament, that the preliminary articles are already signed by your majesty's minister, and by those of France and Spain; for your majesty's most gracious assurances, that you will cause these articles in due time to be laid before them; and for the lights your majesty has been pleased to give concerning the conditions of them, which afford to your people the fairest prospect of future happiness, prosperity, and security.

Your majesty may be assured, that we will not fail, on our part, to take, as soon as possible, into our consideration, the proper methods for the settlement of our new acquisitions; for improving their commerce, and thereby rendering them useful to the mother-country. Truly sensible of the merits of those gallant men, by whose valour these acquisitions have been made, we shall be ready to concur in every reasonable proposition for rewarding them; lamenting at the same time, as we do, the loss of so many

of our fellow-subjects, by which the national strength is so much impaired. We cannot sufficiently admire that wisdom, which seized the fortunate hour of reaping the advantages of our victories, while we were yet on the summit of our glory, and before we had experienced any reverse of fortune. In grateful return of those many blessings, which your majesty's royal wisdom and fortitude have procured for us, your majesty may depend on our warmest zeal, on our constant endeavours to promote that unanimity your majesty recommends in all our proceedings, and on our attention to those measures of œconomy, which are the peculiar business of times of peace, and which alone can relieve your majesty's faithful people from the oppressive burthens of so long and so expensive a war.

*His majesty's most gracious answer,*

*My lords,*

**T**HIS very affectionate and loyal address gives me the truest satisfaction. I thank you heartily for it; as well as for your congratulations on the birth of the prince, my son; and for the regard you express, on this occasion, for the queen.

The chearful and steady support of my parliament throughout the war, has been attended with uninterrupted success: and the ratification of the preliminary articles will, I trust, soon be followed by the completion of peace on safe and honourable conditions.

My only wish is, and ever will be, to promote the lasting happiness, prosperity, and security of my faithful people.

*The*



*The humble address of the house of commons to the king.*

*Most gracious sovereign,*

**W**E your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your majesty the most humble and hearty thanks of this house, for your most gracious speech from the throne.

Permit us, at the same time, to congratulate your majesty on the auspicious birth of his royal highness the prince of Wales, and the recovery of your royal consort, endeared to this country not only by this important event, but by her own personal virtues.

We acknowledge, with the utmost gratitude, your majesty's great attention to the welfare of your people in the vigorous prosecution of the war, and congratulate your majesty on that happy effect of it, the prospect of such a peace as may give stability and permanency to the blessings we promise ourselves under your majesty's most auspicious reign.

We assure your majesty, that your faithful commons are truly sensible of the wisdom with which your plans have been concerted, as well as of the successful zeal with which they have been carried into execution by your fleets and armies.

The resolution and intrepidity of your majesty's army in Germany, and the military skill and distinguished activity of your general prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, which have obtained so many signal advantages over an enemy so superior in numbers, are objects of our highest admiration. The stopping the progress of the French and Spanish arms in Portugal, and the preservation of that kingdom, by the

firmness and resolution of its sovereign, and by the superior talents and able conduct of the reigning count la Lippe, seconded by the valour of the troops under his command, are events of the highest importance to this nation and its commerce. The reduction of Martinico, so glorious to your majesty's arms, and the still more glorious and important conquest of the Havannah, by which great treasure, and a very considerable part of the navy of Spain, are fallen into your majesty's hands, speak the wisdom of your councils, and the valour of those employed in the execution of these great commands, and fill our hearts with gratitude and satisfaction.

The public testimony which your majesty has, therefore, graciously given to the unwearied perseverance, and unparalleled bravery of your officers and private men, by sea and land, to which, under God, these glorious achievements are to be attributed, is a no less honourable than deserved reward for their services, and must be an additional commendation of them to the esteem and gratitude of their country.

Allow us, sir, to thank your majesty for having promised to direct the preliminary articles of the peace to be laid before us. And we receive with the greatest satisfaction the information which your majesty has condescended, in the mean time, to afford us; from which we promise ourselves, that, with your majesty's dominions, our trade will be increased; and that, all occasions of future disputes being removed, the blessings of peace will be thereby rendered permanent and secure.

We return your majesty our most sincere and humble thanks for your

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great goodness and tender regard for the welfare of your subjects, in proceeding without delay to the conclusion of the negotiation of peace, so expedient for this country; and for your gracious intentions, as soon as it shall be concluded, to reduce the public expences.

Your majesty may be assured, that your faithful commons will cheerfully assist in the support of such expences as may still be necessary, with due regard to that œconomy which your majesty recommends to us, as far as may be consistent with wisdom and true policy.

We will not fail to consider of the most effectual methods of settling our new acquisitions, of securing those countries to us, and of improving our commerce and navigation. And, lamenting the loss of those many brave men who have fallen in this glorious war, we will pay all due attention to the services of those who yet remain, by whose valour those acquisitions have been made. And we will continue to cultivate that union to which we greatly owe the successes of the war, in order thereby to make the best advantages of peace, and lay the foundation of that œconomy, which we owe to ourselves and to our posterity.

*His majesty's most gracious answer.*

*Gentlemen,*

**I** Return you my hearty thanks for this very dutiful and affectionate address; and I receive your congratulations on the birth of the prince, my son, as a fresh proof of your attachment to my person, and of your regard for the queen. The assurances of your ready support in such expences

*as may be still necessary, afford me the highest satisfaction; and the ratification of the preliminary articles gives me the pleasing hope of soon easing my faithful subjects, by a safe, honourable, and permanent peace, of the heavy, but unavoidable burthens they have so cheerfully borne during the war.*

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*The address of the archbishop, bishops, and clergy of the province of Canterbury, in convocation assembled, presented December 4, 1762.*

*Most gracious sovereign,*

**W**E your majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects, the archbishop, bishops, and clergy of the province of Canterbury, in convocation assembled, beg leave to take the first occasion of jointly congratulating your majesty on the blessing, for which we have separately offered up our fervent thanksgivings to God, of his vouchsafing, and that so early, to you and your excellent consort the queen, a son to inherit the crown of these realms.

We feel a very sensible pleasure from the increase of your majesty's domestic felicity, in the addition of paternal to conjugal tenderness. But our views extend much further; and, as we owe to your august house the preservation of every thing dear to us as men or christians, and have found each of your illustrious ancestors faithful guardians of all those distinguished advantages, which we enjoy to the height under your majesty's gracious government; so we trust, that Providence hath designed us as a pledge of the perpetuity of our happiness, in giving us a prince descended from such progenitors. For we know,

that



that his hereditary good dispositions will be solicitously strengthened and improved by the daily instruction and example of his parents; who will complete their merit to these nations, by forming his youthful mind to the love of religion, of liberty, of our civil and ecclesiastical constitution; to a judicious zeal for the prosperity of Great Britain, and a sincere benevolence to mankind in general.

May these pleasing labours be successful in the highest degree. May the royal infant grow up in health and strength, become the joy and boast of the public by every valuable attainment, delight your majesties by the most affectionate duty and gratitude, through an uncommon length of days mercifully granted you; and, born at the dawning of peace, may he see, all his life, the people of this land reaping the beneficial fruits of it to the utmost.

It shall be our conscientious care to remind our fellow-subjects of the inestimable privileges which they possess, and the glorious expectations which they may justly entertain for themselves and their posterity, from your majesty and your family, if they will secure the Divine protection, by leading thankful, quiet and peaceable lives in godliness and honesty, as their holy profession requires. And we most dutifully intreat the continuance of your majesty's attention to the sacred interests of Christian piety and moral virtue, which we are fully satisfied you have deeply at heart.

*His majesty's most gracious answer.*

*My lords, and the rest of the clergy,*

*I Accept with thanks these new assurances of your regard to the*

*queen; and see with particular pleasure the expressions of your gratitude to Almighty God, for the birth of the prince, my son.*

*Your opinion of my fixed intention to educate him in every principle of religious and civil liberty, is truly acceptable to me.*

*Be assured, that no endeavour on my part shall be wanting to promote the sacred interests of Christian piety, and moral virtue; and to transmit to posterity our present most happy constitution.*

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*Summary of the papers relative to the rupture with Spain; published by authority.*

THESE papers contain a series of the most material transactions between the two courts, from the time that M. Bussy presented the memorial in the name of his Catholic majesty, to that when the E. of Bristol left the court of Madrid, and war was declared with Spain.

They begin with a letter of instructions from Mr. Pitt to the E. of Bristol on that unlooked-for event, in which the secretary remarks, that the engagements between the crowns of France and Spain were, by the French minister, avowed to be previous to the overtures of peace by France, and consequently were from that time as *disingenuously* suppressed, as they were in the moment *insolently* produced: That the memorial relative to the disputes between England and Spain, was so offensive, that the king's servants were unanimously of opinion utterly to reject it; that nothing could equal the king's surprise and regret at a transaction so unprecedented as that of an attempt to



to mingle the disputes of a neutral power with the negotiations now carrying on with France; and that, in case the Spanish minister shall avow, that this strange piece has really been authorised by the court of Madrid, then his excellency is enjoined to remonstrate with *energy* and *firminess* against the unexampled irregularity of such a proceeding on the part of Spain, and to assure M. Wall, that as, on the one hand, his majesty will by no means add any new facilities from the consideration of an union of councils, or of present or future conjunctions between France and Spain; so neither, on the other hand, will his majesty's equity and moderation cease to dispose his royal mind to the same reasonable terms of accommodation with Spain, as the king, excited by inclination, and determined by system, has, through the course of this negotiation, invariably declared himself ready to embrace.—Then follows the answer to be given to three points in dispute: First; concerning the restitution of prizes made against the flag of Spain, or in violation of the territory of that kingdom; it suffices to say, that the courts here instituted to take cognizance of all matters of such a nature, are always open to the parties who think fit to seek redress in due course of justice; and it is superfluous to observe, that the ministers of his most Christian majesty are not a tribunal to which Great-Britain allows an appeal.

Next, as to the stale and inadmissible pretensions of the Biscayans and Guipuscoans to fish at Newfoundland, let M. Wall clearly understand, that this is a matter held sacred; and that no concession, on the part of his majesty, so de-

structive to this true and capital interest of Great-Britain, will be made to Spain, however abetted and supported: And it is still hoped, that prudence as well as justice will induce that court no longer to expect, as the price of an union, which it is at least as much her interest as ours to maintain inviolate, a sacrifice, which can never be granted.

These clear and distinct answers being given, Mr. Pitt continues his instructions, &c. as follows: After the above memorial, and the intimation therein, little short of a declaration of a war in reversion, and that not at a distance, held out *in terrorem* on the part of France and Spain, M. Wall cannot wonder, that your excellency is ordered by his majesty, as you hereby are, to desire again, in this conjuncture, a proper explanation with regard to the naval armaments that have been so long preparing in the various ports of Spain; and his excellency cannot but himself be sensible how strongly the king is called upon, in the order of things, and from the indispensable motives of what he owes to his crown and people, to expect that the court of Madrid will come to some explicit and categorical eclaireissement, with regard to the destination of her fleets, as well as with respect to her dispositions to maintain and cultivate friendship and good correspondence with Great-Britain: And this measure is become the more highly necessary, as the emissaries and partizans of France here are not a little active, in endeavouring to insinuate, particularly into people's minds in the city, for purposes too obvious to mention, that a rupture with Spain in conjunction with France is approaching.



Although in the course of this instruction to your excellency, I could not, with such an insolent memorial from France before me, but proceed on the supposition, that insidious as that court is, she could not dare to commit in such a manner the name of his Catholic majesty, without being authorised thereto; I must not, however, conceal from your excellency, that 'tis thought possible herethat the court of France, though not wholly unauthorised, may, with her usual artifice in negotiation, have put much exaggeration into this matter; and, in case, upon entering into remonstrance on this affair, you shall perceive a disposition in M. Wall to explain away and disavow the authorisation of Spain to this offensive transaction of France, and to come to a categorical and satisfactory declaration relative to the final intentions of Spain, your excellency will, with your usual address, adapt yourself to so desirable a circumstance, and will open to the court of Madrid as handsome a retreat as may be, in case you perceive from the Spanish minister that they sincerely wish to find one, and to remove, by an effectual satisfaction, the unfavourable impressions which this memorial of the court of France has justly and unavoidably made on the mind of his majesty.

In this dispatch, which bears date July 28, 1761, was inclosed the memorial already mentioned; Mr. Pitt's letter to M. Bussy, when he returned it, with two supplemental memorials *of a most extraordinary nature*, as Mr. Pitt expresses it, which the public has not yet seen; the receipt of all which the E. of Bristol acknowledges, and, in consequence of the instructions, contained therein, his

excellency had no less than five conferences with the Spanish minister, in which he had urged all that he had received in commission with great force of argument; the answers to which are as follow:

M. Wall owned, that he had been informed of all that had passed at the court of London on the subject of the memorial in question, and that in consequence of a proposal made by the court of Versailles to the king his master, his majesty had consented to guaranty the intended peace between France and England; and, at the same time, to accept of France's express offer of endeavouring to accommodate the disputes subsisting between England and Spain; but, in assenting to this, his excellency declared that his Catholic majesty had no design of offending the British court, and was not a little surprised that it could be productive of such an effect; that, as to England's declaration of adding no new facilities to Spain, in consideration of any intimation or threatenings whatever, the Catholic king could not but applaud those sentiments in his majesty, which he felt so strongly within himself; adding, that the court of London was certainly at liberty to reject any proposals coming from the French ministry, but that the king of Spain no doubt had an equal right to communicate whatever measures he thought conducive to his interests, to the most Christian king, his majesty's friend, ally, and near relation.

M. Wall pursued his discourse, by acquainting the earl with France's having spontaneously offered, (in case the disputes of Great-Britain and Spain should, at any time hereafter,



after, occasion a rupture between the two courts) to unite her forces with those of Spain, to prevent the English encroachments in America; an offer which the Spanish monarch had received with great cordiality.

General Wall then asked, whether it was possible to be imagined in England, that the Catholic king could seek to provoke the court of London at a time when the British nation was in the most flourishing and most exalted situation it had ever known? Assuring the earl, on the contrary, that the Catholic king, both before, and at present, esteemed, as well as valued, the frequent professions he had made of his majesty's desire to adjust our mutual differences amicably; but, he perceived, the terms on which those disputes were sought to be accommodated, occasioned the difficulty. The Catholic king, he said, did not think England would look upon the French ministers as a tribunal to which the court of London would make an appeal, nor meant it as such, when the first article of grievances was conveyed through that channel. As to the second, the claim of the Guipuscoans and Biscayans to fish for bacallao; it was what Spain had always insisted

upon, and never receded from by any treaty \*: And lastly, concerning England's evacuating all the usurped settlements on the logwood coasts, it had never been offered, but upon such conditions as were inconsistent with the dignity of the Spanish crown to accept; since the court of London would only consent, that, previous to her sending orders to those unjust settlers to remove, the Catholic king should be compelled to make known to the English, in what manner the logwood was to be assured to the king's subjects, notwithstanding the Spanish monarch had repeatedly given his royal word, a method should be found out for that purpose; and that, till it was adjusted, in what manner Great-Britain should enjoy that privilege, the English cutters of logwood should continue, without interruption, or molestation of any kind, to carry on their commerce upon the footing they at present exercise it. His Catholic majesty only asking, that, for his own royal decorum, the usurped establishments should be relinquished by the English, to prove that good faith we piqued ourselves upon, and to convince Spain, we did not maintain those forcible posses-

\* In a paper which M. Wall communicated to the earl, by way of answer to all the earl had urged, is the following shrewd remarks on the two last articles: Concerning the liberty of the Biscayners and Guipuscoans to fish for bacallao, an absolute negative, says he, is given to that right by England, tho' it is well proved: And with respect to evacuating the establishments, it is only offered upon terms inadmissible with the Catholic king's decorum, that, before doing it, he should assure to the English the logwood. Hard proceeding certainly, for one to confess, that he is gone into the house of another to take away his jewels; and to say, "I will go out again, but first you shall engage to give me what I want to take." And still harder, when set in opposition with the bacallao; for the Spaniards want that for their food, as the English want the logwood for their fabricks: yet the English would by force take away the logwood, and hinder by force the Spaniards from taking away the bacallao. One would think that the English themselves ought with reluctance to produce

sions,



sions, as pledges, which sooner or later we imagined would compel the court of Madrid to grant us our own terms, and in the mean time to increase (which the British subjects did daily) the encroachments upon the coasts of Honduras.

With regard to the naval armaments of Spain, the destination of her fleets, and the dispositions of his court to maintain friendship, and to cultivate a good correspondence with his Britannic majesty, M. Wall said, first, as to the naval preparations of Spain, that since the accession of his present Catholic majesty, including both the ships of the line and frigates, the whole number did not exceed that of 20; that, 2dly, with regard to their destination, some were frequently passing between Spain and Naples; others were intended to convoy the homeward, or outward bound flotas, assogues, or register ships; and the remainder were to serve as a check upon the Barbary corsairs, and to defend their coasts, or smaller vessels, from insults. And, in relation to the third question, his Catholic majesty's disposition and professions had invariably been the same, and were ever meant to cement and cultivate the friendship so happily subsisting between the two courts.

For the greater exactness in this business, it was mutually agreed between the earl of Bristol and M. Wall, to deliver each other in writing the heads of the principal arguments made use of by both, in the frequent conferences they had on this occasion. These papers are inserted; and then follows another letter from the E. of Bristol, dated Segovia, Sept. 14. in which his excellency informs Mr. Pitt, That

the governor of Sanroque had inquired into the behaviour of the inhabitants of Tariffa, and had given such effectual orders respecting their illegal protection of the French row-boats, as would effectually prevent any further remonstrances on that head; that the Spanish minister had complained of some additional works carrying on at Gibraltar, and that he had asked whether Great-Britain could seriously entertain any apprehensions of a rupture between the courts; adding, *That the Catholic king had at no time been more intent on cultivating a good correspondence with his majesty than at present.* This letter did not come to hand till October 5, the day on which Mr. Pitt resigned the seals.

In another letter, his excellency informs Mr. Pitt of the safe arrival of the flota, in the bay of Cadiz, on board of which he says there is little more than 330,000*l.* upon the Catholic king's account, and this paltry sum, the produce of the royal revenue for two years, owing to want of management in the viceroys and governors, and to the knavery of the assessors and collectors, who are the principal people concerned in defrauding the king of his dues.

Another letter from his excellency, dated Sept. 28. exhibits a complaint made by the Spanish court against the English logwood cutters, who had begun to fortify themselves at Rio Tinto, on the river Wallis, and about the Laguna Azul; and an intimation from M. Wall, that if those settlers were ordered to withdraw, no kind of molestation whatever should be given to any of the English logwood cutters, either on the coast of Honduras, or the bay



bay of Campeachy, till a convention should be concluded, by which this long contested business should be finally adjusted. M. Wall, the earl adds, was the more pressing on this occasion, in order to put a stop to the repeated intimations of the French emissaries, who were continually representing to the court of Spain the indignity of entering into any negotiations with a power, who avowedly withheld from his Catholic majesty several illegal settlements in his territories. This the earl seems to wish was complied with, as he has no reason to suspect the sincerity of M. Wall, and as, at the same time that it would silence the clamours of the French party, it would facilitate the court of Spain's coming to a speedy adjustment with England.

In the next letter, dated Segovia, Oct. 5, his excellency acknowledges the receipt of a dispatch notifying his majesty's marriage, &c. In this letter the earl writes, that M. Wall had expressed his concern that the hopes of peace were now more remote than ever, as Mr. Stanley and M. Buffy were soon to return to their respective courts. He adds, that the prevailing opinion in Spain was, that France had made as great concessions as could be expected; that if Great-Britain was so strenuous in favour of the K. of Prussia, it was equally laudable in France not to desert the empress queen; and that to insist on supporting the former with our whole force, while the latter was only to be assisted with 24,000 men by France, was almost equivalent to the abandoning the house of Austria.

The next letter in this collection is that in which the E. of Egremont,

the new secretary, opens his correspondence with the E. of Bristol. In this most secret letter, which is dated Oct. 28. his lordship expresses his majesty's particular satisfaction at that part of his excellency's letter of the 14th past, wherein mention is made, *that the Catholic king had at no time been more intent on cultivating a good correspondence with his majesty than at present*; and highly approves the assurances which his excellency had given M. Wall, that no additional works had been begun at Gibraltar, as, upon enquiry, his lordship finds that no orders had been issued with regard to the fortifications of that place. His lordship, at the same time, assures his excellency, that the friendly intimation of M. Wall, to evacuate the most recent settlements on the coasts of Honduras, was considered by his majesty as a happy presage of a speedy and amicable conclusion of all disputes subsisting between the two crowns, with this additional declaration, on the part of his majesty, that he continues to have nothing more at heart, than to cultivate the most cordial friendship with the Catholic king; trusting, however, to find this disposition reciprocal on the part of Spain; "these being the king's sentiments, says his lordship, his majesty cannot imagine that the court of Spain should think it unreasonable to desire a communication of the treaty acknowledged to have been lately concluded between the courts of Madrid and Versailles, &c." adding, as a reason, that the honour of his majesty's crown, and the interest of his people, equally call for an explanation on this head, before he can, consistent with his dignity, proceed in any negotiation with



with Spain, because no fair or candid discussion of the rights or differences of the two courts can take place, while Spain, informed as she is of the full extent of all his majesty's alliances and connections, maintains a suspicious and unfriendly reserve with regard to a treaty recently concluded with his majesty's declared and inveterate enemy, by whom it is openly and industriously asserted throughout Europe, that the purport thereof is hostile to Great-Britain. Lord Egremont, in this letter, does not forget to acquaint the earl, that, in his first conference with the count de Fuentes, he had explained this matter fully: but that this minister had avoided entering into it, and seemed to wish that it might be passed through another channel; he therefore enforces it as the king's pleasure, that his excellency should use the most pressing instance to M. Wall, to obtain such communication as is already mentioned; but, at the same time, recommends it to be done in the most polite and friendly terms, "giving, at the same time, the Spanish minister the strongest assurances, that, this obstacle once removed, his majesty is most sincerely and cordially disposed to enter into an amicable discussion of other matters in dispute, little doubting but that a confirmed reciprocal confidence would naturally point out expedients to save the honour of both kings, adjust things to mutual satisfaction, and establish a harmony as permanent as advantageous to both courts."

To the secret and precise instructions contained in this excellent letter, the whole of which we could have wished to have preserved in our collection, his lordship adds this

most interesting and spirited declaration: That, in order to prevent any perverse impressions, which Mr. Pitt's retiring from public business, at this juncture, might occasion, it is proper that I should assure your excellency, that the measures of government will suffer no relaxation on that account: on the contrary, I may venture to promise, that the idea suggested by some malevolent persons at home, and perhaps industriously propagated abroad, of the whole spirit of the war subsiding with him, instead of discouraging, will only tend to animate the present ministry to a more vigorous exertion of their powers, to avoid every possible imputation of indecision or indolence, which ignorant prejudice might suggest: and the example of the spirit of the late measures, will be a spur to his majesty's servants to persevere, and to stretch every nerve of this country, towards forcing the enemy to come into a safe, honourable, and, above all, a lasting peace. I further have the pleasure to inform your excellency, that the most perfect harmony, mutual confidence and unanimity, now reign in his majesty's councils: with a thorough determination to push the war with such vigour, as will, it is hoped, under the hand of Providence, procure still farther successes to the just cause for which this country drew the sword. The king, at the same time, continues to be disposed, with equal moderation, to put an end to the dreadful calamities of war, the moment the enemy will listen to such terms of peace as shall be consistent with his majesty's honour, in some degree adequate to the successes of his arms, and calculated, by promising permanency,



nency, to preserve mankind from the various distresses and miseries, which have been so fatally experienced during the course of this cruel and bloody war.

To this dispatch was added two letters from his lordship to his excellency, both of the same date with the dispatch; the first *secret* and *confidential*, informing the earl for his private direction, that, in case he should find insuperable objections to the desired communication, but in lieu thereof the most solemn assurances upon the royal word signified in writing, of the innocence of the treaty in question with respect to the king's interests, his excellency was not totally to reject the alternative, but to take it *ad referendum*, to be transmitted to the British court. The second letter, *separate* and *secret*, enjoined his excellency to penetrate, as far as he could, his Catholic majesty's real views, the prevailing temper and sentiments of his principal ministers, the order and regulation of the sea and land forces, the state of public credit and the finances, and the disposition of the court to depart in any manner from the neutrality, by openly or secretly assisting the king's enemies; but, in doing this, to avoid the least mark of offensive diffidence.

In a letter from his excellency to Mr. Pitt, dated Oct. 12, he just mentions his having received a letter from gen. Parflow at Gibraltar, concerning the works carrying on there, which consisted only in some necessary repairs and conveniencies for the garrison, which he had reported to M. Wall, requesting him to acquaint his Catholic majesty with that very authentic contradiction of what had been maliciously conveyed to his court.

The next paper, in this collection, is a letter from his excellency to the E. of Egremont, dated Nov. 2, in which he informs his lordship of the haughty language now held by the court of Spain, so different from all the former professions and declarations of the Spanish secretary of state, that his excellency could not help expressing his uneasiness, by desiring to know whether there were any grounds for the rumour so generally propagated of an approaching rupture between Great-Britain and Spain, grounded upon a treaty said to be lately concluded between the courts of Madrid and Versailles: and, if it were possible, after all that had passed, that such a treaty could be concluded, then he desired to be told of what nature it was, whether offensive or singly defensive; what were its views, and what its conditions? But, instead of answering directly to these questions, says his excellency, gen. Wall began, by declaiming against the conduct of England, as unwarrantable, as his Catholic Majesty never could obtain an answer from the British ministry to any paper sent thither, either by his own ambassador, or his Britannic majesty's; alledging, that we were intoxicated with our successes, and aimed at ruining the French power, in order more easily to crush that of Spain; and, having worked up his anger to a degree his excellency had never seen before, he added, that since his Catholic majesty's dominions were to be overwhelmed, he would himself be the first man to advise his master, at least to have them seized with arms in his subject's hands, and not to continue the passive victim he had hitherto been supposed to be in the eyes of the world.



world. When the general's warmth was a little abated, his excellency mildly renewed his former questions, but, instead of giving any satisfactory answer, he fell again into an uncommon warmth, insisting that we had set the Spanish power at defiance; that we had attacked and plundered their vessels, insulted their coasts, violated our neutrality, encroached upon the territorial jurisdiction of the king's dominions in America, by illegally seizing logwood, erecting fresh settlements in the bay of Honduras, and had withheld from his subjects the right which they had long enjoyed of fishing upon the banks of Newfoundland for bacallao. He added, that he had, indeed, given his royal master hopes that justice would be granted to atone for these repeated grievances, and therefore wanted to know where, when, and how, it was to be expected? His excellency, notwithstanding this second digression, did not depart from his former question, and at length received for answer, that he [M. Wall] had no orders to acquaint him with any measures but what he had formerly communicated.

Finding no ground to be gained by farther enquiries at this time, his excellency took his leave, and after paying his court as usual to his Catholic majesty, he returned in about an hour, and, under pretence of shewing an attention to general Wall, which he always paid before, he sent off a messenger to England, to know if he had any commands thither; he took occasion to renew the former topic of conversation, which was only productive of a repetition of former grievances, with this additional intimation, That the court of France was determined to

publish to the world the mortifying terms she had consented to for the sake of peace, and to expose the arbitrary and unreasonable demands of Great Britain, whose unbounded ambition had frustrated his most Christian majesty's good intentions, in yielding so much from motives of humanity,

His excellency thought he had listened sufficiently to all these accusations; and therefore, having recollected himself by a short absence, he began by answering the charge to all that complicated heap of grievances which the Spanish minister seemed purposely to have thrown out to divert his excellency from persevering in the pursuit of getting his curiosity gratified; and after having exposed the weakness of all those specious arguments which the general had made use of, he concluded his discourse with repeating his instances for information concerning the treaty; but the most he could obtain was, *That his Catholic majesty had judged it expedient to renew his family compact with the most Christian king.*

His excellency concludes this dispatch with assigning what he thinks the cause of this very different language from the Spanish court, *the safe arrival of all the wealth that was expected from Spanish America; the progress of the French army in the king's electoral dominions; and the success that has attended the Austrian operations in Silesia; adding, that he had long observed the jealousy of Spain at the British conquests, and was convinced that the consciousness of their naval inferiority, was the only motive that inclined them to maintain harmony and friendship with Great Britain.*



To this dispatch, which was received November the 14th, the E. of Egremont returned an answer on the 19th, in which he expresses his majesty's astonishment at the abrupt and unprovoked transition of the Spanish secretary of state from the most cordial and conciliatory tone of friendly profession, and amicable adjustment, to the most peremptory and haughty stile of menace and hostility; and the rather as the count de Fuentes had, the very day before his excellency's dispatches arrived, repeated the strongest assurances of the friendly dispositions of the king his master, and of his steady purpose to maintain the strictest amity with the court of Great Britain. It were, continues his Lordship, both tedious and useless to enter minutely into the answers so obvious to be given to the offensive digressions by which M. Wall determinately evaded giving any satisfaction to your excellency's most reasonable demand with regard to the treaty lately concluded with France: a few observations will therefore suffice on the order of your dispatch.

As the assertion, That his Catholic majesty never could obtain an answer from the British ministry to any memorial, or paper, &c. a proposition so notoriously groundless, considering the ample materials in your excellency's hands, scarce deserves a serious answer; and as to the language held relative to the negotiation with France, and our unbounded ambition and thirst of conquest, as it consists of mere abusive assertions, without the least shew of argument, it deserves nothing but plain contradiction.

The intemperate and rash advice which the Spanish minister talked of proposing to the king his master,

gives his majesty the greater concern, as M. Wall cannot but know with what particular delicacy our plans of military operations have been concerted, in order to avoid all hostilities towards objects that might give the least jealousy or umbrage to the court of Spain; his unjust suggestions must therefore be looked upon as a mere pretext that in case the court of Spain should have meditated hostilities against England, the court of London might appear as the source of all the misfortunes that may ensue from the rupture.

The *vague* declamation, by which the Spanish secretary eluded a second time an answer to the question you so properly persevered in urging, has so unpromising an aspect as to give the king very little reason to hope for good effects from further patience and forbearance: it is therefore his majesty's express command, that your excellency demand of the Spanish secretary of state an immediate, clear, and categorical answer to that question; but, at the same time that you cannot be too firm and explicit, you will be particularly cautious not to use the least harshness in your manner, or mix any thing in your conversation which can have the least tendency to indispose or irritate him; that whatever the consequences may be, his majesty may have the consolation of appealing to all the world for the rectitude and purity of his intentions, and for the moderation observed in endeavouring to prevent a rupture by every step which his honour and dignity could permit.

To this public letter was added one *most secret*, of the same date in which his lordship signifies to the king



ing's pleasure to his excellency, in case he could not succeed agreeable to his instructions, to come from Madrid forthwith, without taking leave, and to repair to Lisbon, where he would find a ship of war ready to receive him: a refusal of the satisfaction on the question demanded, or of disavowing any intentions of taking part with the enemy, being to be looked upon as an aggression on the part of Spain, and as an absolute declaration of war.

Another letter that accompanied these, *separate and secret*, directed to his excellency, *if little or no hopes of succeeding remained*, to take the most secret and expeditious manner of giving immediate notice to major general Parflow at Gibraltar, and to all his majesty's consuls in Spain and Portugal, of the critical situation of our affairs with Spain, and likewise to make the same communication to Sir Charles Saunders; and if *all hopes were at an end*, and his excellency's departure from Madrid was inevitable, then to send off a letter to admiral Saunders, and another to commodore Keppel, acquainting them with this final resolution; and lest his excellency should have reason to apprehend that the messengers with these letters should be intercepted in the dominions of Spain, he is himself directed to set out immediately for the frontiers of Portugal, and from thence to dispatch duplicates of his letters, &c. leaving a person at Madrid to take care of his private affairs.

The next letter in this collection, is dated Escurial, Nov. 9, in which the earl of Bristol gives an account of the military preparations on the part of Spain; particularly that two men of war were ordered from Car-

diz, the one to convoy the assogues, and the other to protect some Dutch transports with ammunition and stores for Carthagen and America, Eleven ships of the line, he adds, lie at Ferrol, rigged, manned, and ready to put to sea, with two frigates, one of which is bound to the South Seas, with ball, powder, and implements of war; that two ships of war, with two large barks under convoy, having 3500 barrels of gunpowder, 1500 bomb-shells, 500 chests of arms, and a considerable quantity of other warlike stores, were sailed from Barcelona to the West Indies; and that five battalions of different regiments, making in all about 3600 men, were waiting at Cadiz for final orders to embark for America,

By another letter, dated Madrid, Nov. 16. his excellency acknowledges the receipt of the secretary's dispatches of the 28th of October; and adds, that the military preparations of Spain are far from slackening; that 1500 men had entered the town of Ferrol, with a design soon to embark for the West Indies; that a regiment of foot was gone to Majorca, and another had orders to hold itself in readiness to be sent to the same island; and that in the West Indies they had 19 ships of war, and not fewer than 16 frigates to attend them.

His excellency's letter, dated Escurial, Dec. 14, is more important, he having entered minutely into every argument suggested by the British secretary; "And though," says his excellency, "I dare not flatter myself with having gained any ground upon the Spanish minister, yet I never before observed M. Wall listen with greater attention to my discourse. When he answered me,



it was without warmth; when he applied to me, it was friendly; and after long reasonings on both sides, we parted with reciprocal protestations to each other of our earnest desire to continue in peace." On this favourable opportunity, his excellency urged the inseparable connection of interest that unites the two crowns, and which could not fail of soon producing a good effect, notwithstanding the mean artifices of France to sow dissensions with a view to drain the royal coffers, without any real regard to the retentions of Spain.

The next paper in this collection is, the translation of a paper delivered by the count de Fuentes to the Earl of Egremont, being an answer to a memorial delivered by the earl of Bristol to the court of Spain. This is followed by a letter from lord Egremont to his excellency, dated Dec. 22, disclaiming any knowledge of a seizure, which it was reported in the city, that admiral Holmes had made of some Spanish bark, laden with sugar at Monte Christi, expressing his majesty's concern upon hearing it, and adding assurances, that if the fact proved true, not a moment should be lost in taking such steps as should satisfy his Catholic majesty, with regard to the unjustifiable and unauthorized conduct of any of his majesty's servants upon this occasion, in order to prevent any malicious use which might be made of this unlucky event.

The next letter that follows, is dated Madrid, Dec. 11, 1761, which gives the first account of the earl's final resolution of leaving the court of Spain, and setting forth the difficulties attending the execution of his majesty's orders in send-

ing the letters to the proper officers by land and sea for the better security of his majesty's subjects. He adds, that he was denied post-horses; that he was surrounded with spies; that the roads were almost impassable between Spain and Portugal; that he was himself so ill as to be unable to travel; but that he had tried a method which he does not chuse to mention, to convey the necessary intelligence to admiral Saunders, general Parflow, and the consuls; and that M. Potter, seeing how ill his excellency was, had promised to set out for Lisbon, by whom the letters he had then ready should be forwarded.

Having thus given at large the instructions which the earl of Bristol received from time to time from the court of Great Britain, relative to his conduct with the Spanish ministry: it remains only to shew in what manner his excellency executed his commission; and the treatment he met with on this memorable occasion.

What passed at the first conference with the Spanish minister, after his excellency had received final orders to insist on a categorical answer, or to retire from the Spanish court, is contained in a letter to lord Egremont, dated Madrid, Dec. 7, 1761, the substance of which is as follows: The messenger Potter, having arrived at Madrid on the 5th at night, his excellency the earl of Bristol acquainted M. Wall, the next morning, that he had received dispatches from England of the last importance; and M. Wall being confined to his room by an accident that had happened to his foot appointed one o'clock for a conference in his own apartment. At this conference the earl began by



acquainting the Spanish minister with the astonishment and concern which the unprovoked transition in his language, so diametrically opposite to the pleasing assurances he had formerly received, had occasioned at the British court, and the rather as the count de Fuentes had but just given the English ministry the strongest assurances of the king his master's steady resolution to maintain the strictest amity with Great Britain; that, notwithstanding these assurances, his Britannic majesty, equally attentive to his own dignity, and the interest of his subjects, was determined religiously to adhere to all his solemn declarations; that Spain had done injustice to the purity of the king's intentions, since his majesty had been particularly delicate in causing such military plans to be concerted, as were not, in the least, likely to give umbrage to Spain; and that, in all the royal councils, every thing had likewise been avoided that would tend to an interruption of a friendly intelligence between the two courts. His excellency proceeded to renew his former inquiries about the treaty lately concluded between the courts of Madrid and Versailles; and finally to ask a categorical answer relative to the intentions of Spain with regard to Great Britain, but with that moderation as could not but express the king's desire to obtain such an answer as might contribute to the continuation of that amicable intercourse which it was equally the interest of both courts to maintain; adding, however, that this desire did not proceed from any timidity, or apprehension on the king's side, but from the rec-

titude and humanity of his royal mind.

It was impossible to listen with more obliging attention than M. Wall did to all his excellency said; when his excellency appealed to him on any point, he answered friendly; when he reasoned, he reasoned candidly and minutely; and acknowledged the caution that had been observed in attacking those possessions belonging to our enemies that had any connection with the Spanish territory; but concluded, that the copy he delivered to his excellency of his \* dispatch to the count of Fuentes, [at the British court], was the only answer he could give about the treaty in question.

His lordship observes, that at this visit he had only dwelt in general terms on the intentions of Spain towards England; and his motives for acting in this manner were, that he perceived M. Wall's *tone to be of a conciliatory nature*; that he *flattered* *himself* from thence, that he might obtain the categorical answer he was ordered to demand; that he had observed for some time before, the stile of the Spanish ministry to be gradually softening; and that all that sudden wrath and passion which he had discovered, had arisen on the notice of a change which had happened in the English administration, having been occasioned by the measures proposed to be taken against the Spanish court.

His excellency proceeds, in his letter of the 9th, to give an account of his second conference with the Spanish minister, on the same subject. At this conference, which was on the 8th of December, the Spanish minister said, he had re-

\* This dispatch was by way of memorial. (See pag. [199. 200.]



ceived his Catholic majesty's commands, to inform him, that, with regard to the treaty, and the intentions of Spain, M. Wall's dispatch to the count of Fuentes, was the only answer the Catholic king judged it expedient to give. But, at last, having declared frankly that the British court expected to have a categorical answer to the following questions: Whether the Catholic king intended to join the French our enemies, or purposed acting hostilely? or would, in any manner, depart from his neutrality? adding, that Spain's refusal of this satisfaction, would be deemed an aggression; and a declaration of war; the surprise of M. Wall is not to be expressed. He only brought out these words. "What is to follow? have you then orders to withdraw from hence?" Being answered in the affirmative, he said, the categorical answer required was such an attack upon the Catholic king's dignity, that it was impossible for him to give advice to his sovereign upon so delicate a subject; but being pressed, for the sake of humanity, as the ruin of thousands of thousands; and the distress of nations were now depending, not to let any rash or precipitate measure be taken, M. Wall desired, for greater precision, that what the British minister was ordered to demand, might be put into writing; his excellency therefore wrote down the following short sentences; Whether the court of Madrid intends to join the French, our enemies, to act hostilely against Great Britain, or to depart, in any manner, from its neutrality? A categorical answer is expected to these questions; otherwise a refusal to comply will be looked upon as aggression on the part of Spain,

and a declaration of war." It was not till the 10th of December that his excellency received the Spanish minister's letter, in which it was said, *That the spirit of haughtiness and of discord, which dictated this inconsiderate step, and which, for the misfortune of mankind, still reigns so much in the British government, is what made, in the same instant, the declaration of war, and attacked the king's dignity. Your excellency may think of retiring when, and in the manner most convenient to you; which is the only answer that, without detaining you, his majesty has ordered me to give you.* With this letter a friendly note of a private nature was inclosed, in which M. Wall hopes for the honour of seeing his excellency, and of confirming to him, by word of mouth, the esteem and respect with which he was his lordship's obedient servant: but, notwithstanding, when his lordship, at his departure, applied for post-horses to facilitate his journey out of Spain, an order for that purpose was refused, spies were every where planted about his house, and, in short, he found himself so closely guarded, that though he was ill of a fever, he thought it best to risk all, even at the hazard of his life, in order to quit the dominions of that unfriendly monarch. Such was the treatment which the British minister received at the court of Madrid, when it was no longer in the power of that court to treat under the mask of deceit and treachery. The breach with England had, no doubt, been long determined; but the time was not yet come when the declaration was to be made. Under the character of friends, they, upon every occasion of dispute, decided in favour of our enemies; but not



not yet being in a condition to repel force by force, they chose this notable way of manifesting their intentions, till the preparations they were making should enable them to act without reserve.

The manifesto so often alluded to, which was dispatched by the Spanish ministry to the count de Fuentes, and by him delivered to the court of London, with the paper delivered by the earl of Bristol to M. Wall, November 18, which occasioned it, both follow at large, that the reader may judge on which side that spirit of haughtiness is most manifest, with which the Spanish ministry have charged the British councils.

*Translation of a paper delivered by the earl of Bristol, November 18, 1761.*

**T**HE king has learnt, with particular satisfaction, the justice of his Catholic majesty, in giving orders for the restitution of the ship the Speedwell; and his majesty is equally sensible of the moderation with which the privateer the King George hath been treated: the count de Fuentes having given a memorial, complaining of the behaviour of the said privateer, the most exact inquiries are to be immediately begun: and, as soon as the facts are proved, a suitable satisfaction, agreeable to our laws, will be given to the court of Spain.

Having communicated to the secretary of state, in a dispatch of the month of September last, (agreeable to the assurance I had then received), his Catholic majesty's intentions to cultivate a good correspondence with the king; I have been expressly ordered to testify the king's

pleasure, which such a declaration of the sentiments of this court has occasioned: and I must not omit to assure, that no order has been sent for augmenting the fortifications of Gibraltar, consequently they have only been working there on the usual repairs.

His majesty having nothing more at heart, than to maintain and strengthen the most cordial, and the most sincere friendship with the Catholic king, does not doubt of meeting with the same dispositions as his, on the part of Spain: for there is nothing more evident, than the mutual advantage which must, at all times, result to the two kingdoms by such a reciprocity.

After this declaration, it is not surprising, that the court of London desires and demands of the Spanish ministers, a communication of the treaty lately concluded between their Catholic and most Christian majesties; or that they would impart the articles which may be thought relative now, or in future, directly, or less immediately, to the interest of Great Britain. These instances do not proceed from any disadvantageous suspicion of the assurances of friendship, so often repeated by Spain to the court of London; they only tend to obtain some explanation with regard to the language which the king's enemies have affected to hold; namely, that Spain was on the point of taking part in the present war, by joining France against England. Such are the reports which have made so rapid a progress in all Europe; and the king's honour is concerned in putting a stop to them, as far as the interest of his people require their being contradicted; without which, how can his majesty persuade him-



self to enter into a negotiation with Spain, for accommodating the differences which have unhappily subsisted, for so long a time, between the two courts? The Catholic King is informed of all the alliances and engagements of Great Britain; and it would be an unfriendly reserve, at this juncture, not to comply with giving his majesty this satisfaction on the contents of a treaty, so recently signed with a power actually at war with the king; and especially, when France does not cease to give out, that the conditions of this new engagement tend towards hostilities which Spain will, very soon, manifest against the British nation.

This obstacle once removed, his majesty is determined, without loss of time, to enter into an amicable discussion of the matters, which make the subjects of the dispute of the two crowns; not at all doubting, but that they may be easily adjusted; and being convinced, that a reciprocal and extensive confidence will not fail to suggest expedients, for saving the dignity, and the honour, of the two kings, and for adjusting, to the reciprocal satisfaction of their majesties, every thing that has, till now, retarded that solid and permanent harmony, which has always been the object, the wishes, the solicitude, and the desires, of those who wish the essential advantages, and the true glory, of the two monarchs.

In order to prevent every perverse impression, which the change that has just happened in the English ministry might occasion, it is necessary to declare, that the most perfect unanimity now reigns in the king's councils; and that it is resolved there, to continue the war with all possible vigour; his majesty,

however, only wishing for the moment to put an end to the terrible misfortunes, which are the inevitable consequences of it, as soon as he shall find his enemies disposed to make peace, on conditions which may correspond to the successes with which Providence has been pleased to bless the king's arms, and which shall, at the same time, give appearances of a solid and durable peace, after all the miseries which have been suffered during the course of these last years.

*Translation of a paper received by the lord Egremont from the count de Fuentes, December 3, 1761; in answer to the foregoing.*

Most excellent Sir,

**M**Y lord Bristol delivered to me, some few days ago, the memorial whereof I send you a copy. In the first paragraph is seen the satisfaction of this court at the king's justice, in causing the English ship the Speedwell to be restored; and at the moderation with which the offence of the King George privateer had been chastised; to which there is nothing to reply, only, that his majesty is glad that the ministry acknowledge the uprightness and moderation of his proceedings.

In the second paragraph, my lord Bristol sets forth, that having wrote in September to his court, the intention he had been assured of by us, in which the king was, of cultivating a good correspondence with the King of Great Britain, he had been ordered to declare the real pleasure such a declaration from us had given. *I do not remember having made it then in a more particular manner than at many other times;*



*times ; nor do I comprehend the motive for their making such a point of it ;* however, it is certain, that in the various occasions that have presented themselves, in the life-time of king Ferdinand (who is in heaven) as well as of the king our lord (whom God save), the Spanish ministers have repeated the wishes of their court, to cultivate the best correspondence with that of London. My lord adds, in the same paragraph, that he can ascertain, that no order has been transmitted for increasing the fortifications of Gibraltar ; which does not surprise the king, as he has given no room for the least mistrust ; nor would the contrary surprise him, the English being as much the masters to increase them, as his majesty is in any one place of his own.

My lord Bristol continues, in another paragraph, to express, that there is nothing the king, his master, has so much at heart, as to form a closer and most sincere friendship with the king, our lord : and that he does not doubt finding the same dispositions on the part of Spain ; the mutual advantages that will accrue to both nations therefrom, being evident ; And all this is in order to come, by degrees, to what, after such a declaration, was not to surprise us ; that his court should desire and ask of the Spanish ministers, the communication of the treaty lately concluded between their Catholic and most Christian majesties, or the articles that relate to England. Your excellency knows how easy it would be for the king to give a direct answer ; but his own decorum prevents him, from the consideration, that this demand is made as a compulsive condition for commencing a negotiation with

Spain, about differences which are confessed to have subsisted so long. Who ever heard speak of commencing a negotiation, would think that, hitherto, nothing had been negotiated about our differences ; and besides, would believe, that their considering them as worthy of negotiation, was doing us a favour. It is a very singular method in that ministry of misunderstanding so many offices, memorials, and conferences, which have passed for these six years thereupon, and particularly since the king sent your excellency to that court, proving the incontestable grounds of our complaints and just cares, and repeating, that, without satisfying them, it is impossible to fix the good correspondence of the two monarchies, nor the friendship of the two monarchs, so deserving of each other's love. If all that has been declared by word of mouth, or in writing, the answers and replies that have intervened, the points that have been concluded upon, is not a negotiation, I do not know what is called such.

My lord Bristol offers, that, when the king our lord should declare himself upon the existence or non-existence of the supposed treaty, or upon the articles relating to the English, the king, his master, has determined to enter, without loss of time, into a friendly discussion of the points which occasion our differences ; not doubting but that they may be accommodated, and expedients found out, for saving the dignity and honour of the two sovereigns. In this court they must consider only as a mere trifle, what they seek after ; since, in recompence, they only promise what we are already tired of practising.

What



What greater discussion upon the points of our disputes can be made, than that which has been in so long a negotiation? What expedients can be fallen upon now to save the honour of the two kings, which in arguments, and disputes of six years, have not occurred? And if in London they are to be found, *Spain is the creditor for her patience in the pursuit of her complaints, and for having seen the various successes of the war the English were carrying on, whilst she only proposed without offering to impose, conditions upon that account.* The most noble expedient, and which does the greatest honour to kings, as well as to those who are not so, is, not to withhold the property of another unlawfully, but to restore, and even punish the usurpers, without minding (if it falls out so) from whom the injured persons asks it.

My lord Bristol concludes with a paragraph entirely, foreign to our business, declaring, that a perfect unanimity subsists in the councils of Great Britain; and that the king was resolved to continue the war with all possible vigour, till he had reduced his enemies to a peace adequate to the successes of the English arms, and which might have the appearance of being a firm and lasting one. It is not directly our intention to answer thereto: but the two points which the English desire by the peace, are contradicted evidently, by what all the world has just seen. All impartial persons can decide, whether the terms offered by the French, and refused by the English, do not bespeak the advantages of the English arms; and their inadmission will be attributed by them to other views, *which ought not to be indifferent to the other mari-*

*time powers, and proprietors of dominions beyond sea.* And it must occasion surprise to them; that, if the court of London desires a peace, that wears the appearance of being firm and lasting, it should pique itself upon that of Paris's insinuating how necessary it would be to adjust, at the same time, our differences, to cut off all risk of its renewing the war in favour of us.

My lord Bristol then, by means of another memorial, asked, if France had taken that step with the king's consent, in the same manner he now asks us, whether there is such a treaty, or not, with France? We answer frankly, yes; proving the regularity of it: And with this motive we reply to the repeated expressions of the court, about desiring a good correspondence with ours, esteeming them at all times, however, thinking it was necessary, effects should have accompanied them; and as if such a memorial had never been given by us, forgetting it entirely, they present us another, with a new question, with the same general expressions, and the unexpected novelty of offering to commence a negotiation so long discussed, and so well digested, that it has been reduced during your excellency's embassy, to the last *yes*, or last *no*.

Your excellency, being thoroughly informed of every thing I have set forth, may tell it, or give it in writing, if it is necessary, to that ministry, in order, that, upon no account, it may charge us with leaving my lord Bristol's memorial unanswered, and that it may acknowledge the impropriety there is, *that the king should satisfy their curiosity at every turn, whilst no satisfaction is given to his just demands.*

We



We cannot help contrasting the parts of two letters, both written by the same minister, within little more than a month of each other; the one from the Escorial, dated November 2, the other from Madrid, dated December 7.

Escorial, Nov. 2, 1761.

TWO ships have lately arrived at Cadiz with very extraordinary rich cargoes from the West Indies, so that all the wealth that was expected from Spanish America, is now safe in Old Spain. Perhaps THIS CIRCUMSTANCE has raised the language of the Catholic king's ministry, added to *the progress which the French army is making in the king's electoral dominions, and the success that has attended the Austrian operations in Silesia*. I have long observed the jealousy of Spain at the British conquests, and am now CONVINCED that the consciousness of this country's naval inferiority has occasioned the soothing declarations so repeatedly made of a desire to maintain harmony and friendship with England.

Madrid, Dec. 7, 1761.

YOUR lordship will, no doubt, have remarked, that, from the time of Potter's departure with my dispatches of the 2d past, the style of the Spanish minister has been softening gradually; what had occasioned the great fermentation during that period at this court, the effects of which I felt from general Wall's animated discourse at the Escorial, was, *the notice having about that time reached the Catholic king, that the change which had happened in the English administration, was relative to measures proposed to be taken against this country*. HENCE arose that sudden wrath and passion which for a short time, affected the whole Spanish court, *as it was thought most extraordinary here that the declaring war against the Catholic king should EVER have been moved in his majesty's councils, since the Spaniards have always looked upon themselves as the aggrieved party; and, of course, never could imagine that the English would be the first to begin a war*.

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*Papers relative to the rupture of France and Spain with Portugal.*

*Translation of a memorial of the Spanish ambassador, and of the minister plenipotentiary of France, to his most Faithful majesty.*

DON Joseph Terrero, ambassador extraordinary of the Catholic king, and don James O'Dun, minister plenipotentiary of the most Christian king, at this court, by the express and positive orders of their

masters, declare, with the greatest respect to the most Faithful king,

That the two sovereigns of France and Spain, being obliged to support a war against the English, have found it proper and necessary to establish several mutual and reciprocal obligations between them; and to take other indispensable measures to curb the pride of the British nation, which, by an ambitious project to become despotic over the



the sea, and consequently over all maritime commerce, pretends to keep dependent the possessions of other powers in the new world, in order to introduce themselves there, either by an underhand usurpation, or by conquest.

That the first measure which the kings of France and Spain agreed on, was to have the most Faithful king in their offensive and defensive alliance, and to desire him to join their majesties forthwith: That they expected that the most Faithful king would acquiesce therein, conformable to what he owes to himself, and to his kingdom, since his subjects feel, much more than other nations, the yoke which Great Britain lays, and which she means to extend over all those who have possessions beyond sea; and that it would be unjust for France and Spain to sacrifice themselves for an object, in which Portugal is so much interested; and that, instead of assisting them, they should make it impossible for them to succeed, by allowing the English to enrich themselves by their commerce, and to enter their ports, not only to make use of them as an asylum, but to be more at hand to hurt the defenders of the cause of Portugal.

That, in this spirit, the ambassador of Spain and the minister plenipotentiary of France, desire the most Faithful king to declare himself united with their Catholic and most Christian majesties in the present war against the English, to break off all correspondence and commerce with that power, as the common enemy of all the three, and even of all maritime nations; to send away from his ports, and to shut them against, all their men of war and merchant-ships; and to

join to the forces of France and Spain, those which the Most High has put into his hands, in order to make them equal to those of the enemy.

This declaration made by the two monarchs of France and Spain, as being agreed and concerted between them; his Catholic majesty has, in the mean time, instructed his ambassador to make this reflection to the most Faithful king (in order that his magnanimous breast may the more easily and the more speedily determine, without being stopped by other impressions, to take the part the most consonant to his advantage, and to his glory), that it is the brother of the queen his wife, a true friend, and a moderate and quiet neighbour, who has made the proposal to him, and who has agreed to it, considering the interests of the most Faithful king as his own, and wishing to unite the one with the other, so as that, either in peace or in war, Spain and Portugal may be considered as belonging to one master; and in order that, if any power shall think of making war with Spain, they may not imagine they shall find, in her own house, shelter and succours to attack her, as happened with regard to Portugal, in the wars, which king Philip the fifth, his father, and father-in-law of the most Faithful king, was obliged to support against England: How much more glorious and more useful will it be for the most Faithful king to have for his ally, a Catholic king, his near relation, his neighbour in Europe and America, to assist each other mutually and with ease, than the English nation, incapable; by their haughtiness, of considering other sovereigns with equality.



equality, and always desirous to make them feel the influence of their power : and what occasion can the most Faithful king have for the assistance of England, when, by an offensive and defensive league, he shall be united with Spain and France ?

These considerations are so strong, that the Catholic king thinks, there can be no doubt, but that the most Faithful king his brother-in-law, will yield to them, without stopping a moment ; so much the more, as his Catholic majesty, before making this invitation, and in order to prevent the danger which the maritime places of Portugal might run, when the part taken by his most Faithful majesty should come to the knowledge of the English, his Catholic majesty has caused his troops to march to the frontiers of Portugal, so that in a very few days, they may garrison the principal ports of the kingdom, and they will do it, after the answer of the most Faithful king, which, doubtless, will be as speedy, as clear, and as decisive, as the necessity, and the positive determination of his Catholic majesty to prevent the designs of his enemies, require.—  
Lisbon, the 16th of March, 1762.

(Signed)

DON JOSEPH TORRERO.

JAQUES BERNARD O'DUN.

The two ministers added to this memorial, That they were ordered by their courts to demand a categorical answer in four days, and that every delay beyond that term would be considered as a negative.

*Translation of the answer of the secretary of state of his most Faithful majesty, to the foregoing memorial of the Spanish ambassador, and the minister plenipotentiary of France.*

**D**ON Lewis da Cunha, secretary of state to the most Faithful king having laid before his majesty, the memorial, which his excellency M. Torrero, the Catholic king's ambassador, and M. O'Dun, minister plenipotentiary from the most Christian king, at this court, delivered to him the 16th of this month, wherein, after having declared the reasons of the present war, broken out between the said two monarchs, and England, his most Faithful majesty is invited to unite himself, by an offensive and defensive league to the two courts of Versailles and of Madrid, against England ; to break off all communication and commerce with the English ; to treat them as common enemies, not only of the three allied powers, but of all the maritime ones ; to drive them from his ports, to shut them against all ships of war and merchant ships, and to join the Portuguese forces to those of France, and of Spain, to obtain, by this means, the object of the said war ; the ambassador of the Catholic king finally declaring, That that monarch, before he caused the above-mentioned memorial to be presented to the king, had ordered his troops to march to the frontiers of Portugal, to prevent the designs of the English, who might have surprized the maritime places of this kingdom, when the offensive union of his most Faithful majesty, with their Catholic and  
most



most Christian majesties, should come to their knowledge.

The king having taken the contents of the aforesaid memorial into serious consideration, in the precise term of four days, has ordered his secretary of state to answer ;

That his most Faithful majesty is sensibly affected, at seeing the flames of war kindled between the powers with whom he is closely connected by ties of blood, and of friendship, and by solemn treaty, such as Spain, France, and Great Britain : That his most Faithful majesty wishes that those same ties, and the neutrality he observes, may enable him to propose by his mediation a renewal of the conferences broken off at London, some time since, and to see if, by this means, it may be possible to reconcile interests and minds ; so that, without further effusion of human blood, an advantageous, necessary, and useful peace may be obtained.

That his most Faithful majesty, disposed as much as possible to comply with the proposal made on the part of the Catholic and most Christian kings, desires them nevertheless to reflect on the unsurmountable obstacles, which hinder him from entering into the offensive league proposed to him. That the court of Portugal having ancient and uninterrupted alliances with the British court, for many years past, by solemn and public treaties, purely defensive, and, as such, innocent ; and not having received any immediate offence on the part of Great Britain, to break the same treaties, his most Faithful majesty could not enter into an offensive league against that court, without being wanting to the public faith, religion, fidelity, and decorum, which are the

invariable principles of his majesty's mind, and of all religious and magnanimous princes, such as the Catholic and most Christian kings.

That besides these considerations, his most Faithful majesty, loving his subjects as a father, and being obliged to attend to their preservation as king, it is easy to see, that he would be wanting both to one and the other, if he should oblige them to endure the calamities of an offensive war, which they are not in a condition to support, after the misfortunes which have happened in Portugal, by the long sickness of the late king, his majesty's glorious father ; by the earthquake in the year 1755 ; and by the horrible conspiracy of 1758.

That his most Faithful majesty, upon these principles of religion, humanity, and public faith, having embraced the system of neutrality, has given orders to repair his ports, and maritime places, and to provide them with every thing necessary, and to equip a sufficient number of ships of war to protect them ; he has caused his troops to be held ready, and at hand, to prevent, in the said ports and maritime places, those accidents which might happen there ; all these dispositions having been made for the common advantage of the powers at war, without distinction of any : and in order that the subjects of the same powers may enjoy the protection and hospitality granted, and religiously observed in all times, in the ports of this kingdom, according to the common rule of the law of nations, and the practice of all the courts, who have no interest to take part in the wars which are kindled between other nations.

In short, the above-mentioned secre-



secretary of state of his most Faithful majesty, has the king's orders to tell his excellency Don Joseph Torrero, in order that he may transmit it to the king his master, that his most Faithful majesty, since the accession of his Catholic majesty to the throne of Spain, has always given him the most distinguished marks of a brother who loves him, of a sincere friend, and of a neighbour who has forgotten nothing to cultivate an intimate correspondence with him, even so far as to stipulate by the last treaty of the 12th of February of the preceding year, even when the acquisitions of the king were in question—"That he preferred to every other interest, that of removing the smallest occasion, that might become an obstacle to, or alter, not only the good correspondence due to his friendship, and to the strict ties of blood, but that might prevent an intimate union between their respective subjects." The king hopes, that the moment his Catholic majesty shall have reflected upon all these marks of love, of friendship, and of uninterrupted dispositions to please him, and shall have weighed them with the force of the reasons above-cited, he will see on the one hand that these reasons alone, which exceed the limits of the king's power, hinder him from entering into the league proposed to him; and, on the other hand, he will also see, that it is impossible for any thing to be done in the ports of this kingdom contrary to the interests of his Catholic majesty, and to the firm neutrality which this court considers as a necessary principle of her system.

DON LEWIS DA CUNHA.  
Palace, 20 March, 1762.

*Translation of a second memorial of the ambassador of Spain, and of the minister plenipotentiary of France, delivered to M. da Cunha the 1st of April 1762.*

**D**ON Joseph Torrero, ambassador of the Catholic king, and don James O'Dun, minister plenipotentiary of the most Christian king; the first in virtue of new orders which he has received from his Catholic majesty, after he had seen the answer given by his excellency don Lewis da Cunha, secretary of state to the most Faithful king, dated the 20th of March last, to the memorial which the two ministers delivered to him; and the second, in consequence of the system which the king his master, and the Catholic king, his cousin, have embraced, to keep themselves so united, that the interest of the one may be the interest of the other: the said ambassador and minister plenipotentiary, with the profound respect due to the monarch of Portugal, desirous to satisfy the reasons set forth, by his royal order, in the said answer of his excellency mons. da Cunha, of the 20th of March last; and at the same time insisting on those which they produced in their memorial of 16th of the said month, they humbly declare to his most Faithful majesty:

That their Catholic and most Christian majesties are thoroughly persuaded, that the misfortunes of war, which they suffer, are not indifferent to his most Faithful majesty, and that he would have wished to contribute to the happiness of peace; but unfortunately it is not in his power to do it, except by force, (and that is what they invite him to) in order to reduce the enemy



enemy not to despise proposals of accommodation, as they have hitherto done.

That, if there should be a new negotiation for peace, their Catholic and most Christian majesties would accept the mediation of his most Faithful majesty, out of regard to his sacred person; but the partiality which his ministry has shewn for the English, desiring to defend their neutrality in the course of the present war, would make his most Christian majesty fear, with reason, that the mediation of his most Faithful majesty would not be favourable to him; and the Catholic king would act contrary to his own decorum, if he should, on his side, admit it, when he calls to mind the conduct of the court of Lisbon, on the king's offers to accommodate the differences with the court of Rome, without having been able to obtain from Portugal any mark of confidence, or desire of reconciliation with the holy see (an incredible thing) except the single answer, *That hitherto God had not granted the favourable moment for reconciliation.*

That their Catholic and most Christian majesties thoroughly believe his most Faithful majesty's aversion to war, and his constant disposition for peace: their enemies also know them, so as to make advantage of them.

That the defensive alliances with the court of London, which his most Faithful majesty sets forth to shew the impossibility of his accepting the offensive and defensive league proposed to him, cannot be any obstacle to him: that the reasons, given on this subject, are not founded, and that those same alliances are not so innocent, as they would have them thought.

They are not an obstacle; because there is no alliance which is obligatory, when the question is to shake off a yoke, which one nation would lay on another: and that is the project already far advanced, of England on Portugal.

They are not founded; because notwithstanding it is assured, that the crown of Portugal has not received any offence from England, to induce her to a breach of treaties, the contrary is clearly manifested; for what stronger offence than that of attacking a French squadron in one of the ports of Portugal? This single insult is sufficient to give his most Faithful majesty a right to declare war against his Britannic majesty, if he has not given a suitable satisfaction for it; and if he has done it, without at the same time obtaining restitution of his most Christian majesty's ships, the most Christian king has a right to declare war against his Faithful majesty.

These alliances are not so innocent, though they are called purely defensive; because they become in reality offensive, from the situation of the Portuguese dominion, and from the nature of the English power; the English squadrons cannot keep the sea in all seasons, or cruize on the principal coasts for cutting off the French and Spanish navigation, without the ports, and the assistance of Portugal: these islanders would not insult all maritime Europe; they would let others enjoy their possessions, and their commerce, if all the riches of Portugal did not pass into their hands: consequently Portugal furnishes them with the means to make war; and their alliance with the said court is offensive; and if

not



not, it is asked, by what reason England should be obliged to send troops to the assistance of Portugal, and not Portugal to the assistance of England: if it is not, because England finds a compensation in the indirect assistance of Portugal, by means whereof she makes war against Spain and France.

The said alliances were made in the beginning of this century, when there were animosities, occasioned by the preceding possession of Spain, and for as long as they might last: those animosities, however, are now ended, and two brothers are possessors of Spain and Portugal; shall it then be allowed between two brothers, for the one to furnish arms to the enemy of the other? Necessity might, then, have authorised the king of Portugal to adopt an alliance contrary to his true system, and to his decorum: now he ought to be glad of the necessity, which others lay upon him to make use of his reason, in order to take the road of his glory and common interest.

That, if the most faithful king loves his subjects, as a father, and if he ought to preserve them, as king, their Catholic and most Christian majesties not only approve it, but they imitate it, by pitying their subjects for so many calamities: however, their majesties are not blameable for those they suffer by war, no more than his most faithful majesty will be, when he enters into it with so much justice as the present: he ought, on the contrary, to hope, by the assistance of God, and of his good allies, for new splendor to his crown, and the greatest advantages to his subjects: they will then enjoy a strong and solid system,

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as well in peace as war; whereas by that of an union with the English, the risk and uncertainty of the assistance of Great Britain to defend them against Spain, may be now seen by the very precautions taken by Portugal; even supposing, with reason, that the kingdom of Portugal ought not to be indifferent to the English; and that they ought to be offended with the proceedings of Spain.

That their most Christian and Catholic majesties do not complain of his most faithful majesty's causing his places to be repaired and garrisoned, his ports to be guarded by ships of war, and his troops to approach the places where they might be necessary: these are precautions of a wise and prudent prince: their majesties might, however, complain of the preference given to England, to send succours to Portugal, for the object of those same precautions; to keep at Lisbon an English general, several aids-de-camp, and other officers; since it is not possible but that they will concert military projects, according to the solicitations of the Portuguese minister at London, which are public, and which the English themselves do not conceal. But as his most faithful majesty is still in time to embrace the most just party, the two monarchs of France and Spain flatter themselves, that the preparations of the king of Portugal may acquire an ally; being well assured, that they will give him but little umbrage, and, on the contrary, that they will produce much advantage to him. If the English had been convinced, that the preparations were only against the offenders of the neutrality, they would not have contribut-

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ed thereto with such good-will, since they would have furnished arms against themselves.

That his Catholic majesty is sensible of the good-will and tenderness, which his most faithful majesty has shewn for him, since his accession to the throne of Spain, and particularly of the readiness with which his most faithful majesty complied with the annulling the treaty of limits in Peru, by that of the 12th of February 1761, in order to avoid the consequences which might result from the bad conduct of the officers and governors, to whom the execution of that treaty had been intrusted: however, the friendship and complaisance of his Catholic majesty was not less remarkable, when he himself proposed that expedient, without thinking of others which he might have made use of: what he did then, and what he now proposes, by agreement with the most Christian king, prove that the ties of blood are stronger in the mind of the Catholic king, than the flattering ideas of aggrandisement.

Finally, the ambassador of Spain, and the minister plenipotentiary of France, repeat what they have already set forth in the memorial of the 16th of March, they insist on the demand therein contained, and they declare to the most faithful king, That without further representations, or his consent, the Spanish troops already on the frontiers, will enter Portugal, for the single object of advancing, till they shall obtain, that the ports of Portugal be not at the disposal of the enemy; having, at the same time, the most precise orders, not to commit, without reason, the least hostility against

the subjects of the most faithful king; to pay them, in ready money, for whatever they shall furnish to them, as if the one and the other belonged to the same master. It remains for his most faithful majesty to chuse either to receive these troops as allies, or to refuse them entrance or subsistence, and to oppose them as enemies; for then the two allies will take all possible precautions, on the suspicions, already too much founded, that the court of Lisbon, by intelligence, for some time past, with that of London, will march out to meet them, with English forces, in order to hinder their just designs, and to make them bloody, contrary to the sentiments of their heart. Lisbon, the 21st of April, 1762.

(Signed)

DON JOSEPH TORRERO.

DON JAQUES O'DUN.

*Translation of the answer to the second memorial of the ministers of Spain and France, of April 1, 1762.*

**D**ON Lewis da Cunha, secretary of state of his most faithful majesty, having laid before the king the memorial, which his excellency M. Torrero, ambassador of the Catholic king, and M. O'Dun, minister plenipotentiary of France, remitted to him the first of this month; insisting upon all the demands which they had made in the first memorial of the 16th of March last, notwithstanding the reasons given on the part of the king, by the memorial, in answer, of the 20th of the said month: and declaring farther, that, without any other



other representation, and even without the consent of his most faithful majesty, the Spanish troops, already upon the frontiers, should enter into Portugal, to seize his ports, and to shut them up; and that there only remained to his most faithful majesty the choice of receiving them as friends, or of treating them as enemies; the king has ordered his secretary of state to answer:

That his most faithful majesty (notwithstanding a declaration so surprising and unexpected) persists in the sentiments which he has always at heart, of complying with the wishes of their Catholic and most Christian majesties; nevertheless he cannot persuade himself, that it is in his power to break the defensive treaties which he has with Great Britain, without that court's having given him motives so strong, and of such immediate interest to Portugal, as to oblige him to undertake a war, and to make the people, whom his majesty ought to preserve, endure the calamities of his scourge.

That he can no more persuade himself, that the said treaties, which subsisted, for so many years past, between Portugal and Great Britain, are offensive, as is insinuated in this last memorial, on account of the commerce which Portugal allows to the English subjects; on the contrary, this reason, and the others alledged therein, are the basis and the spirit of all defensive treaties; it being generally known to all the world, that these sort of treaties consist of engagements between the powers, to enable them the better to defend and maintain themselves, by the succours which one receives from the other, either in troops or money, or in something else which

may be of advantage to them; and this is the case of the treaties of league and commerce between Portugal and Great Britain, and it is what the law of God, of nature, and of nations, and the universal practice of all nations, have always deemed innocent, without there ever having been any power, who would undertake to force others to break these same treaties, because they find their interest in it, and would prefer the same private and particular interest to the common and universal one, of the public tranquillity of neutral powers; to attack them and invade their dominions, especially among monarchs so religious as their Catholic and most Christian majesties.

That the unbounded confidence which his most faithful majesty has always had in the ties of blood, the friendship, and the good neighbourhood which he has always cultivated with his Catholic majesty, cannot be better proved, than by the silence and tranquillity with which the king has seen, for a long time past, his frontiers almost blocked up and infested; the commerce of corn prohibited, the Spanish magazines upon the said frontiers filled with all sorts of military stores, and the places swarming with troops, without his most faithful majesty's having given the least order to his ambassador at Madrid to know the object of these preparations.

That after having acted with such sincerity, tranquillity, and good faith, at the time only when his most faithful majesty saw that it was necessary for him to listen to the clamours of his subjects, and to preserve his royal decorum from the universal censure of all Europe, which had spread even into every



public news-paper: and at the same time that it was known to all the world, that the kingdom of Portugal was in want of experienced officers, his most faithful majesty invited over lord Tyrawley; he also took some English officers and of other nations, to exercise his troops, as has been constantly practised in his kingdom, and as their Catholic and most Christian majesties, and all sovereigns in general, practise also, without there arising any suspicious distrust from such a proceeding.

That his most faithful majesty, passing over in silence the reproaches against individuals, who only execute the orders of their masters, to give an answer upon the affair of M. de la Clue's Squadron, must necessarily call to mind, that having received from the king of Great Britain the most obliging reparation for what concerns the rights of the territory, and of the port, near which the French vessels were taken, and having by repeated solicitations demanded restitution of those ships, as he has assured the most Christian king, his most faithful majesty thinks that it is more natural to obtain the restitution of the said ships, from the friendship of his Britannic majesty, at a convenient opportunity, than to undertake it by the means of a precipitate war, which might perhaps render the said restitution impracticable.

That his most faithful majesty hopes, that the solidity of these reasons will make upon the minds of their Catholic and most Christian majesties an impression worthy of their religion, and of their humanity; and that they will perceive the crying injustice of pursuing against Portugal the war kindled

against Great Britain; that they will give an example, that would produce the destruction of mankind, if neutral powers were to be attacked, because they have defensive treaties with the belligerent powers, that a maxim so destructive would occasion desolation in all Europe, the moment a war was kindled between two nations; and that his most faithful majesty, under these circumstances, could not recede from the neutrality which he adopts for his system, without losing, even with their Catholic and most Christian majesties, that good opinion which he prefers to every other interest.

That, for these reasons, and, in the unexpected case of the Spanish troops entering Portugal, (under any pretence whatever), not only without his most faithful majesty's permission, but contrary to his express declaration, made in the memorial of the 20th of March, and repeated by the present, making a declared and offensive war against him, by this violent and unexpected invasion: in such a case, his most faithful majesty, no longer able (without offending the laws of God, of nature, and of nations, and without universal censure) to avoid doing his utmost for his own defence, has commanded his forces to hold themselves in readiness, and to join with those of his allies, in support of the neutrality, which is the only and single object for which they shall be employed.

His most faithful majesty declares finally, that it will affect him less (though reduced to the last extremity, of which the Supreme Judge is the sole arbiter) to let the last tile of his palace fall, and to see his faithful subjects spill the last drop  
of



of their blood, than to sacrifice, together with the honour of his crown, all that Portugal holds most dear, and to submit, by such extraordinary means, to become an unheard-of example to all pacific powers, who will no longer be able to enjoy the benefit of neutrality, whenever a war shall be kindled between other powers with which the former are connected by defensive treaties. Palace of Alcantara, the 5th of April, 1762.

DON LEWIS DA CUNHA.

*Translation of a third memorial presented to the secretary of state, Don Lewis da Cunha, by Don Joseph Terrero, his Catholic majesty's ambassador, and M. James O' Dun, his most Christian majesty's minister plenipotentiary, on the 23d of April, 1762.*

DON Joseph Terrero, his Catholic majesty's ambassador, and M. James O'Dun, his most Christian majesty's minister plenipotentiary to the king of Portugal, agreeably to the instructions and orders of their august sovereigns, to put an end to the negociation which they are jointly engaged in and have pursued, in order to bring his most faithful majesty over to his true interest; which although exposed to the contingencies of war, yet is surely for his honour and glory, to unite his forces to those of France and Spain, and endeavouring to shake off the prejudicial dependency on England, which the Portuguese nation labours under; the said ambassador, and minister plenipotentiary, having lost all hopes that their masters should attain this so laudable and heroic a

purpose; either because the Portuguese monarch and his minister, being accustomed to this evil, do not perceive it, or else because the common enemy has gained a despotic power over their understanding; since they will not admit of those reasons which their Catholic and most Christian majesties have, with so much friendship, and such good intentions, represented; and knowing that although very easy, it would be absolutely useless to refute those contained in his excellency's Don Lewis da Cunha's last memorial, delivered to them on the 5th of this month, they will only lay before the most faithful king, through his means, a cursory refutation thereof.

That it is a matter of great concern to the kings their masters, that the most faithful king, by confessing, that England has given him cause to break the defensive treaties, which he does, in saying, that it is not of so great, or so immediate, interest to Portugal, as to outweigh the calamities of war: if his most faithful majesty has weighed in the same scale those of a war with England, and those of maintaining it against France and Spain, he has chosen the latter, with little regard to their power, and great disregard of their friendship, since he joined himself to one who has offended him, whether much or little, to offend those who have given him no other motive, than that of persuading him to what would be most convenient for him.

The king and his ministers cannot, because they will not, be persuaded, that these defensive treaties with the English, are offensive ones with regard to Spain and France, the arguments to the contrary, al-



ledged in the preceding memorials, being unanswerable; and the comparing them to those of other powers ill grounded, his situation and circumstances being extremely different from theirs.

That their most Christian and Catholic majesties, far from finding any merit in the friendly confidence of his most faithful majesty, from the silence observed by his ambassador at Madrid, upon the military preparations that were making and carrying on upon the frontiers of Portugal; this has from the beginning raised in them a distrust, which, to their great concern, is now confirmed by the experience of his preferring the alliance of the king of Great Britain to theirs; for otherwise he would in a friendly manner have inquired into the design of such preparations, and have endeavoured to have set on foot a negotiation, which their Catholic and most Christian majesties could not immaturely solicit at the known hazard of having their views discovered by the court of Lisbon to that of London, which then held, and still holds possession of their affections. Certain it is, that that of Lisbon had already taken the resolution within itself, which it is now obliged to discover; and that the apparent indifference with which it saw what is called the blockade and infestations of its frontiers without speaking of it in Madrid, was a latent fire for soliciting succours in London; thus opposing disguised preparations to open ones. That notwithstanding the court of Lisbon insists that there is no difference between her neutrality and that of other powers, and that there is no right to force them out of it, they may be assured, that it is by no

means looked upon as a point of indifference, on account of the inconveniences experienced by Spain in other wars with the English, and be persuaded, that if the breach with their Catholic and most Christian majesties should bring upon the most faithful king those which, united with the king of Great Britain, he does not fear, to these will be added the dissatisfaction, in the opinion of the most sound and judicious part of Europe, of his having had it in his power to avoid them.

That since his most faithful majesty erroneously founds his own honour, and that of his crown, not in delivering himself from the truly oppressive yoke of the English, but in opposing the entry of Spanish troops into Portugal, who come to his assistance and defence, their Catholic and most Christian majesties found theirs in attempting it, and will sustain it with as much inflexibility as his most faithful majesty, when he heroically declares, that rather than abandon Portugal, he will see the last tile fall from his palace, and spill the last drop of his subjects blood.

And finally, that the most faithful king having, upon the alternative proposed to him, preferred the resisting the entry of Spanish troops as enemies, to admitting them as friends; and consequently the enmity of their Catholic and most Christian majesties to their friendship, there is nothing more unnecessary, and even unbecoming, than the continuance of the above-mentioned ambassador of Spain, and minister plenipotentiary of France, near his most faithful majesty; therefore they beseech him, and hope he will be pleased to direct the necessary passports to be furnished,  
that



that each may immediately repair to his respective court. Lisbon, April 23, 1762.

DON JOSEPH TORRERO.

JACQUES BERNARD O'DUN.

*Translation of the answer to the foregoing memorial.*

**D**ON Lewis da Cunha, in execution of the orders which he has received from the most faithful king, his master, in answer to what is contained in the memorial, which was presented to him on the 23d day of the present month of April, by his excellency Don Joseph Torrero, ambassador from the Catholic king, and by M. James O'Dun, minister plenipotentiary from his most Christian majesty, informs them :

That having positive orders to set apart, from the substance of the business under consideration, the adventitious warm expressions, such as have hitherto never been used between sovereigns, with which the said memorial is filled ; his most faithful majesty has found in it nothing new, that, by giving an opening to negotiation, should make him alter his former resolutions, communicated in the answers of him, the secretary of state, dated the 20th of March last, and the 5th of the present month of April.

That the effective rupture, which the said allied ministers have now owned, in such clear and express words, was not matter of surprise to his majesty, after having seen that this unexampled negotiation was opened by notifying to his most faithful majesty, in the first memorial of the 16th of March last, that it had been determined between the courts of Paris and Madrid,

without any previous notice to his majesty, to make the neutral kingdom of Portugal the theatre of war, to oblige his most faithful majesty calmly to see his provinces and ports occupied by Spanish armies ; to intimate to him, that, for this purpose, the said armies were already posted upon the frontiers of this kingdom : adding to all this, that he ought not only to infringe all the treaties of peace and commerce, which he has with the crown of England, but likewise to declare an offensive war against the said crown ; the whole conceived in a style by no means gentle or persuasive, but rather expressing, in the strongest terms, that the intention was not to negotiate, but to break ; and his said most faithful majesty having seen this confirmed in the second memorial, presented by the said Don Joseph Torrero, and M. James O'Dun, on the first instant, therein declaring, that his Catholic majesty had already given ultimate orders, that his troops should enter the dominions of this kingdom, without waiting for any other answer, or consent of his most faithful majesty.

That his said most faithful majesty solely places his honour and glory in being faithful to his royal word ; in the observance of the duties of his crown ; and of religion and humanity, which forbid his entering into an offensive war against any power, although ever so indifferent to him, and although not allied by reciprocal treaties, which have been adhered to for this age past ; as are those which subsist with the crown of England.

That their Catholic and most Christian majesties have been informed with very little sincerity, if



any body has suggested to them that any clause in the answers, which went from this court on the 20th of March, and the 5th of the present month of April, could be interpreted in the sense that his most faithful majesty should own, that England had given cause to break those ancient defensive alliances; because, on the contrary, he owes to the crown of Great Britain all that good harmony, which is the natural effect of those ancient alliances.

That his most faithful majesty, who has a high opinion of the power and friendship of their most Christian and most Catholic majesties, cannot doubt that their said majesties would be the first to disapprove of the step of breaking his neutrality, to make an offensive war against his allies, in the manner already related.

That his said majesty sees no other difference between his neutrality and that of other powers, than the manner in which his frontiers are beset, under no other pretence than the persuasion, that it is convenient to the courts of Paris and Madrid, that Portugal should break through all the above-mentioned ties. But surely mere conveniency, without any legitimate title, has never hitherto authorised belligerent powers to attack those which are neuter; and who enjoy the advantages attending on peace.

That his most faithful majesty could wish, that the blame imputed to him for not having complained that the frontiers of his kingdom were blocked up and infested, were not so fully proved by the said memorials of the 16th of March, and the first instant, where it was declared in express words, which can-

not be misunderstood, that the said blockade and infestation were ordered from the time of the Family-compact, to invade and seize upon this kingdom; which are terms that plainly shew, that Portugal was neither to ask nor expect succours from the said courts, which had joined themselves in alliance to attack it; and that the latent fire has always been on the side of those who had determined to act offensively, and not on the side of him who has endeavoured, and does only endeavour, to defend and preserve himself in peace, which, by all laws of God, of nature, and nations, he has a right to do.

That if his Catholic majesty were truly informed of what has happened in preceding wars, he would find, that his crown and subjects have reaped many and great benefits, upon several occasions, from the peace inseparable from the neutrality of Portugal, and of which there are in Madrid many living witnesses; and that it has not been the crown of England alone which has profited by the neutrality and peace of Portugal.

That, finally, his most faithful majesty understands that he has the same right to defend his kingdom from invasion, which is permitted to every private person, who is indispensably obliged to defend his own house against any body that should enter it without his consent. And that his majesty, confining himself to this sole point of the natural defence of the neutrality and peace of his kingdoms, ports, and subjects, will exert his utmost efforts together with his allies, in case, notwithstanding all that has been related, he be attacked; and has given the necessary orders, in his secretary's office, that Don Joseph

Torrero,



Torrero, and M. James O'Dun, be furnished with the usual passports, as soon as they please to send for them; and that, in such case, expresses be sent to his ambassador don Joseph de Silvan da Pecantra, and to his minister Pedro da Costa de Almeida, with orders to leave the courts of Madrid and Paris, in the same manner as the said ambassador of his Catholic majesty, and minister plenipotentiary of his most Christian majesty, do here.

*Palace of Alcantara, April 25, 1762.*

DON LEWIS DA CUNHA.

M. da Cunha, upon delivering to the Spanish and French ministers the above answers to their memorials, acquainted them at the same time, that the passports, which they had demanded, would be ready, whenever they pleased to send for them; accordingly they took up their passports the 26th, and the barges being ready for them, they set out the 27th.

*Decree, or declaration of war, issued by order of his Portuguese majesty against Spain.*

Whereas the ambassador of Castile, don Joseph Torrero, in conjunction with don Jacob O'Dun, minister plenipotentiary of France, by their representations, and the answers I have given thereto, it appears that one of the projects agreed to between the aforesaid powers in the Family-pact was, to dispose of these kingdoms as if they were their own, to invade them, to occupy them, and usurp them, under the incompatible pretext of assisting me against enemies, which they supposed for such, that never existed; and whereas differ-

ent general officers of his Catholic majesty have successively, since the 30th of April last, spread various papers through my dominions, prescribing laws and sanctions to my subjects, invading at the same time my provinces with an army divided into various bodies, attacking my fortified places, and perpetrating all the aforesaid hostilities, under pretence of directing them to the advantage and glory of my crown, and of my subjects, and in such light even the Catholic king himself has represented the case to me; and whereas, notwithstanding all the contradictory and unheard-of motives, an offensive war has been made against me, contrary to truth and justice, by the aforesaid two monarchs, through mutual consent; I have ordered it to be made known to all my subjects, that they hold all disturbers or violators of the independent sovereignties of my crown, and all invaders of my kingdom, as public aggressors and declared enemies; that from henceforward, in natural defence, and necessary retortion, they be treated as aggressors and declared enemies, in all and every sense; and to oppose them in their persons and effects, all military persons and others authorised by me, make use of the most executive means which in these cases are supported by all laws; and that in like manner all the said military persons, of whatever rank, quality, or condition they be, quit all communication and correspondence with the said enemies, under the penalties decreed against rebels and traitors. I likewise order that all the subjects of France and Spain, that reside in this city, or in the kingdom of Portugal and Algarva, retire within the precise term



term of 15 days, to reckon from the day of the publication of this decree, otherwise they shall be treated as enemies, and their effects confiscated; and that in all the wet as well as dry ports of this kingdom, all commerce and communication cease with the aforesaid monarchies of France and Spain, and all fruits, manufactures, or goods of any kind, of the produce of the said monarchies, be deemed contraband, and the entry, sale, and use of them be prohibited. Ordered, that this decree be affixed and transmitted to every country, that it may come to the knowledge of all my subjects. I have given orders to the intendant general of the people to grant passports to all the aforesaid, who have entered these kingdoms, *bona fide*, on their business, that they be permitted to retire unmolested.

*Palace of Nossa Senhora da Adjuda,  
18th of May, 1762.*

With the rubric of his majesty.

Published 23d May, 1762.

ANTONIO LUIZ DE CORDES.

*The king of Spain's declaration of war against Portugal, issued the 16th day of June.*

**N**EITHER my representations founded in justice and utility, nor the fraternal persuasives with which I accompanied them, have been able to alter the king of Portugal's blind affection for the English. His ministers, engaged by long habit, continue obstinate in their partiality, to the great prejudice of his subjects; and I have met with nothing but refusals, and been insulted by his injurious preference of the friendship of England to that of Spain and France. I have even received a personal affront by the ar-

resting of my ambassador, don Joseph Torrero, at Estremos, who was detained there, in violation of his character, after he had been suffered to depart from Lisbon, and had arrived on the frontier, in virtue of passports from that court; but notwithstanding such insults were powerful motives for me to keep no longer any measures with the king of Portugal, nevertheless, adhering to my first resolution of not making an offensive war against the Portuguese, unless forced to it, I deferred giving orders to my general to treat them with the rigours of war; but having read the edict of the king of Portugal of the 18th of last month, in which, misrepresenting the upright intentions of the most Christian king and myself, he imputes to us a preconcerted design of invading his dominions; and orders all his vassals to treat us as enemies, and to break off all correspondence with us, both by sea and land; and forbids the use of all productions coming from our territories, confiscating the goods of the French and Spaniards, and likewise ordering them to leave Portugal in a fortnight, which term, however strait, has been further abridged, and many of my subjects have been expelled, plundered, and ill treated, before the expiration of it. And the marquis de Sarria having found, that the Portuguese, ungrateful to his goodness and moderation, and the exactness with which they have been paid for every thing they have furnished for my troops, have proceeded so far as to excite the people and soldiery against my army; so that it would be dishonourable to carry my forbearance any farther. For these causes I have resolved, that from this day my troops shall treat



treat Portugal as an enemy's country, that the property of the Portuguese should be confiscated throughout my dominions, that all the Portuguese shall leave Spain in a fortnight, and that all commerce with them shall be prohibited for the future.

On June 25, the king of Spain sent to the viceroy of Navarre, and to the governors of the provinces of Spain, an order in the following terms :

“ Since the Portuguese, through an inveterate hatred for the Spanish name (a hatred founded only on hereditary prejudice) have carried their barbarities to such extremities, as to cut off the ears and noses, or in other cruel manner to mutilate several Spaniards who were leaving Portugal in consequence of the declaration of war, who are arrived on our frontiers thus mutilated and disfigured ; and as the Portuguese government has endeavoured to shake, by motives of interest, that fidelity and love which good subjects owe their country, by publishing, on the 17th, at Yelves, and without doubt through all their frontiers, that any Spaniard banished from Spain, who would retire with his wealth to Portugal, shall enjoy all sorts of franchises, and be treated as a native there : although his majesty believes that he has no subject so unworthy the name of a Spaniard as to be tempted by such offers ; if, however, there should be any one so base, be it known to him from this hour, that if he should at any time return to Spain, he shall suffer the infamy and punishment due to traitors and deserters of their country. His majesty orders you

to publish the present edict throughout your jurisdiction.

D. RICHARD WALL.”

*The French king's declaration of war against Portugal.*

THE king and the Catholic king, being obliged to support a war against England, have entered into reciprocal engagements to curb the excessive ambition of that crown, and the despotism which it pretends to usurp, in every sea, and particularly in the East and West Indies, over the trade and navigation of other powers.

Their majesties judged, that one proper step for attaining this end would be, to invite the king of Portugal to enter into their alliance. It was natural to think that the proposals which were made to that prince, on that subject, in the name of his majesty and of his Catholic majesty, would be readily accepted. This opinion was founded on the consideration of what the most faithful king owed to himself and to his people, who, from the beginning of this present century, have groaned under the imperious yoke of the English. Besides, the event hath but too clearly shewn the necessity of the just measures taken by France and Spain with regard to a suspicious and dangerous neutrality that had all the inconveniences of a concealed war.

The memorials presented to the court of Lisbon on this subject have been made public ; all Europe hath seen the solid reasons of justice and conveniency which were the foundation of their demand on the king of Portugal ; to those were added, on the part of Spain, motives of the most



most tender friendship and affinity, which ought to have made the strongest and most salutary impression on the mind of the most faithful king.

But these powerful and just considerations were so far from determining that prince to unite with his majesty and his Catholic majesty, that he absolutely rejected their offers, and chose to sacrifice their alliance, his own glory, and the good of his people, to his unlimited and blind devotion to the will of England.

Such conduct leaving no doubt concerning the king of Portugal's true intentions, the king and the Catholic king could consider him, from that time, only as a direct and personal enemy, who, under the artful pretext of a neutrality which would not be observed, would deliver up his ports to the disposal of the English, to serve for sheltering-places for their ships, and to enable them to hurt France and Spain with more security, and with more effect.

Nevertheless, his majesty and his Catholic majesty thought it their duty to keep measures with the most faithful king; and if the Spanish troops have entered Portugal, this invasion, which was become indispensably necessary, was not accompanied with any declaration of war; and the troops have behaved with all the circumspection that could be required even in a friendly and neutral state.

All this moderation has been thrown away; the king of Portugal hath just now declared war in form against France and Spain. This unexpected step forced the Catholic king to make the like declaration against Portugal; and the king [of

France] can no longer defer taking the same resolution.

Independent of the motives which are common to the two monarchs, each hath separate grievances to allege against Portugal, which of themselves would be sufficient to justify the extremity to which their majesties see themselves with regret obliged to proceed.

Every one knows the utmost and violent attack made by the English, in 1759, on some of the [French] king's ships under the cannon of the Portuguese forts at Lagos. His majesty demanded of the most faithful king to procure him restitution of those ships: but that prince's ministers, in contempt of what was due to the rule of justice, the laws of the sea, the sovereignty and territory of their master, (all which were indecently violated by the most scandalous infraction of the rights of sovereigns and of nations) in answer to the repeated requisitions of the king's ambassador on this head, made only vague speeches, with an air of indifference that bordered on derision.

At the same time, the court of Lisbon, pretending to be ignorant that sovereigns, who hold their rank of their birth only and the dignity of their crown, can never permit, under any pretext, any potentate to attempt to infringe prerogatives and rights belonging to the antiquity and majesty of their throne, hath pretended to establish without distinction an alternative of precedence between all the ambassadors and foreign ministers about the king of Portugal. The king, being informed by his ambassador of the notification that had been made to him of this extraordinary and unexampled



exampled regulation, signified in writing to the most faithful king his just dissatisfaction; and his majesty declared, that he never would suffer any attempt to be made to diminish the right essentially inherent in the representative character, with which he is pleased to honour his ambassadors and ministers.

However justly the king was authorised to express, at that time, his displeasure on account of those grievances, and several other subjects of complaint which he had received from the court of Portugal, his majesty contented himself with recalling his ambassador, and continued to keep up a correspondence with the most faithful king, which he very sincerely desired to render more intimate and more lasting.

That prince, therefore, can only blame himself for the calamities of a war, which he ought, on every account, to have avoided, and which he hath been the first to declare.

His offers to observe an exact neutrality might have been listened to by the king, and the Catholic king, if past experience had not taught them to guard against the illusion and danger of such proposals.

In the beginning of the present century, the court of Lisbon was very forward to acknowledge king Philip V. of glorious memory, and contracted formal engagements with France and Spain. Peter II. who at that time filled the throne of Portugal, seemed to enter cordially into the alliance of the two crowns; but, after dissembling his secret intentions for three years, he broke all his promises, and the neutrality which he had afterwards solicited, and which, in a letter to the re-

public of the United Provinces, he had even advised her to embrace, and joined the enemies of France and Spain. The same confidence, and the same security, on the part of the two crowns, in the present state of things, would undoubtedly have been followed by the like defection in the court of Lisbon.

United to the Catholic king by indissoluble sentiments of tender friendship and common interests, the king hopes that their united efforts will be favoured by the God of hosts, and will in the end compel the king of Portugal to conduct himself on principles more conformable to sound policy, the good of his people, and the ties of blood which unite him to his majesty and his Catholic majesty.

The king commands and enjoins all his subjects, vassals, and servants, to fall upon the subjects of the king of Portugal; and expressly prohibits them from having any communication, commerce, or intelligence with them, on pain of death; and accordingly his majesty hath from this date revoked, and hereby revokes, all licences, passports, safe-guards, and safe-conducts contrary to these presents, that may have been granted by him or his lieutenant-generals, and other officers: declaring them null and void, and of no effect, and forbidding all persons to pay any regard thereto. And whereas, in contempt of the XVth article of the treaty of peace between France and Portugal, signed at Utrecht, April 11, 1713, (and by which it is expressly stipulated, "That in case of a rupture between the two crowns, the space of six months after the said rupture shall be granted their subjects respectively, to sell or remove their effects, and withdraw their



their persons if they think fit") the king of Portugal hath just now ordered that all the French who are in his kingdom should leave it in the space of fifteen days, and that their effects should be confiscated and sequestered; his majesty, by way of just reprisals, commands, that all the Portuguese in his dominions shall, in like manner, leave them within the space of fifteen days from the date hereof, and that all their effects shall be confiscated.

Versailles, June 20, 1762,

*Papers relative to the late revolution in Russia.*

*Manifesto of the present empress of Russia, on her accession to the throne as independent sovereign.*

**C**ATHERINE II. by the grace of God, empress and autocratix of all the Russias, &c. &c. All the true sons of Russia have clearly seen the great danger to which the whole Russian empire hath in fact been exposed. First, the foundations of our orthodox Greek religion have been shaken, and its traditions exposed to total ruin; so that there was absolutely ground to fear, that the faith, which hath been established in Russia from the earliest times, would be entirely changed, and a foreign religion introduced. In the second place, the glory which Russia has acquired at the expence of so much blood, and which was carried to the greatest height by her victorious arms, has been trampled under foot by the peace lately concluded with its greatest enemy. And lastly, the domestic regulations, which are the basis of the country's welfare, have been totally overturned.

For these causes, overcome by the imminent dangers with which

our faithful subjects were threatened, and seeing how sincere and express their desires were on this head, we, putting our trust in the Almighty and his divine justice, have ascended the sovereign imperial throne of all the Russias, and have received a solemn oath of fidelity from all our faithful subjects.'

This publication being made, the empress caused the following note to be delivered to the foreign ministers, for their information.

'Her majesty, the empress, having this day ascended the imperial throne of all the Russias, at the unanimous desire and pressing instances of all her faithful subjects and true patriots of this empire, hath commanded notice thereof to be given to all the foreign ministers residing at her court, with an assurance of her imperial majesty's invariable resolution to live in good friendship with the sovereigns their masters.

The foreign ministers shall soon have notice of the day when they may have the honour to pay their court and present their compliments of congratulation to her imperial majesty.'

Petersburg, June 28. O. S. 1762.

*Some days afterwards the empress issued the following manifesto, giving an account of her motives for taking the reins of government into her hands.*

We Catherine II. by the grace of God, empress and sovereign of all the Russias,

Making known these presents to all our loving subjects, ecclesiastical, military, and civil.

**O**UR accession to the imperial throne of all the Russias is a manifest



manifest proof of this truth, that when sincere hearts endeavour for good, the hand of God directs them. We never had either design or desire to arrive at empire, thro' the means by which it hath pleased the Almighty, according to the inscrutable views of Providence, to place us upon the throne of Russia, our dear country.

On the death of our most august and dear aunt, the empress Elizabeth Petrowna, of glorious memory, all true patriots (now our most faithful subjects) groaning for the loss of so tender a mother, placed their only consolation in obeying her nephew, whom she had named for her successor, that they might shew thereby, in some degree, their acknowledgments to their deceased sovereign. And, although they soon found out the weakness of his mind, unfit to rule so vast an empire, they imagined he would have known his own insufficiency. Whereupon they sought our maternal assistance in the affairs of government.

But when absolute power falls to the lot of a monarch, who has not sufficient virtue and humanity to place just bounds to it, it degenerates into a fruitful source of the most pernicious evils. This is the sum, in short, of what our native country has suffered. She struggled to be delivered from a sovereign, who, being blindly given up to the most dangerous passions, thought of nothing but indulging them, without employing himself in the welfare of the empire committed to his care.

During the time of his being grand-duke, and heir to the throne of Russia, he often caused the most

bitter griefs to his most august aunt and sovereign, (the truth of which all our court knows) however he might behave himself outwardly; being kept under her eye by her tenderness, he looked upon this affection towards him as an insupportable yoke. He could not, however, disguise himself so well, but it was perceived by all our faithful subjects, that he was possessed of the most audacious ingratitude, which he sometimes shewed by personal contempt, sometimes by an avowed hatred to the nation. At length, throwing aside his cloak of hypocrisy, he thought it more fit to let loose the bridle of his passions, than conduct himself as the heir of so great an empire. In a word, the least traces of honour were not to be perceived in him. What were the consequences of all this?

He was scarcely assured that the death of his aunt and benefactress approached, but he banished her memory entirely from his mind; nay, even before she had sent forth her last groan. He only cast an eye of contempt on the corpse exposed on the bier; and, as the ceremony at that time required obliged him to approach it, he did it with his eyes manifestly replete with joy; even intimating his ingratitude by his words. I might add, that the obsequies would have been nothing equal to the dignity of so great and magnanimous a sovereign, if our tender respect to her, cemented by the ties of blood, and the extreme affection between us, had not made the care of it a duty to us.

He imagined that it was not to the Supreme Being, but only to chance, that he was indebted for absolute power, and that he had

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it in his hands, not for the good of his subjects, but solely for his satisfaction. Adding therefore licence to absolute power, he made all the changes in the state, which the weakness of his mind could suggest, to the oppression of the people.

Having effaced from his heart even the least traces of the holy orthodox religion (though he had been sufficiently taught the principles thereof) he began first by rooting out this true religion, established so long in Russia, by absenting himself from the house of God, and of prayers, in so open a manner, that some of his subjects, excited by conscience and honesty, seeing his irreverence and contempt of the rites of the church, or rather the railleries he made of them, and scandalizing them by his behaviour, dared to make remonstrances to him concerning it; who, for so doing, scarcely escaped the resentment which they might have expected from so capricious a sovereign, whose power was not limited by any human laws. He even intended to destroy the churches, and ordered some to be pulled down. He prohibited those to have chapels in their own houses, whose infirmities hindered them from visiting the house of God. Thus he would have domineered over the faithful, in endeavouring to stifle in them the fear of God, which the holy scripture teaches us to be the beginning of wisdom.

From this want of zeal towards God, and contempt of his laws, resulted that scorn to the civil and natural laws of his kingdom; for, having but an only son, which God had given us, the grand-duke Paul Petrowitz, he would not, when he

ascended the throne of Russia, declare him for his successor; that being reserved for his caprice, which tended to the detriment of us and of our son, having an inclination to overthrow the right that his aunt had vested in him, and to make the government of our native country pass into the hands of strangers; contradicting this maxim of natural right, according to which nobody can transmit to another more than he has received himself.

Although with great grief we saw this intention, we did not believe that we ourselves, and our most dear son, should have been exposed to a persecution so severe: but all persons of probity having observed that the measures that he pursued, by their effects, manifested that they had a natural tendency to our ruin, and that of our dear successor, their generous and pious hearts were justly alarmed: Animated with zeal for the interest of their native country, and astonished at our patience under these heavy persecutions, they secretly informed us, that our life was in danger, in order to engage us to undertake the *burthen* of governing so large an empire.

While the whole nation were on the point of testifying their disapprobation of his measures, he nevertheless continued to chagrine them the more, by subverting all those excellent arrangements established by Peter the Great, our most dear predecessor, of glorious memory, which that true father of his country accomplished by indefatigable pains and labour through the whole course of a reign of thirty years. The late Peter the Third despised the laws of the empire, and her most respectable tribunals,



to such a degree, that he could not even bear to hear them mentioned:

After one bloody war, he rashly entered upon another, in which the interests of Russia were no way concerned. He entertained an insuperable aversion to the regiments of guards, which had faithfully served his illustrious ancestors, and made innovations in the army, which, far from exciting in their breasts noble sentiments of valour, only served to discourage troops always ready to spill their best blood in the cause of their country. He changed entirely the face of the army; nay, it even seemed, that by dividing their habits into so many uniforms, and giving them so many different embellishments, for the most part fantastical to the greatest degree, he intended to infuse into them a suspicion that they did not, in effect, belong to one master, and thereby provoke the soldiers, in the heat of battle, to slay one another; although experience demonstrated that uniformity in dress had not a little contributed towards unanimity.

Inconsiderately and incessantly bent on pernicious regulations, he so alienated the hearts of his subjects, that there was scarce a single person to be found in the nation who did not openly express his disapprobation, and was even desirous to take away his life: but the laws of God, which command sovereign princes to be respected, being deeply engraved on the hearts of our faithful subjects, restrained them, and engaged them to wait with patience, till the hand of God struck the important blow, and by his fall delivered an oppressed people. Under those circumstances, now laid before the impartial eyes of the

public, it was, in fact, impossible but our soul should be troubled with those impending woes which threatened our *native* country, and with that persecution which we, and our most dear son, the heir of the Russian throne, unjustly suffered: being almost entirely excluded from the imperial palace; in such sort, that all who had regard for us, or rather those who had courage enough to speak it (for we have not been able to find that there is *one* person who is not *devoted* to our interest) by expressing their sentiments of respect due to us, as their empress, endangered their life, or at least their fortune. In fine, the endeavours he made to ruin us, rose to such a pitch, that they broke out in public, and then charging us with being the cause of the murmurs, which his own imprudent measures occasioned, his resolution to take away our life openly appeared. But being informed of his purpose, by some of our trusty subjects, who were determined to deliver their country, or perish in the attempt, relying on the aid of the Almighty, we cheerfully exposed our person to danger, with all that magnanimity which our native country had a right to expect, in return for her affection to us. After having invoked the Most High, and reposed our hope in the divine favour, *we* resolved also either to sacrifice our life for our country, or save it from bloodshed and calamity. Scarcely had we taken this resolution, by the direction of favouring Heaven, and declared our assent to the deputies of the empire, than the orders of the state crowded to give us assurances of their fidelity and submission.



It now remained for us, in pursuance of the love we bore our faithful subjects, to prevent the consequences which we apprehended, in case of the late emperor's inconsiderately placing his confidence in the imaginary power of the Holstein troops, (for whose sake he staid at Oranjebaum, living in indolence, and abandoning the most pressing exigencies of the state), and there occasioning a carnage, to which our guards and other regiments were ready to expose themselves, for the sake of their native country, for ours, and that of our successor. For these reasons we looked upon it as a necessary duty towards our subjects (to which we were immediately called by the voice of God) to prevent so great a misfortune, by prompt and proper measures. Therefore, placing ourselves at the head of the body-guards, regiments of artillery, and other troops in and about the royal residence, we undertook to disconcert an iniquitous design, of which we were, as yet, only informed in part.

But scarcely were we got out of the city, before we received two letters from the late emperor, one quick on the heels of the other.—The first by our vice-chancellor the prince Gallitzin, entreating us to allow him to return to Holstein, his native dominions; the other by major-general Michel Ismailoff, by which he declared, that of his own proper motion he renounced the crown and throne of Russia. In this last he begged of us to allow him to withdraw to Holstein with Elizabeth Woronzoff Goudowick. These two last letters, stuffed with flattering expressions, came to our hands a few hours after he had

given orders for putting us to death as we have been since informed from the very persons who were appointed to execute those *unnatural* orders.

In the mean time, he had still resources left him, which were to arm against us his Holstein troops, and some small detachments thereof about his person; he had, also, in his power several personages of distinction belonging to our court; as he might therefore have *compelled* us to agree to terms of accomodation still more hurtful to our country, (for after having learned what great commotions there were among the people, he had detained them as hostages at his palace of Oranjebaum, and our humanity would never have consented to their destruction, but, to save their lives, we would have risked seeing a part of those dangers revived by an accomodation), several persons of high rank about our person requested us to send him a billet in return, proposing to him, if his intentions were such as he declared them to be, that he should instantly send us a *voluntary* and formal renunciation of the throne, wrote by his own hand, for the public satisfaction.—Major-general Ismailoff carried this proposal, and now behold the writing which he sent back.

*During the short space of my absolute reign over the empire of Russia, I became, sensible that I was not able to support so great a burthen, and that my abilities were not equal to the task of governing so great an empire, either as a sovereign, or in any other capacity whatever. I also foresaw the great troubles which must have from thence arose, and have been followed with the total ruin of the empire.*



ire, and covered me with eternal disgrace. After having therefore seriously reflected thereon, I declare, without constraint, and in the most solemn manner, to the Russian empire, and to the whole universe, that I for ever renounce the government of the said empire, never desiring hereafter to reign herein, either as an absolute sovereign, or under any other form of government; never wishing to aspire hereto, to use any means, of any sort, for that purpose. As a pledge of which, I swear sincerely, before God and all the world, to this present renunciation, wrote and signed this 9th of June, 1762, O. S.

P E T E R.

It is thus, without spilling one drop of blood, that we have ascended the Russian throne, by the assistance of God, and the approving suffrages of our dear country.— Humbly adoring the decrees of Divine Providence, we assure our faithful subjects, that we will not fail, by night and by day, to invoke the Most High to bless our sceptre, and enable us to wield it for the maintenance of our orthodox religion, the security and defence of our dear native country, and the support of justice; as well as to put an end to all miseries, iniquities, and violences, by strengthening and fortifying our heart for the public good. And as we are ardently wish to prove effectually how far we merit the reciprocal love of our people, for whose happiness we acknowledge our throne to be appointed, we solemnly promise, on our imperial word, to make such arrangements in the empire, that the government may be endued with an intrinsic force to support

itself within limited and proper bounds; and each department of the state provided with wholesome laws and regulations, sufficient to maintain good order therein, at all times, and under all circumstances.

By which means we hope to establish hereafter the empire and our sovereign power, (however they may have been formerly weakened), in such a manner as to comfort the discouraged hearts of all true patriots. We do not in the least doubt but that our loving subjects will, as well for the salvation of their own souls, as for the good of religion, inviolably observe the oath which they have sworn to us in presence of the Almighty God; we thereupon assure them of our imperial favour.

Done at Peterburgh, July 6, 1762.

*Her imperial majesty's declaration,  
 &c. on the death of the emperor  
 her husband.*

**W**E Catherine II. by the grace of God, empress and autocratrix of all the Russias.—Greeting, &c.

The 7th day after our accession to the throne of all the Russias, we received information, that the late emperor Peter III. by the means of a bloody accident in his hinder parts, commonly called piles, to which he had been formerly subject, obtained a most violent, griping colic. That therefore we might not be wanting in Christian duty, nor disobedient to the holy commandment by which we are obliged to preserve the life of our neighbour, we immediately ordered that the said Peter should be furnished with every thing that might be judged necessary to prevent the



dangerous consequences of that accident; and to restore his health by the succours of medicine. But to our great regret and affliction we learned yesterday evening, that, by the permission of the Almighty, the late emperor departed this life. We have therefore ordered his body to be transported to the monastery of Newky, in order to its being buried there. At the same time, with our imperial and motherly voice, we exhort our faithful subjects to forget and forgive what is past, to pay the last duties to his body, and to pray to God sincerely for the peace of his soul; beseeching them, however, at the same time to consider this unexpected and sudden death as a special effect of the Divine Providence, whose decrees prepare for us, for our throne, and for our country, things only known to his holy will.

Done at St. Petersburg, July  $\frac{7}{18}$ .

*Papers relating to the re-establishment of peace.*

*Declaration delivered by the emperor of Russia's order to the Imperial, French, and Swedish ministers residing at St. Petersburg.*

**H**IS imperial majesty, who, upon his happy accession to the throne of his ancestors, looks upon it to be his principal duty to extend and augment the welfare of his subjects, sees with extreme regret, that the flames of the present war, which has already continued for six years, and has been for a long time burthenfome to all the powers engaged in it, far from tending now

to a conclusion, are, on the contrary, gathering fresh strength, to the great misfortune of the several nations; and that mankind has much the more to suffer from this scourge, as the fortune of arms which has been hitherto subject to so many vicissitudes, is equally exposed to them for the future.

Wherefore his imperial majesty, compassionating, through his humane disposition, the effusion of innocent blood, and being desirous on his part, of putting a stop to great an evil, has judged it necessary to declare to the courts in alliance with Russia, that, preferring to every other consideration the first law which God prescribes to sovereigns, which is the preservation of the people intrusted to them, he wishes to procure peace to his empire, to which it is so necessary and of so great value; and, at the same time, to contribute, as much as may be in his power, to the re-establishment of it throughout Europe.

It is in order to this, that his imperial majesty is ready to make sacrifice of the conquests made by the arms of Russia, in this war, hopes that the allied courts will, on their part, equally prefer the restoration of peace and tranquillity to the advantages which they might expect from the war, and which they cannot obtain but by the continuance of the effusion of human blood. And to this end his imperial majesty, with the best intention, advises them to employ, on their side, all their power towards the accomplishment of so great and so salutary a work.

St. Petersburg, Feb.  $\frac{12}{23}$ , 1762.



*The answer of the empress-queen to the foregoing declaration.*

**T**HAT animated with the same zeal, and being of the same opinion, as his imperial majesty, with regard to the salutary work of peace, and to the putting an end to the troubles and ravages that desolate Germany, she was ready to concur with him therein; but that, for that end, she desired his imperial majesty to furnish her with the means of beginning the negotiation, by imparting to her the proposed terms of peace, which she would, without loss of time, communicate to her high allies, who, as well as herself, would be always ready to co-operate in a matter so much desired, provided the terms were not inadmissible, and contained nothing injurious either to their honour, or her honour.

*The answer given by the French court to the declaration.*

**T**HE king maintaining, with regret, these six years past, a twofold war for his own defence and that of his allies, has sufficiently manifested, on every occasion, how much he abhors the effusion of human blood, and his constant desire to put an end to so cruel a scourge. His personal disinterestedness, the steps which he thought could be taken consistent with his dignity, and the sacrifices which he did offer, in order to procure to Europe the desirable blessing of peace, are sure pledges of the humane sentiments with which his heart abounds. But, at the same time, his paternal tenderness, which makes the happiness and preserva-

tion of his subjects a duty to him, cannot make him forget the first law that God prescribes to sovereigns, even that which constitutes the public safety, and fixes the condition of nations and empires, fidelity in executing treaties, and punctuality in performing engagements to their full extent, preferably to every other consideration.

'Tis with this view, that after having given so great examples of constancy and generosity, his majesty declares that he is ready to listen favourably to propositions for a solid and honourable peace, but will always act in the most perfect concert with his allies; that he will receive no counsels but such as shall be dictated to him by honour and probity; that he should think himself guilty of a defection, in lending a hand to secret negotiations; that he will not tarnish his glory, and that of his kingdom, by abandoning his allies; and that he rests assured each of them will, on their part, faithfully adhere to the same principle.

*Answer given by the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, to the same declaration.*

**A**LL my allies wish as much as myself, that the public tranquillity may be restored upon solid foundations. It is well known to all Europe, that I did not seek the war; but, on the contrary, employed every means to keep the calamities of it at a distance from my dominions. My love to mankind in general, and to my own subjects in particular, ought to engage me to facilitate, as much as in me lies, the restoration of peace, and to exer-



cise all moderation as to my equitable pretensions. I am of opinion, that a just and solid peace cannot be agreed on, but by the congress proposed and accepted by all the powers at war.

I place a full confidence in the friendship of your imperial majesty, to whom the house of Saxony is bound by sacred ties. It is not unknown to your majesty, that Saxony hath been attacked merely on account of its connections with the Russian empire; and that the king of Prussia has taken occasion to charge us with entering into defensive treaties with that empire against him. We therefore flatter ourselves with the hope, that so ancient and so equitable an ally of Saxony will not suffer our dominions, which are already reduced to the utmost distress, as well by exorbitant contributions, as by the alienation of our revenues, and of the funds which were allotted for the payment of debts, to be completely ruined.

The whole world agrees, that we are intitled to an equitable restitution and reparation of the damage sustained. But notwithstanding all these considerations, and though all the powers at war shew themselves inclined to contribute to the general pacification, yet Saxony remains threatened with irretrievable ruin.

We therefore hope that your majesty's philanthropy and magnanimity will prevail with your majesty to take care that, before all things, the electorate of Saxony be speedily evacuated, in order thereby to put an end to the calamities which overwhelm it; this being the means of facilitating and accelerating the conclusion of a general peace.

*Speech made to the king by the duke de Nivernois, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary from the most Christian king, on his presenting his credentials to his majesty, the 24th of Nov. 1762.*

SIRE,

UNE reconciliation cordiale entre deux puissants monarques qui sont faits pour s'aimer; une union de système durable entre deux grandes cours que leurs intérêts bien-entendus rapprochent l'une de l'autre; une liaison sincère & solide entre deux respectables nations que des malheureux préjugés ont trop souvent divisées: voilà, Sire, l'époque brillante de premiers momens du regne de votre majesté; & cette époque fera, en même tems, celle du bonheur rétabli dans les quatre parties du monde. C'est à la félicité universelle que le nom, la gloire, & les vertus de votre majesté seront unis pour jamais dans les fastes de l'histoire; & la postérité y lira avec un sentiment de respect ce traité, qui entre tous les traités portera le caractère distinctif d'une bonne foi non équivoque, & d'une solidité durable.

Qu'il me soit permis de me féliciter à vos pieds, Sire, d'avoir été choisi par le roi mon maître pour servir, entre votre majesté & lui, d'organe aux nobles sentimens de deux cœurs si dignes l'un de l'autre, & pour travailler à cet ouvrage sacré, qui assure la gloire de votre majesté en faisant le bonheur de l'humanité entière.

TRANSLATION

SIR,

A cordial reconciliation between two powerful monarchs, formed to love



love each other; a permanent union of system between two great courts attracted to one another by their interests rightly understood; and a sincere and lasting conjunction of two respectable nations, whom unhappy prejudices have too long divided; form the glorious æra of the commencement of your majesty's reign: and this æra will, at the same time, be that of happiness restored to the four quarters of the world. Your majesty's name, your glory, and your virtues, will be inseparably joined in history with universal felicity: and posterity will there read, with sentiments of respect, that treaty which will be distinguished, above all others, by good faith, without equivocation, and by permanent stability.

Permit me, Sir, to felicitate myself at your feet, on being chosen by the king, my master, to serve, between your majesty and him, as the organ of the noble sentiments of two hearts so worthy of each other, and to be employed in this blessed work which insures your majesty's glory by giving happiness to the whole world.

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*The humble address of the right hon. the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, December 9, 1762, on occasion of his majesty's having communicated to them the preliminary articles of peace, concluded at Fontainebleau the 3d of Nov. 1762.*

*Most gracious sovereign,*  
**W**E, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your majesty our sincerest acknowledg-

ments, for the important communication which your majesty has been graciously pleased to make to us, of the preliminary articles of peace, concluded the third day of last month at Fontainebleau, with the crowns of France and Spain:

And to express, in the most dutiful manner to your majesty, the satisfaction which we have received, at the foundation laid by these articles for a treaty of peace, which will greatly redound to your majesty's honour, and the real benefit of your kingdoms; and our entire reliance, that the same care and attention will be shewn for the perfecting of this great work by the definitive treaty.

We think it our indispensable duty to lay before your majesty this early testimony of our warmest gratitude; seeing the great object of the war so fully answered, all proper attention shewn to your majesty's allies, a vast extent of empire added to the British crown, new sources opened for the trade and manufactures of this nation, and stability and duration insured, under the blessing of providence, to these great and national advantages.

We are no less sensible of the prudence and wisdom which has guided your majesty's conduct on this great occasion, than of the humane disposition and paternal affection to your subjects, which your majesty has shewn, in putting a safe and honourable end to a burthensome and expensive war.

We beg leave to assure your majesty, that we shall immediately apply ourselves to improve the blessings of peace, by promoting the œconomy which your majesty has wisely recommended, and which is so necessary to the dignity of the crown,



crown, and the prosperity of these your kingdoms.

*His majesty's most gracious answer.*

*My lords,*

**I** Return you thanks for this very dutiful address.

*The satisfaction which you express, in the point agreed by the preliminary articles towards a final pacification, is very acceptable to me.*

*In what remains to be done, you may depend upon the utmost care and attention on my part, to settle every thing which concerns the interests of my kingdoms, upon a solid and durable foundation.*

*The humble address of the house of commons to the king, on the same occasion.*

*Most gracious sovereign,*

**W**E your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Great-Britain in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your majesty our most humble and hearty thanks for your most gracious condescension, in ordering to be laid before us the preliminary articles of peace concluded between your majesty on the one part, and their most Christian and Catholic majesties on the other; and to assure your majesty that we have considered them with our best attention. And, although to make peace and war be your majesty's just and undoubted prerogative, yet knowing how agreeable it must be to your royal mind to be informed of the grateful sense your people entertain of the justice and wisdom of your measures, and of your unwearied attention to their welfare, your faithful commons are

impatient to express their approbation of the advantageous terms upon which your majesty hath concluded preliminary articles of peace, and to lay before your majesty the hearty applause of a faithful, affectionate people.

While we admire your majesty's prudence in availing yourself of the successes with which Divine Providence hath blessed your arms, whereby your majesty hath procured such solid, and, in all human probability, such permanent advantages for this kingdom, we are no less sensibly affected with that humane disposition which induced your majesty to put an end to a long, bloody, and expensive, though glorious and successful war.

Your faithful commons will take the earliest opportunity to examine into the state of the public revenues, in order to establish the best œconomy for the future, so wisely recommended by your majesty, and so necessary to maintain the kingdom of Great-Britain in that great and respectable situation in which your majesty's fortitude and wisdom have now placed it.

We are convinced that posterity, from their own experience, will hereafter agree with us, in esteeming that peace to be no less honourable than profitable, by which there will be ceded to Great-Britain such an addition of territory, attended with so great an extension of our commerce.

We therefore beg leave humbly to lay before your majesty the strongest sentiments of gratitude, and to assure your majesty, that it shall be our study to improve that confidence of the people in you, which your majesty hath already so

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very deservedly acquired from your conduct in the present most important juncture.

*His majesty's most gracious answer.*

*Gentlemen of the house of commons,*

**I** Return you my hearty thanks for this most loyal and affectionate address.

Your approbation of the measures I have taken for restoring peace, and of the terms on which it is to be concluded, gives me the highest satisfaction.

The affection and gratitude of my people are the most pleasing return I can receive for my endeavours to promote their happiness.

*The Definitive Treaty of Friendship and Peace between his Britannic majesty, the most Christian king, and the king of Spain. Concluded at Paris, the 10th day of February, 1763. To which the king of Portugal acceded the same day.*

*In the name of the most Holy and undivided Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. So be it.*

**B**E it known to all those to whom it shall, or may, in any manner, belong.

It has pleased the Most High to diffuse the spirit of union and concord among the princes, whose divisions had spread troubles in the four parts of the world, and to inspire them with the inclination to cause the comforts of peace to succeed to the misfortunes of a long and bloody war, which, having arisen between England and France, during the reign of the most serene and most potent prince, George the Se-

cond, by the grace of God, king of Great Britain, of glorious memory, continued under the reign of the most serene and most potent prince, George the Third, his successor, and, in its progress, communicated itself to Spain and Portugal; consequently, the most serene and most potent prince, George the Third, by the grace of God, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, duke of Brunswick and Lunenbourg, arch-treasurer and elector of the Holy Roman Empire; the most serene and most potent prince, Lewis the Fifteenth, by the grace of God, most Christian king; and the most serene and most potent prince, Charles the Third, by the grace of God, king of Spain and of the Indies; after having laid the foundation of peace in the preliminaries, signed at Fontainebleau the 3d of November last; and the most serene and most potent prince, Don Joseph the First, by the grace of God, king of Portugal and the Algarves, after having acceded thereto; determined to complete, without delay, this great and important work. For this purpose, the high contracting parties have named and appointed their respective ambassadors extraordinary, and ministers plenipotentiary, viz. his sacred majesty, the king of Great Britain, the most illustrious and most excellent lord, John, duke and earl of Bedford, marquis of Tavistock, &c. his minister of state, lieutenant-general of his armies, keeper of his privy seal, knight of the most noble order of the garter, and his ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to his most Christian majesty; his sacred majesty the most Christian king,

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the most illustrious and most excellent lord Cæsar Gabriel de Choiseul, duke of Praslin, peer of France, knight of his orders, lieutenant general of his armies, and of the province of Brittany, counsellor in all his councils, and minister and secretary of state, and of his commands and finances; his sacred majesty the Catholic king, the most illustrious and most excellent lord, Don Jerome Grimaldi, marquis de Grimaldi, knight of the most Christian king's orders, gentleman of his Catholic majesty's bedchamber in employment, and his ambassador extraordinary to his most Christian majesty; his sacred majesty the most Faithful king, the most illustrious and most excellent lord, Martin de Mello and Castro, knight professed of the order of Christ, of his most Faithful majesty's council, and his ambassador and minister plenipotentiary to his most Christian majesty.

Who, after having duly communicated to each other their full powers, in good form, copies whereof are transcribed at the end of the present treaty of peace, have agreed upon the articles, the tenor of which is as follows:

Art. I. There shall be a Christian, universal, and perpetual peace, as well by sea as by land, and a sincere and constant friendship shall be re-established between their Britannic, most Christian, Catholic, and most Faithful majesties, and between their heirs and successors, kingdoms, dominions, provinces, countries, subjects, and vassals, of what quality or condition soever they be, without exception of places, or of persons: so that the high contracting parties shall give the greatest attention to maintain between

themselves and their said dominions and subjects, this reciprocal friendship and correspondence, without permitting, on either side, any kind of hostilities, by sea or by land, to be committed, from henceforth, for any cause, or under any pretence whatsoever, and every thing shall be carefully avoided, which might hereafter prejudice the union happily re-established, applying themselves on the contrary, on every occasion, to procure for each other whatever may contribute to their mutual glory, interests, and advantages, without giving any assistance or protection, directly or indirectly, to those who would cause any prejudice to either of the high contracting parties; there shall be a general oblivion of every thing that may have been done or committed before or since the commencement of the war which is just ended.

II. The treaties of Westphalia of 1648; those of Madrid between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain of 1667, and 1670; the treaties of peace of Nimeguen of 1678 and 1679; of Ryswick of 1697; those of peace and commerce of Utrecht of 1713; that of Baden of 1714; the treaty of the triple alliance of the Hague of 1717; that of the quadruple alliance of London of 1718; the treaty of peace of Vienna of 1738; the definitive treaty of Aix la Chapelle of 1748; and that of Madrid between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain, of 1750; as well as the treaties between the crowns of Spain and Portugal, of the 13th of February 1668; of the 6th of Feb. 1715; and of the 12th of Feb. 1761; and that of the 11th of April 1713, between France and Portugal, with the guaranties of Great



Great Britain, serve as a basis and foundation to the peace, and to the present treaty: and for this purpose, they are all renewed and confirmed in the best form, as well as all the treaties in general, which subsisted between the high contracting parties before the war, as if they were inserted here word for word, so that they are to be exactly observed, for the future, in their whole tenor, and religiously executed on all sides, in all their points, which shall not be derogated from in the present treaty, notwithstanding all that may have been stipulated to the contrary by any of the high contracting parties; and all the said parties declare, that they will not suffer any privilege, favour, or indulgence, to subsist, contrary to the treaties above confirmed, except what shall have been agreed and stipulated by the present treaty.

III. All the prisoners made, on all sides, as well by land as by sea, and the hostages carried away during the war, and to this day, shall be restored without ransom, six weeks at latest, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty, each crown respectively paying the advances which shall have been made for the subsistence and maintenance of their prisoners by the sovereign of the country where they shall have been detained, according to the attested receipts and estimates, and other authentic vouchers, which shall be furnished on one side and the other: and securities shall be reciprocally given for the payment of the debts which the prisoners shall have contracted in the countries where they have been detained until their entire liberty. And all the ships of war and mer-

chant-vessels which shall have been taken since the expiration of the terms agreed upon for the cessation of hostilities by sea, shall be likewise restored *bona fide*, with all their crews and cargoes; and the execution of this article shall be proceeded upon immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty.

IV. His most Christian majesty renounces all pretensions which he has heretofore formed, or might form, to Nova Scotia, or Acadia, in all its parts, and guaranties the whole of it, and with all its dependencies, to the king of Great Britain: moreover, his most Christian majesty cedes and guaranties to his said Britannic majesty, in full right, Canada, with all its dependencies, as well as the island of Cape Breton, and all the other islands and coasts in the gulf and river of St. Lawrence, and, in general, every thing that depends on the said countries, lands, islands, and coasts, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights acquired by treaty or otherwise, which the most Christian king, and the crown of France, have had, till now, over the said countries, islands, lands, places, coasts, and their inhabitants; so that the most Christian king cedes and makes over the whole to the said king, and to the crown of Great Britain, and that in the most ample manner and form, without restriction, and without any liberty to depart from the said cession and guaranty, under any pretence, or to disturb Great Britain in the possessions above mentioned. His Britannic majesty, on his side, agrees to grant the liberty of the Catholic religion to the inhabitants of Canada: he will  
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consequently give the most effectual orders, that his new Roman-Catholic subjects may profess the worship of their religion, according to the rites of the Romish church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit. His Britannic majesty further agrees that the French inhabitants, or others, who had been the subjects of the most Christian king in Canada, may retire with all safety and freedom wherever they shall think proper, and may sell their estates, provided it be to subjects of his Britannic majesty, and bring away their effects, as well as their persons, without being restrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatsoever, except that of debts, or of criminal prosecutions; the term limited for this emigration shall be fixed to the space of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.

V. The subjects of France shall have the liberty of fishing and drying on a part of the coasts of the island of Newfoundland, such as is specified in the 13th article of the treaty of Utrecht; which article is renewed and confirmed by the present treaty, (except what relates to the island of Cape Breton, as well as to the other islands, and coasts, in the mouth and in the gulf of St. Lawrence): and his Britannic majesty consents to leave the subjects of the most Christian king the liberty of fishing in the gulf of St. Lawrence, on condition that the subjects of France do not exercise the said fishery, but at the distance of three leagues from all the coasts belonging to Great Britain, as well those of the continent, as those of the islands situated in the said gulf of

St. Lawrence. And as to what relates to the fishery on the coast of the island of Cape Breton out of the said gulf, the subjects of the most Christian king shall not be permitted to exercise the said fishery, but at the distance of fifteen leagues from the coasts of the island of Cape Breton; and the fishery on the coasts of Nova Scotia, or Acadia, and every where else out of the said gulf, shall remain on the foot of former treaties.

VI. The king of Great Britain cedes the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, in full right, to his most Christian majesty, to serve as a shelter to the French fishermen; and his said Christian majesty engages not to fortify the said islands, to erect no buildings upon them, but merely for the convenience of the fishery, and to keep upon them a guard of fifty men only for the police.

VII. In order to re-establish peace on solid and durable foundations, and to remove for ever all subjects of dispute with regard to the limits of the British and French territories on the continent of America, that for the future, the confines between the dominions of his Britannic majesty, in that part of the world, shall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi, from its source to the river Iberville, and from thence, by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and the lake Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the sea; and for this purpose the most Christian king cedes, in full right, and guaranties to his Britannic majesty, the river and port of the Mobile, and every thing which he possesses, or ought to possess, on the left side  
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the river Mississippi, except the town of New Orleans, and the island in which it is situated, which shall remain to France; provided that the river Mississippi shall be equally free, as well to the subjects of Great Britain, as to those of France, in its whole breadth or length, from its source to the sea, and expressly that part which is between the said island of New Orleans, and the right bank of that river, as well as the passage both in and out of its mouth. It is further stipulated, that the vessels belonging to the subjects of either nation, shall not be stopped, visited, or subjected to the payment of any duty whatsoever. The stipulations, inserted in the IVth article, in favour of the inhabitants of Canada, shall also take place with regard to the inhabitants of the countries ceded by this article.

VIII. The king of Great Britain shall restore to France the islands of Guadaloupe, of Marie Galante, of Desirade, of Martinico, and of Belleisle; and the fortresses of these islands shall be restored in the same condition they were in, when they were conquered by the British arms; provided that his Britannic Majesty's subjects, who shall have settled in the said islands, or those who shall have any commercial affairs to settle there, or in the other places restored to France by the present treaty, shall have liberty to sell their lands and their estates, to settle their affairs, to recover their debts, and to bring away their effects, as well as their persons, on board vessels, which they shall be permitted to send to the said islands, and other places restored as above, and which shall serve for this use only, without being restrained on account of their

religion, or under any other pretence whatsoever, except that of debts, or of criminal prosecutions; and for this purpose, the term of eighteen months is allowed to his Britannic majesty's subjects, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty: but, as the liberty granted to his Britannic majesty's subjects, to bring away their persons, and their effects, in vessels of their nation, may be liable to abuses, if precautions were not taken to prevent them; it has been expressly agreed, between his Britannic majesty and his most Christian majesty, that the number of English vessels, which shall have leave to go to the said islands and places restored to France, shall be limited, as well as the number of tons of each one; that they shall go in ballast; shall set sail at a fixed time; and shall make one voyage only; all the effects belonging to the English, being to be embarked at the same time. It has been further agreed, that his most Christian majesty shall cause the necessary passports to be given to the said vessels; that, for the greater security, it shall be allowed to place two French clerks, or guards, in each of the said vessels, which shall be visited in the landing places and ports of the said islands, and places restored to France, and that the merchandise which shall be found therein shall be confiscated.

IX. The most Christian king cedes and guaranties to his Britannic majesty, in full right, the islands of Grenada, and of the Grenadines, with the same stipulations in favour of the inhabitants of this colony, inserted in the IVth article for those of Canada; and the partition of the



the islands, called neutral, is agreed and fixed, so that those of St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago, shall remain in full right to Great Britain, and that of St. Lucia shall be delivered to France, to enjoy the same likewise in full right; and the high contracting parties guaranty the partition so stipulated.

X. His Britannic majesty shall restore to France the island of Goree, in the condition it was in when conquered: and his most Christian majesty cedes in full right, and guaranties to the king of Great Britain, the river Senegal, with the forts and factories of St. Lewis, Podor, and Galam; and with all the rights and dependencies of the said river Senegal.

XI. In the East Indies, Great Britain shall restore to France, in the condition they now are in, the different factories which that crown possessed, as well on the coast of Coromandel and Orixá, as on that of Malabar, as also in Bengal, at the beginning of the year 1749. And his most Christian majesty renounces all pretensions to the acquisitions which he had made on the coast of Coromandel and Orixá, since the said beginning of the year 1749. His most Christian majesty shall restore, on his side, all that he may have conquered from Great Britain, in the East Indies, during the present war; and will expressly cause Nattal and Tapanouilly, in the island of Sumatra, to be restored; he engages further, not to erect fortifications, or to keep troops in any part of the dominions of the Subah of Bengal. And in order to preserve future peace on the coast of Coromandel and Orixá, the English and French shall acknowledge Mahomet Ally Khan for the lawful

Nabob of the Carnatic, and Salabat Jing for lawful Subah of the Decan; and both parties shall renounce all demands and pretensions of satisfaction, with which they might charge each other, or their Indian allies, for the depredations, or pillage, committed on the one side or on the other, during the war.

XII. The island of Minorca shall be restored to his Britannic majesty, as well as Fort St. Philip, in the same condition they were in when conquered by the arms of the most Christian king; and with the artillery which was there, when the said island and the said fort were taken.

XIII. The town and port of Dunkirk shall be put into the state fixed by the last treaty of Aix la Chapelle, and by former treaties. The cunette shall be destroyed immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, as well as the forts and batteries which defend the entrance on the side of the sea; and provision shall be made, at the same time, for the wholesomeness of the air, and for the health of the inhabitants, by some other means, to the satisfaction of the King of Great Britain.

XIV. France shall restore all the countries belonging to the electorate of Hanover, to the landgrave of Hesse, to the duke of Brunswick, and to the count of La Lippe Buckeburgh, which are, or shall be occupied by his most Christian majesty's arms: the fortresses of these different countries shall be restored in the same condition they were in, when conquered by the French arms: and the pieces of artillery, which shall have been carried elsewhere, shall be replaced by the same number, of the same bore, weight, and metal.

XV. In



XV. In case the stipulations, contained in the XIIIth article of the preliminaries, should not be completed at the time of the signature of the present treaty, as well with regard to the evacuations to be made by the armies of France of the fortresses of Cleves, Wezel, Dueldres, and of all the countries belonging to the king of Prussia, as with regard to the evacuations to be made by the British and French armies of the countries which they occupy in Westphalia, Lower Saxony, on the Lower Rhine, the Upper Rhine, and in all the empire, and to the retreat of the troops into the dominions of their respective sovereigns; their Britannic and most Christian majesties promise to proceed, *bona fide*, with all the dispatch the case will permit of, to the said evacuations, the entire completion whereof they stipulate before the 1st of March, next, or sooner if it can be done: and their Britannic and most Christian majesties further engage, and promise to each other, not to furnish any succours, of any kind, to their respective allies, who shall continue engaged in the war in Germany.

XVI. The decision of the prizes made, in the time of peace, by the subjects of Great Britain, on the Spaniards, shall be referred to the courts of justice of the admiralty of Great Britain, conformable to the rules established among all nations, so that the validity of the said prizes, between the British and Spanish nations, shall be decided and judged, according to the law of nations, and according to the treaties, and the courts of justice of the nation who shall have made the capture.

XVI. His Britannic majesty shall

cause to be demolished all the fortifications which his subjects shall have erected in the bay of Honduras, and other places of the territory of Spain in that part of the world, four months after the ratification of the present treaty; and his Catholic majesty shall not permit his Britannic majesty's subjects, or their workmen, to be disturbed, or molested, under any pretence whatsoever, in the said places, in their occupation of cutting, loading, and carrying away logwood: and for this purpose they may build without hindrance, and occupy without interruption, the houses and magazines which are necessary for them, for their families, and for their effects: and his Catholic majesty assures to them, by this article, the full enjoyment of those advantages, and powers, on the Spanish coasts and territories, as above stipulated, immediately after the ratifications of the present treaty.

XVIII. His Catholic majesty desists, as well for himself, as for his successors, from all pretensions which he may have formed, in favour of the Guipuscoans, and other his subjects, to the right of fishing in the neighbourhood of the island of Newfoundland.

XIX. The king of Great Britain shall restore to Spain all the territory which he has conquered in the island of Cuba, with the fortresses of the Havanna; and this fortresses, as well as the other fortresses of the said island, shall be restored in the same condition they were in when conquered by his Britannic majesty's arms; provided that his Britannic majesty's subjects, who shall have settled in the said island, restored to Spain by the present treaty, or those who shall have any commercial affairs



fairs to settle there, shall have liberty to sell their lands; and their estates, to settle their affairs, to recover their debts, and to bring away their effects; as well as their persons, on board vessels which they shall be permitted to send to the said island restored as above, and which shall serve for that use only; without being restrained on account of their religion, or under any other pretence whatsoever, except that of debts, or of criminal prosecutions; and for this purpose, the term of eighteen months is allowed to his Britannic majesty's subjects, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty: but, as the liberty granted to his Britannic majesty's subjects, to bring away their persons, and their effects, in vessels of their nation, may be liable to abuses, if precautions were not taken to prevent them; it has been expressly agreed, between his Britannic majesty and his Catholic majesty, that the number of English vessels, which shall have leave to go to the said island restored to Spain, shall be limited, as well as the number of tons of each one; that they shall go in ballast; shall set sail at a fixed time; and shall make one voyage only; all the effects belonging to the English, being to be embarked at the same time. It has been further agreed, that his Catholic majesty shall cause the necessary passports to be given to the said vessels; that, for the greater security, it shall be allowed to place two Spanish clerks, or guards, in each of the said vessels, which shall be visited in the landing places and ports of the said island restored to Spain, and that the merchandize, which shall be found therein, shall be confiscated.

XX. In consequence of the restitution stipulated in the preceding article; his Catholic majesty cedes and guaranties, in full right, to his Britannic majesty, Florida, with fort St. Augustin, and the bay of Pensacola, as well as all that Spain possesses on the continent of North America, to the east, or to the south-east of the river Mississippi; and, in general, every thing that depends on the said countries and lands, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights acquired by treaties or otherwise, which the Catholic king, and the crown of Spain, have had, till now, over the said countries, lands, places, and other inhabitants; so that the Catholic king cedes and makes over the whole to the said king, and to the crown of Great Britain, and that in the most ample manner and form. His Britannic majesty agrees, on his side, to grant to the inhabitants of the countries, above ceded, the liberty of the Catholic religion; he will consequently give the most express and the most effectual orders, that his new Roman-Catholic subjects may profess the worship of their religion, according to the rites of the Romish church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit: his Britannic majesty further agrees, that the Spanish inhabitants, or others, who have been subjects of the Catholic king in the said countries, may retire, with all safety and freedom, wherever they think proper; and may sell their estates, provided it be to his Britannic majesty's subjects, and bring away their effects, as well as their persons, without being restrained in their emigrations, under any pretence whatsoever, except that of debts, or criminal prosecutions: the term, limited



mitted for this emigration, being fixed to the space of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty. It is moreover stipulated, that his Catholic majesty shall have power to cause all the effects, that may belong to him, to be brought away, whether it be artillery, or other things.

XXI. The French and Spanish troops shall evacuate all the territories, lands, towns, places, and castles, of his most Faithful majesty, in Europe, without any reserve, which shall have been conquered by the armies of France and Spain, and shall restore them in the same condition they were in when conquered, with the same artillery and ammunition which were found there : and with regard to the Portuguese colonies in America, Africa, or in the East Indies, if any change shall have happened there, all things shall be restored on the same footing they were in, and conformably to the preceding treaties, which subsisted between the courts of France, Spain, and Portugal, before the present war.

XXII. All the papers, letters, documents, and archives, which were found in the countries, territories, towns, and places, that are restored, and those belonging to the countries ceded, shall be, respectively and *bona fide*, delivered, or furnished at the same time, if possible, that possession is taken, or, at latest, four months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, in whatever places the said papers or documents may be found.

XXIII. All the countries and territories, which may have been conquered, in whatsoever part of

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the world, by the arms of their Britannic and most Faithful majesties, as well as by those of their most Christian and Catholic majesties, which are not included in the present treaty, either under the title of cessions, or under the title of restitutions, shall be restored without difficulty, and without requiring any compensation.

XXIV. As it is necessary to assign a fixed epoch for the restitutions, and the evacuations, to be made by each of the high contracting parties; it is agreed, that the British and French troops shall complete, before the 15th of March next, all that shall remain to be executed of the XIIth and XIIIth articles of the preliminaries, signed the 3d day of November last, with regard to the evacuation to be made in the empire, or elsewhere. The island of Belleisle shall be evacuated six weeks after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done. Guadeloupe, Desirade, Maria Galante, Martinico, and St. Lucia, three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done. Great Britain shall likewise, at the end of three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done, enter into possession of the river and port of the Mobile, and of all that is to form the limits of the territory of Great Britain, on the side of the river Mississippi, as they are specified in the VIIth article. The island of Goree shall be evacuated by Great Britain, three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty : and the island of Minorca, by France, at the same epoch, or sooner if it can be done :

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and according to the VIth article France shall likewise enter into possession of the islands of St. Peter, and of Miquelon, at the end of three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty. The factories in the East Indies shall be restored six months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done. The fortrefs of the Havana, with all that has been conquered in the island of Cuba, shall be restored three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done: and, at the same time, Great Britain shall enter into possession of the country ceded by Spain, according to the XXth article. All the places and countries of his most Faithful majesty, in Europe, shall be restored immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty; and the Portuguese colonies, which may have been conquered, shall be restored in the space of three months in the West Indies, and of six months in the East Indies, after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done. All the fortresses, the restitution whereof is stipulated above, shall be restored, with the artillery and ammunition, which were found there at the time of the conquest. In consequence whereof, the necessary orders shall be sent by each of the high contracting parties, with reciprocal passports for the ships that shall carry them, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.

XXV. His Britannic majesty, as elector of Brunswick Lunenbourg, as well for himself, as for his heirs and successors, and all the domi-

nions and possessions of his said majesty in Germany, are included and guarantied by the present treaty of peace.

XXVI. Their sacred Britannic, most Christian, Catholic, and most Faithful majesties, promise to observe, sincerely, and *bona fide*, all the articles contained and settled in the present treaty; and they will not suffer the same to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their respective subjects; and the said high contracting parties, generally and reciprocally, guaranty to each other all the stipulations of the present treaty.

XXVII. The solemn ratifications of the present treaty, expedited in good and due form, shall be exchanged in this city of Paris, between the high contracting parties, in the space of a month, or sooner if possible, to be computed from the day of the signature of the present treaty.

In witness whereof, we the underwritten, their ambassadors extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary, have signed with our hands in their name, and in virtue of our full powers, the present definitive treaty, and have caused the seal of our arms to be put thereto.

Done at Paris the 10th of February, 1763.

(L. S.) BEDFORD, C. P. S

(L. S.) CHOISEUL, Duc de Praslin.

(L. S.) El Marq. de GRIMALDI.

#### SEPARATE ARTICLES.

I. **S**OME of the titles made use of by the contracting powers, either in the full powers, and other acts, during the course of the negotiation, or in the preamble of the present treaty, not being generally acknowledged; it has been agreed,



agreed, that no prejudice shall ever result therefrom to any of the said contracting parties; and that the titles, taken or omitted, on either side, on occasion of the said negotiation, and of the present treaty, shall not be cited or quoted as a precedent.

II. It has been agreed and determined, that the French language, made use of in all the copies of the present treaty, shall not become an example, which may be alledged or made a precedent of, or prejudice, in any manner, any of the contracting powers; and that they shall conform themselves, for the future, to what has been observed, and ought to be observed, with regard to, and on the part of, powers who are used, and have a right, to give and to receive copies of like treaties in another language than French; the present treaty having still the same force and effect, as if the aforesaid custom had been therein observed.

III. Though the king of Portugal has not signed the present definitive treaty, their Britannic, most Christian, and Catholic majesties, acknowledge, nevertheless, that his most Faithful majesty is formally included therein as a contracting party; and as if he had expressly signed the said treaty: consequently their Britannic, most Christian, and Catholic majesties, respectively and conjointly, promise to his most Faithful majesty, in the most express and most binding manner, the execution of all and every the clauses contained in the said treaty, on his act of accession.

The present separate articles shall have the same force as if they were inserted in the treaty.

In witness whereof, we the underwritten ambassadors extraordinary, and ministers plenipotentiary of their Britannic, most Christian, and Catholic majesties, have signed the present separate articles, and have caused the seal of our arms to be put thereto.

Done at Paris the 10th of February, 1763.

(L. S.) BEDFORD, C. P. S.

(L. S.) CHOISEUL, Duc de Praslin.

(L. S.) El Marq. de GRIMALDI.

*Declaration of his most Christian majesty's plenipotentiary, with regard to the debts due to the Canadians.*

THE king of Great Britain having desired that the payment of the letters of exchange and bills which had been delivered to the Canadians for the necessaries furnished to the French troops, should be secured, his most Christian majesty, entirely disposed to render to every one that justice which is legally due to them, has declared, and does declare, that the said bills, and letters of exchange, shall be punctually paid, agreeably to a liquidation made in a convenient time, according to the distance of the place, and to what shall be possible; taking care, however, that the bills and letters of exchange, which the French subjects may have at the time of this declaration, be not confounded with the bills and letters of exchange, which are in the possession of the new subjects of the king of Great Britain.

In witness whereof, we the underwritten minister of his most Christian majesty, duly authorised for this purpose, have signed the

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pre-



present declaration, and caused the seal of our arms to be put thereto.

Done at Paris the 10th of February, 1763.

(L. S.) CHOISEUL, Duc de Praslin.

*Declaration of his Britannic majesty's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, with regard to the limits of Bengal in the East Indies.*

**W**E the under-written ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the king of Great Britain, in order to prevent all subject of dispute on account of the limits of the dominions of the Subah of Bengal, as well as of the coast of Coromandel and Orixá, declare, in the name and by order of the said Britannic majesty, that the said dominions of the Subah of Bengal shall be reputed not to extend farther than Yanaon exclusively, and that Yanaon shall be considered as included in the north part of the coast of Coromandel or Orixá.

In witness whereof, &c. we the underwritten minister plenipotentiary of his majesty the king of Great Britain have signed the present declaration, and have caused the seal of our arms to be put thereto.

Done at Paris the 10th of February, 1763.

(L. S.) BEDFORD, C. P. S.

*Accession of his most Faithful majesty.*

*In the name of the most holy and undivided Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. So be it.*

**B**E it known to all those to whom it shall or may belong: The ambassadors and plenipotentiaries of his Britannic majesty, of his

most Christian majesty, and of his Catholic majesty, having concluded and signed at Paris, the 10th of February of this year, a definitive treaty of peace, and separate articles, the tenor of which is as follows:

*(Fiat insertio.)*

And the said ambassadors and plenipotentiaries having in a friendly manner invited the ambassador and minister plenipotentiary of his most Faithful majesty to accede thereto in the name of his said majesty; the underwritten ministers plenipotentiary, viz. on the part of the most serene and most potent prince, George the Third, by the grace of God, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, duke of Brunswic and Lunenbourg, arch-treasurer and elector of the holy Roman empire, the most illustrious and most excellent lord, John, duke and earl of Bedford, marquis of Tavistock, &c. minister of state of the king of Great Britain, lieutenant-general of his forces, keeper of his privy seal, knight of the most noble order of the Garter, and his ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to his most Christian majesty; and on the part of the most serene and most potent prince, Don Joseph the First, by the grace of God, king of Portugal and of the Algarves, the most illustrious and most excellent lord, Martin de Mello and Castro, knight professed of the order of Christ, of his most Faithful majesty's council, and his ambassador and minister plenipotentiary to his most Christian majesty; in virtue of their full powers, which they have communicated to each other, and of which copies shall be added at the end of the present act, have agreed upon what follows; viz. his most Faithful ma-

jesty



jeſty deſiring moſt ſincerely to con-  
cur in the ſpeedy re-eſtabliſhment  
of peace, accedes, in virtue of the  
preſent act, to the ſaid definitive  
treaty and ſeparate articles, as they  
are above tranſcribed, without any  
reſerve or exception, in the firm  
confidence that every thing that is  
promiſed to his ſaid majeſty, will  
be *bona fide* fulfilled, declaring at  
the ſame time, and promiſing to  
fulfil, with equal fidelity, all the  
articles, clauses, and conditions  
which concern him. On his ſide,  
his Britannic majeſty accepts the  
preſent acceſſion of his moſt Faith-  
ful majeſty, and promiſes likewise  
to fulfil, without any reſerve or ex-  
ception, all the articles, clauses,  
and conditions, contained in the  
ſaid definitive treaty, and ſeparate  
articles above inſerted. The rati-  
fications of the preſent treaty ſhall  
be exchanged in the ſpace of one  
month, to be computed from this  
day, or ſooner if it can be done.

In witneſs whereof, we ambaf-  
ſadors and miniſters plenipotentiary  
of his Britannic majeſty, and of his  
moſt Faithful majeſty, have ſigned  
the preſent act, and have cauſed the  
ſeal of our arms to be put thereto.

Done at Paris the 10th of Febru-  
ary, 1763.

(L. S.) BEDFORD, C. P. S.

(L. S.) DE MELLO & CASTRO.

*Declaration of his moſt Faithful  
majeſty's ambafſador and miniſter  
plenipotentiary, with regard to  
the alternating with Great Britain  
and France.*

**W**HEREAS on the concluſion  
of the negotiation of the de-  
finitive treaty, ſigned at Paris the  
10th day of February, a difficulty  
aroſe as to the order of ſigning,

which might have retarded the con-  
cluſion of the ſaid treaty: We the  
underwritten ambafſador and mi-  
niſter plenipotentiary of his moſt  
Faithful majeſty, declare, that the  
alternative obſerved, on the part of  
the king of Great Britain, and the  
moſt Chriſtian king, with the moſt  
Faithful king, in the act of acceſ-  
ſion of the court of Portugal, was  
granted by their Britannic and moſt  
Chriſtian majeſties, ſolely with a  
view to facilitate the concluſion of  
the definitive treaty, and by that  
means, the more ſpeedily to conſo-  
lidate ſo important and ſo ſalutary a  
work; and that this complaiſance of  
their Britannic and moſt Chriſtian  
majeſties ſhall not be made any pre-  
cedent of for the future; the court  
of Portugal ſhall not alledge it as an  
example in their favour; ſhall de-  
rive therefrom no right, title, or  
pretenſion, for any cauſe, or under  
any pretence whatſoever.

In witneſs whereof, we ambaf-  
ſador and miniſter plenipotentiary  
of his moſt Faithful majeſty, duly  
authoriſed for this purpoſe, have  
ſigned the preſent declaration, and  
have cauſed the ſeal of our arms to  
be put thereto.

Done at Paris the 10th of Fe-  
bruary, 1763.

MARTIN de MELLO & CASTRO.

(L. S.)

The following preliminary arti-  
cles and declaration were omitted  
in the definitive treaty, as the ar-  
ticles were already complied with,  
and the peace then agreed upon  
between the empreſs-queen and the  
king of Poland on the one hand,  
and the king of Prussia on the  
other, rendered the declaration  
indifferent.



XIII. After the ratification of the preliminaries, France shall evacuate, as soon as it can be done, the fortresses of Cleves, Wesel, and Gueldres, and in general all the countries belonging to the king of Prussia; and, at the same time, the British and French armies shall evacuate all the countries which they occupy in Westphalia, Lower Saxony, on the Lower Rhine, the Upper Rhine, and in all the empire; and each shall retire into the dominions of their respective sovereigns: and their Britannic and most Christian majesties further engage and promise, not to furnish any succour, of any kind, to their respective allies, who shall continue engaged in the present war in Germany.

XIV. The towns of Ostend and Nieuport shall be evacuated by his most Christian majesty's troops, immediately after the signature of the present preliminaries.

*Declaration, signed at Fontainebleau, the 3d of November, 1762, by the French plenipotentiary.*

**H**IS most Christian majesty declares, that in agreeing to the XIIIth article of the preliminaries, signed this day, he does not mean to renounce the right of acquitting his debts to his allies; and that the remittances made on his part, in order to acquit the arrears that may be due on the subsidies of preceding years, are not to be considered as an infraction of the said article.

In witness whereof, I, the under-written minister plenipotentiary of his most Christian majesty, have signed the present declaration, and have caused the seal of my arms to be put thereto.

Done at Fontainebleau, the 3d day of November, 1762.

CHOISEUL, Duc de Praslin.  
(L. S.)

The stipulations relative to Dunkirk, and the East Indies, stood as follows in the preliminaries:

V. The town and port of Dunkirk shall be put into the state fixed by the late treaty of Aix la Chapelle, and by former treaties: the cunette shall remain as it now is, provided that the English engineers, named by his Britannic majesty, and received at Dunkirk by order of his most Christian majesty, verify, that this cunette is only of use for the wholesomeness of the air, and the health of the inhabitants.

X. In the East Indies, Great Britain shall restore to France the several comptoirs which that crown had on the coast of Coromandel, as well as on that of Malabar, and also in Bengal, at the commencement of hostilities between the two companies in the year 1749, in the condition in which they now are, on condition that his most Christian majesty renounces the acquisitions which he has made on the coast of Coromandel, since the said commencement of hostilities between the two companies in the year 1749.

And as to the limits of the English and French, and their Indian allies in these countries, they were not exactly marked out as they now are in the declaration annexed to the definitive treaty.

These, with his most Christian majesty's obliging himself in the definitive treaty, to discharge the debts due by him to his Canadian subjects, form all the difference between the said treaty and the preliminaries.

By



By the KING.

GEORGE R.

**W**HEREAS a definitive treaty of peace and friendship between us, the most Christian king, and the king of Spain, to which the king of Portugal hath acceded, hath been concluded at Paris on the 10th day of this instant March; in conformity thereunto, we have thought fit hereby to command, that the same be published throughout all our dominions: and we do declare to all our loving subjects our will and pleasure, that the said treaty of peace and friendship be observed inviolably, as well by sea as land, and in all places whatsoever; strictly charging and commanding all our loving subjects to take notice thereof, and to conform themselves thereunto accordingly.

Given at our court at St. James's the 21st day of March, 1763, in the third year of our reign.

GOD save the KING.

*The definitive treaty of peace between the empress queen and the king of Prussia, is in substance as follows.*

ARTICLE I.

**T**HERE shall be henceforth an inviolable and perpetual peace, and sincere union, and perfect friendship, between the Apostolic empress queen on the one part, and the king of Prussia on the other, their heirs and successors.

II. There shall be on both sides an eternal oblivion, and a general amnesty of all hostilities, losses, damages, and wrongs, committed du-

ring the late troubles, by either party, of what nature soever; so that there shall be no further mention made of them, nor any compensation demanded, under any pretence, or upon any consideration whatsoever. The respective subjects of each power shall never be molested upon that account, but shall fully enjoy this amnesty, and all its consequences, notwithstanding the avocatory letters which have been issued and published. All confiscations shall be entirely taken off; and such goods as have been confiscated or sequestered, shall be restored to the proprietors, who were in possession of them before these last troubles.

III. Both parties renounce all claim on each other's dominions or territories (particularly the empress queen renounces all claim to those which were ceded to the king of Prussia by the preliminary articles of Breslau and the treaty of Berlin), and also all indemnification for damages suffered during the last war.

IV. All hostilities shall entirely cease on both sides, from the day of the signature of the present treaty of peace. For this end the necessary orders shall be immediately dispatched to the armies and troops of the two high contracting parties, wheresoever they may be; and in case, through ignorance of what has been stipulated in this respect, any hostilities shall have been committed after the day of the signature of the present treaty, they shall not be deemed to affect this treaty in any manner; and in this case, the men and effects, which may have been taken and carried away, shall be faithfully restored.

V. Her Apostolic majesty, the empress queen of Hungary and Bohemia,



hemia, shall withdraw her troops from all the countries and states of Germany, which are not under her dominion, within the space of 21 days after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty; and within the same term she shall cause to be entirely evacuated, and restored to his majesty the king of Prussia, the county of Glatz, and, in general, all the states, countries, towns, places, and fortresses, which his Prussian majesty possessed before the present war in Silesia, or elsewhere, and which have been occupied by the troops of her Apostolic majesty the empress queen of Hungary and Bohemia, or by those of her friends and allies, during the course of the present war. The fortresses of Glatz, Wesel, and Gueldres, shall be restored to his Prussian majesty in the same state, with regard to the fortifications, in which they were, and with the artillery that was found therein when they were taken. His majesty the king of Prussia shall withdraw, within the same space of 21 days after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, his troops from all the countries and states of Germany, which are not under his dominion; and he shall evacuate and restore, on his side, all the states, countries, towns, places and fortresses, of his majesty the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, agreeable to the treaty of peace, which has been concluded this same day between their majesties the kings of Prussia and Poland; so that the restitution and evacuation of the provinces, towns, and fortresses respectively occupied, shall be made at one and the same time.

VI. The contributions and deliveries, of what nature soever they

be, as well as all demands of recruits, pioneers, waggons, horses, and in general, the things furnished upon account of war, shall cease from the day of the signature of the present treaty, and every thing that shall be exacted, taken, or received, after this epoch, shall be restored punctually and without delay.

Each party shall renounce all arrears whatsoever of contributions and deliveries. The bills of exchange, or other written promises, which have been given on either side, respecting these matters, shall be declared void and of none effect, and shall be restored gratis to those who gave them. The hostages also, which have been taken or given, with regard to the same, shall be released without ransom: every thing above mentioned shall take place immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.

VII. All prisoners of war shall be reciprocally and faithfully restored, without ransom, and without regard to their number, or military rank, on their paying however previously the debts which they shall have contracted during their captivity. Each party shall mutually renounce what has been furnished or advanced to them for their assistance and maintenance; and the same proceeding, in all respects, shall be observed with regard to the sick and wounded immediately after their recovery. To this purpose, each party shall name generals or commissioners, who shall, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications, proceed, in the places that shall be agreed upon, to the exchange of all the prisoners of war. Every thing that is stipulated in this article



article shall equally take place with respect to the states of the empire, in consequence of the general stipulation contained in the XIXth article. But as his majesty the king of Prussia and the states of the empire have themselves subsisted and maintained their respective prisoners of war, and as, upon this account, some individuals may have made advances, the high contracting parties do not mean to derogate, by the above stipulations, from the pretensions of the said individuals in this respect.

VIII. The subjects of either party forced to enter into the service of the other, shall be discharged.

IX. The empress queen shall return all the deeds, writings, and letters belonging to the places restored to the king of Prussia.

X. The inhabitants of the county and city of Glatz shall be at liberty to remove with their effects, in two years, without paying any duty.

XI. The king of Prussia shall confirm the nomination made by the empress queen, during the war, of vacant benefices, and to places in the excise, in the duchies of Cleves and Gueldres.

XII. The preliminaries of Breslau, July 11, 1742, the treaty of Berlin, July 28, 1742, the *reces* of the limits of 1742, the treaty of Dresden, Dec. 28, 1745, where they are not derogated from by this treaty, are renewed and confirmed.

XIII. The two parties purpose to settle a treaty of commerce as soon as possible; and in the meantime will favour the commerce between their countries.

XIV. The Roman Catholic religion shall be preserved in Silesia, as by the treaty of Dresden, and all other privileges of the subjects.

XV. The two contracting powers shall renew article IX. and the separate article of the treaty of Berlin, relative to the debts on Silesia.

XVI. The two powers mutually guaranty the whole of each other's dominions; those belonging to the empress queen out of Germany excepted.

XVII. The king of Poland shall be comprehended in this treaty on the footing of his treaty of this day with the king of Prussia.

XVIII. The king of Prussia will renew his convention with the elector Palatine in 1741, relative to Juliers and Bergue.

XIX. The whole empire is comprised in the stipulations of the II<sup>d</sup>, IV<sup>th</sup>, V<sup>th</sup>, VI<sup>th</sup>, and VII<sup>th</sup> articles. And by virtue thereof, all the princes and states shall fully enjoy the effects of the said stipulations. And whatsoever is therein stipulated and agreed on between her majesty the empress queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and his majesty the king of Prussia, shall take place equally and reciprocally between their said majesties and all the princes and states of the empire. The peace of Westphalia, and all the other constitutions of the empire, are likewise confirmed by the present treaty of peace.

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*Papers relating to the conquest of Martinico.*

*Articles of capitulation of the citadel of Fort Royal, in the island of Martinico, the 4<sup>th</sup> of February, 1762.*

# A R T I C L E I.

THE commanding officer of the citadel shall march out at the head of the garrison, composed of



of troops detached from the marine, the royal grenadiers, cannoniers, bombardiers, and Swifs; the different detachments of the militia and freebooters, and the other volunteers, with the honours of war, drums beating, lighted match, colours flying, two pieces of cannon, and three rounds of ammunition each.—The troops of his most Christian majesty in garrison shall march out with drums beating, colours flying, two pieces of cannon, and two rounds of ammunition; and shall be embarked and sent to France as soon as possible, at the expence of his Britannic majesty. The militia, freebooters, and others belonging to the island, shall lay down their arms, and be prisoners of war, until the fate of it is determined.

II. The garrison shall be sent to the port of Rochfort in France, by the most short and expeditious way, at the expence, and in the ships, of his Britannic majesty.—Answered in the first.

III. The said garrison shall be lodged and maintained in the town of Fort Royal, till their departure, at the expence of his Britannic majesty.—They shall be maintained at the expence of his Britannic majesty, and shall be embarked as in the first article.

IV. That it shall be lawful for the officers, Creoles, and others, to go into the island, and stay there as long as it shall be necessary to settle their affairs.—A reasonable time will be allowed to the officers to settle their affairs, they behaving according to the rules of war.

V. That the officers and others, who have effects in the country, shall keep them.—Granted.

VI. That the officers shall take

their servants along with them.—Granted.

VII. That the militia and other inhabitants, that now make part of the said garrison, may retire to their homes, with their servants likewise.—Answered in the first article.

VIII. That the volunteers of St. Vincent, who came here to the succour of the place, shall be furnished with a boat and provisions, to carry them home again, with their servants, arms, and baggage, as soon as possible.—To remain prisoners of war.

IX. That the inhabitants likewise shall be furnished with shallops, or boats, to carry them to the different quarters of this island.—Refused.

X. That the sick and wounded shall be removed to the hospital of this city, to be there taken care of by our own surgeons, till they are perfectly recovered; and that the commissary of his Britannic majesty shall take care to furnish them with subsistence.—They shall be taken the same care of as our own, and may be attended by their surgeons.

XI. That the said hospital shall take away with them their medicines, and all their utensils and effects in general.—Granted.

XII. That the chaplain of the garrison shall be permitted to administer spiritual succours to the sick, as well as others of the troops, and publicly to bury the dead without molestation.—Granted.

XIII. That the said sick shall, after their recovery, follow the fortune of their respective corps, as well as those who shall be actually in the hospitals without the town.—Granted.

XIV. That



XIV. That there shall be a general inventory taken by commissaries named by each party, of the artillery, ammunition, provisions, and all other effects within the place. — Granted.

XV. That the English prisoners detained in this citadel shall be exchanged for ours. Among others, M. de Capone, major of this citadel and island, shall be included in the exchange, to follow the fortune of the officers of the place. — Refused.

XVI. That the effects of the officers and men belonging to the royal grenadiers, which were left upon Morne Garnier, shall be restored to them. — It cannot be complied with, as it will be impossible to recover them.

XVII. That the armed free negroes and mulattoes, that entered into the citadel as attendants on the companies of militia, shall go out likewise with the said companies. — They shall remain prisoners of war, until the fate of the island is determined.

XVIII. That three days shall be granted for the evacuation of the place, at the end of which time, the gate shall be given up to the troops of his Britannic majesty, whilst the garrison shall march out. — The gate of the fort shall be given up to the troops of his Britannic majesty this evening at five o'clock, and the French garrison shall march out at nine to-morrow morning.

XIX. That before the capitulation is settled, the commanding officer of the place shall be permitted to communicate it to the general, and in the mean time there shall be a suspension of arms, and that all the works shall cease on

both sides. — After the capitulation is signed, and the gate of the fort possessed by the British troops, the commandant shall be allowed to acquaint his general with it.

ROBERT MONCKTON.  
DE LIGNERY. G. B. RODNEY.

*Capitulation demanded by the inhabitants of the island of Martinico, represented by Mess. D. Aleffo, knight, seignior Desfragny La Pierre, captain of horse, and Feryre, captain of infantry of militia, furnished with full powers from nine quarters of this island.*

To their excellencies Messrs. Monckton and Rodney, generals by land and sea of his Britannic majesty.

# ARTICLE I.

THE inhabitants shall quit their posts with two field-pieces, their arms, colours flying, drums beating, matches lighted, and shall have all the honours of war. —

The inhabitants shall march out of all their garrisons and posts (none excepted) with their arms and colours flying, upon condition that they afterwards lay them down; and that all the forts, garrisons, posts, and batteries of cannon and mortars, with all arms, ammunition, and implements of war, be delivered to proper persons appointed to receive them.

II. The inhabitants of the islands of St. Lucia, and St. Vincent, who are come to the assistance of this island, shall have the liberty to retire with their arms and baggage, and shall be furnished with a vessel to carry them to their own islands, with their servants which they have brought



brought with them, as also with provision necessary for their voyage.

—They must remain prisoners of war, as those of St. Vincent, in the capitulation of Fort Royal.

III. The inhabitants shall have free exercise of their religion, the priests, friars, and nuns, shall be preserved in their cures and convents, and it shall be permitted to the superiors of the order, to send for any of them from France, delivering their letter to his Britannic majesty's governors. — Granted.

IV. They shall be strictly neuter, and shall not be obliged to take arms against his most Christian majesty, nor even against any other power. — They become subjects of his Britannic majesty, and must take the oath of allegiance; but shall not be obliged to take arms against his most Christian majesty, until a peace may determine the fate of the island.

V. They shall preserve their civil government, their laws, customs, and ordonnances; justice shall be administered by the same officers who are now in employment; and there shall be a regulation made for the interior police between the governor of his Britannic majesty and the inhabitants; and in case that at the peace the island should be ceded to the king of Great Britain, it shall be allowed to the inhabitants to preserve their political government, and to accept that of Antigua or St. Christopher's. — They become British subjects (as in the preceding article), but shall continue to be governed by their present laws, until his majesty's pleasure be known.

VI. The inhabitants, as also the religious orders of both sexes, shall be maintained in the property of

their effects moveable and immoveable, of what nature soever, and shall be preserved in their privileges, rights, honours, and exemptions; their free negroes and mulattoes shall have the entire enjoyment of their liberty. — Granted in regard to the religious orders: The inhabitants, being subjects of Great Britain, will enjoy their properties, and the same privileges as in the other his majesty's Leeward islands.

VII. They shall not pay to his majesty any other duties than those which have been paid hitherto to his most Christian majesty; and the capitation of negroes on the same footing it is paid at present, without any other charges or imposts; and the expences of justice, pensions to curates, and other occasional expences, shall be paid by the domain of his Britannic majesty, as they were by that of his most Christian majesty. — Answered in the 6th article, in what regards the inhabitants.

VIII. and IX. The prisoners taken, during the siege, shall be restored on both sides; the free mulattoes, as well as the negroes, which shall have been taken, shall be restored as prisoners of war, and shall not be treated as slaves. — The inhabitants and mulattoes, now prisoners, will become British subjects, upon the submission of the whole island, and will enjoy the benefit of it. The negroes which have been taken in arms are deemed slaves.

X. The subjects of Great Britain, who have taken refuge in the island for crimes, or condemned to punishments, shall have liberty of retiring. — Refused.

XI. No others than the inhabitants resident in this island, shall

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ill the peace, possess any estates, either by acquisition, agreement, or otherwise; but in case, at the peace, the country shall be ceded to the king of Great Britain, then it shall be permitted to the inhabitants who shall not be willing to become his subjects, to sell their estates, moveables and immoveables, to whom they please, and retire where they shall think proper, in which case they shall be allowed convenient time.——All subjects of Great Britain may possess any lands or houses by purchase. The remainder of this article granted, provided they sell to British subjects.

XII. In case any exchanges shall be thought of at the peace, their most Christian and Britannic majesties are intreated to give the preference to this island.——This will depend upon his Britannic majesty's pleasure.

XIII. The inhabitants shall have liberty of retiring; we say, of sending their children to France for their education; the wives of officers and others, out of the island, shall have liberty of retiring with their effects, and the number of servants suitable to their rank.——The liberty of sending their children to France to be educated, depends upon the king's pleasure. The rest granted.

XIV. The government shall procure for the inhabitants the vent of their commodities, which shall be looked upon as national commodities, and of consequence shall have entry in England.——Granted; the island producing nothing but what may be imported into England.

XV. The inhabitants shall not be obliged to find quarters for the troops, or to do any works on the fortifications.——The inhabitants must furnish barracks or quarters

for the king's troops in the several districts of the island.

XVI. The widows and others, absent by sickness, who shall not have signed the capitulation, shall have a time fixed for doing it.——Granted, on condition that they sign the capitulation in one month from this date.

XVII. Vessels shall be granted to the freebooters and others who have no effects in this country, and are willing to leave it, to retire.——Granted, to go to France, but no where else.

XVIII. It shall be permitted to give freedom to negro and mulatto slaves, as a recompence for their good services, according to custom.——Granted to servants.

XIX. The inhabitants and merchants shall enjoy all their privileges of commerce, as the subjects of Great Britain.——Granted; so that it does not affect the privileges of particular companies established in England, or the laws of the kingdom, which prohibit the carrying on trade in other than British bottoms.

XX. It shall always be permitted to the inhabitants, to continue to make white and clayed sugar, as they have been used to.——Granted, they paying duty in proportion to their superior value to the common quality of the Muscovado sugar.

XXI. The sea-vessels, as well ships as boats or schooners, which are sunk or afloat, and which have not been taken, shall remain to their owners.——Refused to all privateers and ships trading to distant ports. Granted to such as are employed in passing to and from the different ports of the island.

XXII. The money which is now made use of, shall remain upon the same footing, without being



ing susceptible either of augmentation or diminution. — Granted.

(D'Aleffo.) (Lapiere)

(I'feriere.) (Mauboix)

(Dorienterfack for)

(Dorient Hubert, and)

(Dorient Campagne.)

**Demanded.** All archives and papers, which may be necessary or relative to the government of the island, to be faithfully given up. Leave is granted to the gentlemen of the island to keep necessary arms for the defence of their plantations.

ROBERT MONCKTON.

G. B. RODNEY.

**Settled,** agreed, and closed by us the deputies representative and bearers of the powers from the major part of the quarters composing this colony; in the city of Fort Royal, Martinico, this seventh day of February, 1762.

D'Aleffo. I'feriere. Rob. Monckton.

Lapiere. G. B. Rodney.

Deputies.

(Dorienterfack) (Berland)

(Mauboix).

*Capitulation offered for the whole island of Martinico, on the part of M. le Vassor Delatouche, the governor general.*

**P**reliminary article. A suspension of arms shall be agreed upon for 15 days; at the expiration of which the following capitulation shall take place, if no succour arrives. — Twenty-four hours will be allowed the general to accede to the terms offered, from the time Messrs. de Bournan and Delatouche shall be set on shore at St. Peter's; and, if accepted of, the troops of his Britannic majesty shall be immediately put in possession of such forts and

posts as his Britannic majesty's general shall think fit.

**Art. I.** All the forts and posts of the island shall be evacuated by the troops of his most Christian majesty, whether regular or militia, or independent companies of free-booters, or livery servants; they shall march out with four field-pieces, their arms, two rounds per man, their ensigns or colours flying, drums beating, and all the honours of war; after which the said forts and posts shall be occupied by the troops of his Britannic majesty. — The troops and inhabitants shall march out of all their garrisons and posts with their arms, drums beating, colours flying, and the troops to have four pieces of cannon, with two rounds each, and two rounds per man, upon condition that the inhabitants afterwards lay down their arms; and that all the forts, garrisons, posts, and batteries of cannon, or mortars, with all arms, ammunition, and implements of war, shall be delivered up to proper persons appointed by us to receive them.

**Art. II.** Transport vessels shall be provided at the expence of his Britannic majesty, sufficiently victualled, to carry to the Granades the above mentioned regular troops, and their officers and commanders, with the four pieces of cannon, arms, baggage, and, in general, all the effects of the said officers and troops. — Granted, to France only.

**Art. III.** Mr. Rouille, governor of Martinico, the king's lieutenants of the said island, the officers of the staff, engineers and sub-engineers, shall return to France in the vessels, and at the charge of his Britannic majesty. — Granted.

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Art. IV. There shall in like manner be provided, at the charges of his Britannic majesty, a vessel, for the necessary victualling, to supply to the Granades M. le Vaffor Delatouche, commandant-general of his most Christian majesty of the French Leeward islands in America, his lady, and all persons with him, engaged in the king's service, or belonging to his household, and all their effects.——Granted, to France, the Granades being blocked.

Art. V. M. de Rochemore, inspector of the fortifications and artillery in this island, shall, in like manner, be conveyed to the Granades, in the same ships with the persons in his retinue engaged in the service of the king, their domestics, and their effects.——Granted, to France.

Art. VI. There shall be made by two commissaries, who shall be named for that purpose, one of each nation, an exact inventory of all the effects, which shall be found to belong to his most Christian majesty in the arsenals, in the magazines, upon the batteries, and in general of all the arms, utensils, and ammunitions of war, to be delivered up to the commanding officer of his Britannic majesty.——Granted.

Art. VII. Merchandizes, not being arms, nor munitions of war, which may be found lodged in the said magazines, or upon the said batteries, shall not be made a part of the said inventory, unless it be in order to their being restored to their true owners.——All military stores, and others, employed as such, become his Britannic majesty's.

Art. VIII. All the prisoners made during the siege, or at sea, before

the siege, of whatever nation and quality, shall be restored on either side; and those made in the citadel, if they be troops, shall follow the fortune of the other troops; and, if inhabitants, they shall follow the fortune of the other inhabitants.——The troops, according to the cartel; the inhabitants will be released upon the signing of this capitulation.

Art. IX. The free negroes and mulattoes, made prisoners of war, shall be treated as such, and restored like the other prisoners, in order to their continuing to enjoy their liberty.——All negroes taken in arms are deemed slaves. The rest granted.

Art. X. The Sieur Nadau Dutreil, de la Potterie, and Cornette, prisoners of state, shall be likewise conducted, at the expence, and in the ships, of his Britannic majesty, to the island of the Granades, to be delivered into the hands of M. le Vaffor Delatouche.——Messieurs de la Potterie, and Cornette, shall be delivered up when taken, but M. Nadau having had our promise (immediately upon his being made prisoner) to procure him a reasonable time to settle his affairs, he has three months from the date hereof for that purpose.

Art. XI. The island of Martinico shall remain in the hands of his Britannic majesty, till such time as its condition shall have been determined by treaty made between the two powers, without the inhabitants being compelled, in any case, to take up arms, either against the king of France, or against his allies, or even against any other power.——They become subjects of his Britannic majesty, and must take the oath of allegiance; but shall not be obliged to take up arms against his most  
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Christian majesty, until a peace may determine the fate of the island.

Art. XII. All the inhabitants of Martinico, either present or absent, even those that are engaged in his most Christian majesty's service, as well as all religious houses, and communities, shall be maintained and preserved in the possession and propriety of their real and personal estates, of their negroes, shipping, and generally of all their effects, whether the said real and personal estates, and effects, be actually in Martinico, or in any other island; and the slaves, which have been taken from them, during the siege, shall be restored to them.—The inhabitants, as well as the religious orders, will enjoy their properties; and, as they become British subjects, they will enjoy the same privileges as in his majesty's other Leeward islands. In regard to the slaves, answered in the 9th article.

Art. XIII. That boats or other vessels of Martinico, which are actually out at sea, or in neutral ports, whether they are equipped for war or not, shall be permitted to return into the ports and roads of this island, upon the declaration to be made by the owners thereof, of their intending to send them immediate orders to return, and upon their giving personal security, that the said vessels shall make no attempt upon any English ship: in consideration of which declaration, passports shall be granted them, that they may return in all security.—Refused, as foreign to the capitulation; but any applications, which may afterwards be made on this head, shall be considered according to the rules of justice, and of war.

Art. XIV. The inhabitants of Martinico, shall freely and publicly exercise their religion; the priests, friars, and nuns, shall be maintained in the public exercise of their functions, and in the enjoyment of their privileges, prerogatives, and exemptions.—Granted.

Art. XV. The superior, as well as inferior judges, shall likewise be maintained in their functions, privileges, and prerogatives; they shall continue to administer justice to the inhabitants of this island, according to the laws, ordinances, customs, and uses which have been followed hitherto: no foreigner shall be allowed to sit in the council as a judge. But if any place in the magistracy becomes vacant, the superior council of Martinico shall dispose of it provisionally only; and the person chosen by them, shall perform the duties of it, till the one or the other of the two courts shall otherwise settle it, after that the condition of Martinico shall have been fixed by a treaty between them.—They become British subjects, but shall continue to be governed by their present laws, until his majesty's pleasure be known.

Art. XVI. M. le Baron d'Huart commanding the troops and militia of this island, as well as M. de Bouran, major-general, shall be conveyed to the Granades, in the same vessel in which the royal grenadiers are to be embarked, together with their domestics and effects, as well as those of all the officers of the same corps. The said officers shall have leave to collect together their effects which are dispersed in divers parts of the island; and the necessary time for the recovery of them,



them, shall be allowed them. Orders shall be given to the inhabitants, that are indebted to the officers of this corps, to pay them before their departure. The officers shall likewise be bound to discharge the debts they have contracted in the island. — They shall be sent to France. The rest granted.

Art. XVII. All the land and sea officers, who find themselves in the island, either on actual duty, or with leave, shall have a year's time to settle all the affairs they may have there. — A proper time will be allowed to such as have estates upon the island, with the usual restrictions; and such as shall have M. Delatouche, the governor general, his leave.

Art. XVIII. The nobility shall continue to enjoy all the privileges, and exemptions, which have always been granted them. — Granted; so that it is not inconsistent with the British laws.

Art. XIX. The slaves that have been made free during the siege, or to whom their freedom has been promised, shall be reputed and declared free, and they shall peaceably enjoy their state of freedom. — Granted.

Art. XX. The duties of the poll-tax, those of importation and exportation, and in general all the duties established in this island, shall continue to be paid, for the future, on the same footing as heretofore. — Answered in the 15th article.

Art. XXI. As it is suitable to the glory and interest of every prince whatsoever to make it publicly known, that he honours with a special protection, all that bears the character of zeal, love, and loyalty

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for its king, it has been agreed, that the things furnished to the colony on occasion of the siege, either before or during the same, such as provisions, utensils, ammunition, arms, or money, shall continue to be considered as debts of the colony, just as they were, and ought to be, in its former state; consequently, that the amounts of these supplies shall not cease to be reputed as debts of the colony itself, and which it must satisfy, into whatsoever hands it may pass, through the fortune of arms; that considering the nature and quality of these debts, it is of his Britannic majesty's dignity to grant them all manner of protection; consequently, that they shall be paid out of the first funds that shall arise, as well from the poll-tax, as from the duties of importation and exportation on merchandizes that are liable to them. To which purpose, the state of these debts shall be settled, and verified by M. Delareviere, intendant of the American Leeward islands. — Will be settled by the generals on both sides, being foreign to the capitulation.

Art. XXII. In virtue of the same principle, and considering the necessity of speedily bringing provisions into this colony, it has likewise been agreed on, that such merchants of the town of St. Pierre, as by orders from the intendant M. Delareviere, have entered into measures and engagements, to bring over hither provisions from the neutral islands, shall be permitted to fulfil their engagements, as well to save them from the damage they would suffer by it, as to procure to this island a more speedy supply: consequently two months shall be granted them, from the day of signing

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these presents, to complete their undertakings. But to avoid all abuses in this respect, M. Delareviere shall give a note of the nature and quantity of provisions, which he had ordered to be procured from the neutrals; and as he had promised and granted an exemption of all duties on this importation, the said exemption shall take place in the same manner as it was promised, and as it is actually practised; being a profit in which the colony and the merchant have both their share.—All supplies whatever, that were engaged to be thrown into this island by any neutral power, for the support of his most Christian majesty's troops, and colony, will be deemed legal prize, if taken by his Britannic majesty's ships; and all engagements with neutral powers for such a supply, made before the reduction of the island, being void, no commerce for the future can be carried on but in British bottoms.

Art. XXIII. M. le Vassor Delatouche shall be allowed five of the inhabitants, whom he shall cause to be put on board such of the vessels as are to transport his most Christian majesty's troops. His reasons for this demand, are, that it imports all the powers not to grant any protection to any one who breaks through the allegiance and fidelity a subject owes to his king.—Cannot be allowed, as we have already granted them his Britannic majesty's protection.

Art. XXIV. M. Delareviere, intendant, and M. Guignard, commissary comptroller of the marine, in this island, shall be allowed time sufficient to settle all the parts of their respective administration, and to do whatever is absolutely necessary in that respect. A ship, with

provisions, shall afterwards be furnished, at the expence of his Britannic majesty, in order to convey to the Grenades the said intendant, his wife, children, secretaries, and servants, with all their effects: the said commissary comptroller of the marine shall go on board the same ship, and shall be conveyed to the same island.—Granted; afterwards to be sent to France.

Art. XXV. The persons employed in the administration of the domaine of the marine, the clauses and the finances of this island, who shall be willing to return to France, shall be transported thither with their effects, in the vessels, and at the charge of his Britannic majesty.—Granted.

Art. XXVI. The public records shall be again forthwith deposited in their proper places, and the governor for his Britannic majesty shall grant all protection in this respect.—They must be delivered to such persons as the general shall appoint to receive them.

Art. XXVII. With regard to any papers of accounts, they shall be again put into the hands of the proper accomptants, that they may be enabled to proceed to the rendering of their accounts, and to vouch them by such pieces as are necessary for their discharge.—Granted.

Art. XXVIII. The inhabitants, merchants, and other private persons, resident or not, shall have leave to go to St. Domingo or Louisiana, with their negroes and effects, in cartel ships, at their own expence.—Granted.

Art. XXIX. If any of the grenadier soldiers shall have a mind to remain in the island, or to make their escape, a protection and guard shall



shall be granted to prevent their deserting, and what remains of the said grenadiers shall be embarked compleat.—Granted, except in particular cases.

Art. XXX. The merchant-ships belonging to the French traders in Europe, which are at this time in the harbours and roads of this island, shall be preserved to their true proprietors, with the liberty of selling them, or of clearing them for France in ballast.—Refused to all privateers and ships trading to distant ports. Granted to such as trade to and from the different ports of this island.

*At Martinico, February 13, 1762.*

LE VASSOR DELATOUCHE.

*Done at Fort Royal, in the island of Martinico, this 13th day of February 1762.*

ROBT. MONCKTON.

G. B. RODNEY.

*Articles of capitulation agreed upon between Sir George Pocock, knight of the Bath, and the Earl of Albemarle; and the Marquis of Real Transporte, commander in chief of the Squadron of his Catholic majesty, and Don Juan de Prado, governor of the Havannah, for the surrender of the city, and all its dependencies, with all the Spanish ships in the harbour.*

#### Preliminary Article.

**F**ORT la Punta, and the Land Gate, shall be delivered to his Britannic majesty's troops to-morrow morning, the 13th of August, at 2 o'clock; at which time it is expected the following articles of capitulation shall be signed and ratified.

Art. I. The garrison, consisting of the infantry, artillery-men, and dragoons, the different militia of the towns in this island, shall march out of the Land Gate the 20th inst. provided in that time no relief arrives so as to raise the siege, with all the military honours, arms shouldered, drums beating, colours flying, six field-pieces with 12 rounds for each, and as many rounds to each soldier; the regiments shall take out with them the military chests. And the governor shall have six covered waggons which are not to be examined upon any pretence whatsoever.—The garrison, consisting of the regular troops, the dragoons, dismounted, (leaving their horses for his Britannic majesty's service) in consideration of the gallant defence of the Moro fort and the Havannah, shall march out of the Punta Gate with two pieces of cannon, and six rounds for each gun, and the same number for each soldier, drums beating, colours flying, and all the honours of war. The military chest refused. The governor will be allowed as many boats as are necessary to transport his baggage and effects on board the ships destined for him. The military without the town, as well as those within, to deliver up their arms to the British commissary.

II. That the garrison shall be allowed to take out of this city all their effects, and transport themselves with it to another part of this island; for which purpose shall be allowed and permitted to come freely into the said city, all the beasts of burthen, and carts. And this article is to extend to, and in-

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clude all other officers belonging to his majesty employed in the administration of justice, intendant of marine, commissary of war, and treasurer-general, who are to have the choice of going out of the city.

—The officers of the above garrison will be allowed to carry with them all their private effects and money; on board the ships which will be provided at the expence of his Britannic majesty, to transport the garrison to the nearest part of Old Spain. The intendant of marine, commissary of war, and those employed in the management of his Catholic majesty's revenues, as soon as they have delivered over their accounts, shall have liberty to leave the island if they desire it.

III. That the marines, and the ships crews, in this harbour, who have served on shore, shall obtain, on their going out, the same honours as the garrison of the city; and shall proceed with those honours on board the said ships, that they may, together with their commander in chief, Don Gulierres de Hivia, marquis del Real Transporte, sail in the said ships, as soon as the port is open, with all their effects and money, in order to proceed to some other port belonging to the dominions of Spain; in doing which they will oblige themselves, that during their navigation to their designed port, they shall not attack any squadron, or single ship, belonging to his Britannic majesty, or his allies; nor merchant vessels belonging to his subjects; and likewise they are not to be attacked by any squadron, or single ship, belonging to his Britannic majesty, or any of his allies. Like-

wise liberty shall be given to go on board the said ships, the afore-mentioned troops, and ships crews, with their officers, and others belonging to them, together with the effects and monies that are in the city, belonging to his Catholic majesty, with the equipages, and effects in specie of gold or silver, belonging to the said marquis, or others employed in the different marine offices; granting them likewise every thing that should be necessary to protect them and their ships, as well as in the fitting them out from his Catholic majesty's stores, and whatever more should be wanted, at the current prices of the country.

—The marquis del Real Transporte, with his officers, sailors, and marines, as making part of the garrison, shall be treated in every respect as the governor and regular troops. All ships in the Havannah, and all money and effects whatever belonging to his Catholic majesty, shall be delivered up to such persons as shall be appointed by sir George Pocock, and the earl of Albemarle.

IV. That all the artillery, stores, and ammunition and provisions belonging to his Catholic majesty, (except such as are well known to belong to the squadron) an exact inventory shall be made thereof, by the assistance of four persons, subjects of the king of Spain, which the governor shall appoint, and by four others, subjects to his Britannic majesty, who are to be elected by his excellency the earl of Albemarle, who shall keep possession of all till both sovereigns come to another determination.—All the artillery, and all kinds of arms, ammunition and naval stores, without reserve, shall



shall be delivered up to such persons as shall be appointed to receive them by sir George Pocock and the earl of Albermarle.

V. That as by mere accident were residing in this city his excellency the count de Superunda, lieutenant of his Catholic majesty's forces, and late viceroy of Peru, and Don Diego Tavares, major-general of his majesty's forces, and late governor of Carthage, both here in their return to Spain: these gentlemen and their families shall be comprehended in this capitulation, allowing them to possess their equipages, and other effects belonging to them; and to grant them vessels to transport them to Spain.—The count Superunda, lieutenant of his Catholic majesty's forces, and late viceroy of the kingdom of Peru, and Don Diego Tavares, knight of the order of St. James, major-general, and late governor of Carthage, shall be conveyed to Old Spain in the most commodious ships that can be provided, suitable to the rank, dignity, and character of those noble persons, with all their effects, money, and attendants, at such time as may be most convenient to themselves.

VI. That the Catholic Apostolic Roman religion shall be maintained and preserved in the same manner and form as it has hitherto been in all the dominions belonging to his Catholic majesty, without putting the least restraint to any of their public worships; and the different orders, universities, and colleges, shall remain in the full enjoyment of all their rights, in the same manner as they have hitherto enjoyed.—Granted.

VII. That the bishop of Cuba is to enjoy all the privileges and pre-

rogatives that as such belong to him, with the nomination of curates, and other ecclesiastical ministers, with the annexed jurisdiction over them, as he has had hitherto, with the freedom to receive all the rents and revenues within his bishoprick; which privileges shall extend likewise to all other ecclesiastics in those shares belonging to them.—Granted, with a reserve, that in the appointment of priests, and other ecclesiastical officers, it shall be with the approbation of the British governor.

VIII. That within the monasteries of religious men and women, shall be observed and kept the same interior government as hitherto, without any novelty or variation.—Granted.

IX. That in the same manner as the effects and monies in this city, belonging to his Catholic majesty, is to be shipped on board of the squadron in this harbour, to transport the same to Spain, all the tobacco which likewise belongs to his Catholic majesty. And it shall be permitted, even in time of war, to his Catholic majesty, to purchase tobacco on the said island, in the district subject to the king of Great Britain, at the established prices, and the free exportation of the same to Spain in Spanish or foreign vessels; and for which purpose, and receiving, and keeping, and curing the same, shall be kept and possessed the warehouses, with all other buildings, which are destined for that purpose; and likewise shall be allowed and maintained here, all such officers as should be necessary to manage the same.—Refused.

X. That in consideration that this port is situated by nature for the relief of those who navigate in those



those parts of Spanish and British America, that this port shall be reputed and allowed to be neutral to the subjects of his Catholic majesty, who are to be admitted in and out freely, to take in such refreshments as they may be in need of, as well as repairing their vessels, paying the current prices for every thing, and that they are not to be insulted nor interrupted in their navigation by any vessels belonging to his Britannic majesty, or his subjects or allies, from the Capes Catoche, on the coast of Campeche, and that of St. Antonio, to the westward of this island; nor from the Tortuga bank to this port; and from here till they get into the latitude of 33 degrees north, till both their majesties agree to the contrary.—Refused.

XI. That all the inhabitants, Europeans and Creoles, in this city, shall be left in the free possession and management of all their offices and employments which they have by purchase, as well as of their estates, and all other effects whatever, without being obliged to account on any other terms than those on which they did to his Catholic majesty.—Granted. And they shall be allowed to continue in their offices of property as long as they conduct themselves properly.

XII. That the said offices shall preserve and keep the rights and privileges which they have hitherto enjoyed, and they shall be governed in his Britannic majesty's name, under the same laws and administration of justice, and under such conditions as they have done hitherto in the dominion of Spain, in every particular, appointing their judges and officers of justice agreeable to their usual custom.—Granted.

XIII. That to any of the aforesaid inhabitants of this city who should not chuse to stay, it shall be permitted them to take out their property and riches in such specie as should be most convenient to them, and to dispose of their estates, or to leave them under the administration of others, and to transport themselves with them, to such of his Catholic majesty's dominions as they should chuse, granting them four years to execute the same, and vessels to transport them, either upon purchase, or on freight, with the necessary passports, and authority to bear arms against the Moors and Turks, upon this express condition, that they shall not use them against his Britannic majesty's subjects, or his allies, who are not to insult them, nor abandon them; and that this and the two foregoing articles, are to comprehend and admit to be included all his Catholic majesty's ministers and officers, as well civil as marine and military, who are married and established with families and estates in this city, in order that they may obtain the same privileges as the other inhabitants.—The inhabitants will be allowed to dispose of and remove their effects to any part of the king of Spain's dominions in vessels at their own expence, for which they will have proper passports. It is understood that such officers as have property in this island, shall have the same indulgence allowed as the rest of the inhabitants.

XIV. That to these people no ill consequence shall arise on account of having taken up arms, owing to their fidelity, and their being enlisted in the militia, on ac-



ount of the necessity of war ; neither shall the English troops be permitted to plunder ; but, on the contrary, they shall completely enjoy their rights and prerogatives as other subjects of his Britannic majesty, allowing them to return, without the least hindrance or impediment, from the country into the city, with all their families, equipages, and effects, as they went out of the city on account of this invasion, and who are to be comprehended in the present articles ; and that neither of them shall be incommoded with having troops quartered in their houses, but that they shall be lodged in particular quarters, as it has been practised during the Spanish government.—Granted. Except that, in cases of necessity, quartering the troops must be left to the direction of the governor. All the king's slaves are to be delivered up to the persons appointed to receive them.

XV. That the effects detained in this city, belonging to the merchants at Cadiz, which have arrived here in the different register ships, and in which are interested all the European nations, a sufficient passport shall be granted to the supercargoes thereof, that they may freely remit the same with the register ships, without running the risque of being insulted in their passage.—Refused.

XVI. That those civil, or other officers, who have had charge of the management of the administration and distribution of the royal treasure, or any other affair of a peculiar nature from his Catholic majesty, they are to be left with the free use of all those papers which concern the discharge of their

duty, with free liberty to carry them to Spain for that purpose : and the same shall be understood with the managers of the royal company established in this city.—All public papers to be delivered to the secretaries of the admiral and general for inspection, which will be returned to his Catholic majesty's officers, if not found necessary for the government of the island.

XVII. That the public records are to remain in custody of those officers who possess them, without permitting any of the papers to be taken away, for fear of their being mislaid.—Answered in the foregoing article.

XVIII. That the officers and soldiers, who are sick in the hospital, shall be treated in the same manner as the garrison, and after their recovery they shall be granted horses or vessels to transport themselves where the rest of the garrison goes, with every thing necessary for their security and subsistence during their voyage ; and before which they shall be provided with such provisions and medicines as shall be demanded by the hospital keepers and surgeons thereof ; and all others under them, who are included in this capitulation, are to stay or go as they shall prefer.—Granted. The governor leaving proper commissaries to furnish them with provisions, surgeons, medicines, and necessities, at the expence of his Catholic majesty, while they remain in the hospital.

XIX. That all the prisoners made on both sides, since the 6th of June, when the English Squadron appeared before this harbour, shall be returned reciprocally, and without any ransom, within the term of two months,



months, for those who were sent away from the city to other towns in this island, which was done for want of proper places of security here, or before, if they can arrive.

— This article cannot be concluded upon, till the British prisoners are delivered up.

XX. That as soon as the articles of this capitulation are agreed upon, and hostages given on each side for the performance thereof, the Land-gate shall be delivered into the possession of his Britannic majesty's troops, that they may post a guard there; and the garrison shall have one themselves, until the place is evacuated, when the earl of Albemarle will be pleased to send some soldiers as a safe-guard to the churches, convents, and treasuries, and all other places of consequence. — The number of safe-guards required for the security of the churches, convents, and other places, shall be granted. The rest of the article is answered in the preliminary article.

XXI. That it shall be allowed to the governor and commander in chief of this squadron, to dispatch a packet-boat with advice to his Catholic majesty, as well as to other people who have a right to the same advice, to which vessel there shall be granted a safe and secure passport for the voyage. — As the troops are to be sent to Old Spain, a packet is unnecessary.

XXII. That the troops of the Punta castle shall have the same honours as the garrison of the town, and that they shall march out by one of the most practicable breaches. — Granted.

XXIII. That the capitulation is to be understood literally, and without any interpretation, or any pre-

text whatever, of making reprisals on account of not having complied with the foregoing.

ALBEMARLE. G. POCOCK.  
E. marq. del REAL TRANSPORTE.

JUAN DE PRADO  
Head-quarters near the Havannah,  
12th August, 1762.

*Papers relating to the recovery of St. John's in Newfoundland, from the French.*

*Colonel Amherst's summons to the governor of St. John's fort.*

Camp before St. John's,  
S I R, Sept. 16, 1762.

**H**umanity directs me to acquaint you of my firm intentions.

I know the miserable state your garrison is left in, and am fully informed of your design of blowing up the fort on quitting it; but have a care: for I have taken measures effectually to cut off your retreat: and so sure as a match is put to the train, every man of the garrison shall be put to the sword.

I must have immediate possession of the fort, in the state it now is, or expect the consequences.

I give you half an hour to think of it. I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient humble servant;

WM. AMHERST.  
To the officer commanding  
ing at St. John's.

*Letter from the count d'Haussonville to lieut. col. Amherst; dated at St. John's, Sept. 16, 1762.*

**W**ITH regard to the conduct that I shall hold, you may, sir, be misinformed. I wait for your troops and your cannon; and nothing



thing shall determine me to surrender the fort, unless you shall have totally destroyed it, and that I shall have no more powder to fire. I have the honour to be, sir, your most humble and most obedient servant,

*The count d'HAUSSONVILLE.*

*Count d'Haussenville to lieut. col. Amberst.*

S I R,

UNDER the uncertainty of the succours which I may receive either from France or its allies, and the fort being entire, and in a condition for a long defence, I am resolved to defend myself to the last extremity. The capitulation which they may think proper to grant me will determine me to surrender the place to you, in order to prevent the effusion of blood of the men who defend it.

Whatever resolution you come to, there is one left to me, which would hurt the interests of the sovereign you serve. I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient humble servant, *Count d'HAUSSONVILLE.*  
Fort St. John's, Sept. 18, 1762.

Camp before St. John's,

S I R, Sept. 18, 1762.

I Have just had the honour of your letter. His Britannic majesty's fleet and army, co-operating here, will not give any other terms to the garrison of St. John's than their surrendering prisoners of war.

I don't thirst after the blood of the garrison; but you must determine quickly, or expect the consequences; for this is my final determination. I am, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

WM. AMHERST.

To count d'Haussenville.

*Letter from count d'Haussenville to col. Amberst, dated at St. John's, Sept. 18, 1762.*

I Have received, sir, your letter, which you did me the honour to write to me.

I am as averse as you to the effusion of blood. I consent to surrender the fort in a good condition, as I have already acquainted you, if the demands, which I enclose herewith, are granted to my troops. I have the honour to be, sir, your most humble and most obedient servant,

*Le comte d'HAUSSONVILLE.*

#### ARTICLES of CAPITULATION.

*Demands of the garrison of St. John, and, in general, of the troops that are in it.*

The French troops shall surrender prisoners of war.—Agreed to.

The officers and subaltern officers shall keep their arms, to preserve good order among their troops.—Agreed to.

Good ships shall be granted to carry the officers, grenadiers, and private men, either wounded, or not, to France, in the space of one month, on the coast of Brittany.—Agreed to. Lord Colvil will, of course, embark them as soon as he possibly can.

The goods and effects of both the officers and soldiers shall be preserved.—His Britannic majesty's troops never pillage.

The gate will be taken possession of this afternoon, and the garrison will lay down their arms.

This



This is to be signed by lord Colville, but will remain at present, as afterwards, in full force.

Signed, WM. AMHERST.

*Le comte d'HAUSSONVILLE.*

Camp before St. John's,

Sept. 18, 1762.

*The French troops, that served in Canada, being desirous of erecting a monument in honour of Montcalm their general, who fell in the action at Quebec, when we also lost the brave Wolfe, a French colonel wrote to the academy of Belles Lettres for an epitaph, to be placed over Montcalm's tomb, in a church in that city; which occasioned the following letter from M. de Bougainville, member of the academy, to Mr. Pitt.*

S I R,

THE honours paid, under your ministry, to Mr. Wolfe, assure me, that you will not disapprove of the grateful endeavours of the French troops to perpetuate the memory of the Marquis de Montcalm. The body of this general, who was honoured by the regret of your nation, is interred in Quebec. I have the honour to send you an epitaph made for him by the academy of inscriptions: I beg the favour of you, sir, that you will be pleased to examine it, and, if not improper, obtain leave for me to send it to Quebec, engaved on marble, and to be placed on the marquis de Montcalm's tomb. Should such leave be granted, may I presume, sir, that you will be so good as to inform me of it, and, at the same time, to send me a passport, that the marble, with the epitaph engraved on it, may be received into an English ship, and Mr. Murray,

governor of Quebec, allow it to be placed in the Ursuline church. You will be pleased, sir, to pardon me for this intrusion on your important occupations; but endeavouring to immortalize illustrious men and eminent patriots, is doing honour to yourself.

I am with respect, &c.

DE BOUGAINVILLE.

*Mr. Pitt's answer.*

S I R,

IT is a real satisfaction to me, to send you the king's consent on a subject so affecting, as the epitaph composed by the academy of inscriptions at Paris, for the marquis de Montcalm, and which, it is desired, may be sent to Quebec, engraved on marble, to be placed on the tomb of that illustrious soldier. It is perfectly beautiful. And the desire of the French troops, which served in Canada, to pay such a tribute to the memory of their general, whom they saw expire at their head, in a manner worthy of them and himself, is truly noble and praise-worthy.

I shall take a pleasure, sir, in facilitating, every way, such amiable intentions; and, on notice of the measures taken for shipping this marble, I will not fail immediately to transmit you the passport you desire, and send directions to the governor of Quebec for its reception.

I withal beg of you, sir, to be persuaded of my just sensibility of that so obliging part of the letter with which you have honoured me relating to myself, and to believe that I embrace, as a happiness, the opportunity of manifesting the esteem and particular regard with which I have the honour to be, &c.

London, April 10,  
1761.

W. PITT.

The



The EPITAPH was as follows :

Utroque in orbe æternum victurus,  
 Ludovicus Josephus de MONTCALM GOZON,  
 Marchio sancti Verani, Baro Gabriaci,  
 Ordinis sancti Ludovici Commendator,  
 Legatus Generalis Exercituum Gallicorum ;  
 Egregius & Civis & Miles,  
 Nullius rei appetens præterquam veræ laudis,  
 Ingenio felici, & literis exculto ;  
 Omnes Militiæ gradus per continua decora emensus,  
 Omnium Belli Artium, temporum, discriminum gnarus,  
 In Italia, in Bohemia, in Germania  
 Dux industrius.  
 Mandata sibi ita semper gerens ut majoribus par haberetur.  
 Jam clarus periculis  
 Ad tutandam Canadensem Provinciam missus,  
 Parva militum manu Hostium copias non semel repulit,  
 Propugnacula cepit viris armisque instructissimo.  
 Algoris, inediæ, vigiliarum, laboris patiens,  
 Suis unice prospiciens, immemor sui,  
 Hostis acer, Victor mansuetus.  
 Fortunam virtute, virium inopiam peritia & celeritate compensavit ;  
 Imminens Colonix fatum & consilio & manu per quadriennium sustinuit,  
 Tandem ingentem Exercitum Duce strenuo & audaci,  
 Classẽque omni bellorum mole gravem,  
 Multiplici prudentia diu ludificatus,  
 Vi pertractus ad dimicandum,  
 In prima acie, in primo conflictu vulneratus,  
 Religioni quam semper coluerat innitens,  
 Magno suorum desiderio, nec sine hostium mœrore,  
 Extinctus est  
 Die XIV. Sept. A. D. MDCCLIX. ætat XLVIII.  
 Mortales optimi ducis exuvias in excavata humo,  
 Quam globus bellicus decidens dissiliensque defoderat,  
 Galli lugentes deposuerunt,  
 Et generosæ hostium fidei commendarunt.

T R A N S L A T I O N.

Here lieth,  
 In either hemisphere to live for ever,  
 LEWIS JOSEPH DE MONTCALM GOZON,  
 Marquis of St. Veran, baron of Gabriac,  
 Commendatory of the order of St. Lewis,  
 Lieutenant-general of the French army ;  
 Not less an excellent citizen than soldier,  
 Who knew no desire but that of true glory ;

Happy



Happy in a natural genius, improved by literature,  
Having gone through the several steps of military honours

With uninterrupted lustre,

Skill'd in all the arts of war,

The juncture of times, and the crisis of dangers,

In Italy, in Bohemia, in Germany,

An indefatigable general.

He so discharged his important trusts,

That he seemed always equal to still greater.

At length, grown bright with perils,

Sent to secure the province of Canada,

With a handful of men

He more than once repulsed the enemy's forces,

And made himself master of their forts

Replete with troops and ammunition.

Inured to cold, hunger, watchings, and labours,

Unmindful of himself,

He had no sensation but for his soldiers;

An enemy with the fiercest impetuosity,

A victor with the tenderest humanity.

Adverse fortune he compensated with valour,

The want of strength with skill and activity;

And, with his counsel and support,

For four years protracted the impending fate of the colony,

Having with various artifices

Long baffled a great army,

Headed by an expert and intrepid commander,

And a fleet furnished with all warlike stores.

Compelled at length to an engagement,

He fell, in the first rank, in the first onset,

With those hopes of religion which he had always cherished,

To the inexpressible loss of his own army,

And not without the regret of the enemy's,

XIV. September, A.D. MDCCLIX. of his age XLVIII.

His weeping countrymen

Deposited the remains of their excellent general

In a grave,

Which a fallen bomb in bursting had excavated for him,

Recommending them to the generous faith of their enemies.





# CHARACTERS.

*THE illustrious person, some particulars of whose life are the subject of the following piece, was the son of that famous duke of Orleans, whose character is too well known to need any delineation, and too profligate to furnish any example. The son was in every thing, but parts and genius, the very reverse of that father; and applied his great abilities of mind and fortune as faithfully to their proper purposes, as the father had perverted his from that rational end, for which Providence has designed such important gifts. It is hard to conceive a more amiable picture than that of so great a Prince, employed in the pursuit of knowledge and the exercise of piety; and devoting all his time, influence, and fortune, to the honour of his Maker, and the good of his fellow-creatures; rewarding merit and relieving indigence. With whatever peculiarities his religion, country, or constitution may have tinged his character, they will not detract from his example, nor diminish his merit in the eyes of those, who in human beings consider only the great outline and general tenor of their actions, who judge of religion only by its sincerity, and of virtue by its efficacy.*

*The life of Louis, late Duke of Orleans.*

**L**OUIS d'Orleans duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood royal of France, and one of the most pious and most learned princes that

ever lived, was born at Versailles, on the 4th of August, 1703. He was son of Philip, duke of Orleans, afterwards Regent, and of Mary Frances, of Bourbon. He discovered in his very childhood a reverence for religion, a shining genius and enlarged understanding. He was particularly fond of natural philosophy and natural history; but those who had the management of his education, were often obliged to restrain and interrupt his studies, on account of the weakness of his constitution, and the frequent indispositions to which he was subject. At the time his father became regent of France, he made his first appearance at court. After the death of that prince, he married, in 1724, Augusta Maria, of Baden, a princess eminent for her fine qualities, and truly worthy of him. This illustrious couple lived together in the tenderest union, but it was soon unhappily interrupted by death: for the princess died in the year 1726. She was lamented by all ranks of people.

A death so premature, joined with the reflections which the duke of Orleans had already made on that of the regent, made him fully sensible of the vanity of titles, pre-eminence, and earthly enjoyment. He immediately proposed to himself a new plan of life, which he afterwards pursued, dividing his time between the duties peculiar to his rank, the exercises of a christian,



and the study of religion and the sciences. About the year 1730, he took, in the abbey of St. Genevieve, an apartment, small, retired, and inconvenient. He was near the two churches of St. Genevieve and the Mount; wherein he had galleries. This apartment was contiguous to the house of God, which alone was sufficient to make the duke prefer it to the finest palace. He at first retired to it only at the solemn festivals: but resided in it more frequently after the year 1735; and when he left the court in 1743, took up his constant abode there, and went no more to his palace, except to attend the council, from which he seldom absented himself.

After his conversion (for so he called his change of life which began in 1726), he practised the greatest austerities. He slept on a rough straw bed, rose at four o'clock every morning, spent several hours in prayer, drank nothing but water, fasted rigorously, deprived himself almost constantly of fire, even in the most inclement season; austerities these, especially that of taking no wine, which he said sometimes had cost him a great deal of pains. He poured water often into his cup under a pretence to cool it, but indeed through a principle of mortification. His apparel was plain and neat. His furniture and his table were not at all splendid. He was in every thing a pattern of self-denial and piety. He loved to mingle in our churches among the common people. He revered the external rites of religion. He attended divine service regularly, spent five or six hours at church every Sunday, and holiday; and continued so to do even in his last sickness, receiving the

communion, and often attending those who administered it to the sick. He has been seen many times during the Easter week, although troubled with the gout, going up to the fourth or fifth story, after the minister of the parish, who went to administer the sacrament to poor sick people.

Filled with the spirit of prayer, he was sometimes surprised in the innermost recesses of his apartment, prostrate on the ground, and groaning most bitterly. But these devout exercises never made the duke forget the duties of his station. He was assiduous several years at the king's councils, but his indispositions and other reasons made him determine entirely to quit the court. During his recess, however, he lost nothing of his tender attachment and profound respect for the king. It is well known with what concern he heard of his sickness at Metz. When the news was brought him, he shed tears, and hastened to Metz immediately. Perhaps it is to the constancy and fervency of this prince, that France is indebted for the preservation of her king. He was often heard to say: "The king is our master; we are his subjects, and we owe him respect and obedience." The duke of Orleans, full of veneration for the piety of the queen, called it "a piety of the understanding and of the heart." He expressed the greatest joy at the birth of the Dauphin, and he spoke with great complacency of the virtues of the prince, which he said "declared beforehand the happiness of our grand-children." He was constant in his love to her royal highness the duchess of Orleans his mother, who died in 1749; and always shewed the greatest paternal tenderness



ness to his son, the present duke of Orleans. He delighted to hear him spoke of, and it was easy to perceive the joy he felt when the conversation turned on the eminent qualities of this prince, and on the prowess he shewed in the army.

But what must render the memory of the duke ever dear to France, was a most extensive charity, and an enlightened zeal for the public good, and the interests of religion. The indigent, of every age, sex, and condition, were certain to receive relief from him. He heard their complaints every day in one of the halls of the convent of St. Genevieve, he sympathised with them, he alleviated their distresses; when it was not in his power to dismiss them entirely satisfied, one might see that his heart granted them what necessity obliged him to refuse. It is hardly to be imagined what sums this pious prince expended in placing children for education in colleges and nunneries, in portioning young women, endowing nuns, putting boys apprentices, or purchasing for them their freedoms, setting unfortunate tradesmen up in business again, and preventing the ruin of others, maintaining officers in the service, or granting assistance to their widows and children, restoring and supporting noblemen's families, relieving the sick and paying surgeons for their attendance on them. The wounds of some he examined himself, and other poor men he sought himself in the chambers and garrets, attended by only one servant.

The overflowing of the Loire in 1733, having done considerable damage to the country of Orleans, the duke saved, by the immediate relief he afforded them, a number of

families who were perishing; he supplied them with seed for their land; in 1739 and 1740, he set no bounds to his beneficence. On being told that the austerities he practised would impair his health, he would answer with a smile, "it is so much saved for the poor, whom he termed the courtiers of the Lord; *and added*, he would not serve his body at the expence of his soul."

His great mind embraced the needy of all countries. He relieved the poor Catholics of Berlin, and of all Silesia, as well as those of the Indies in America. He sent missionaries to the remotest parts of the world. He founded charity-schools, and communities of men and women in several places, a college at Versailles, a professorship of divinity in the Sorbonne, to explain the original text of the sacred scriptures; he rebuilt colleges and seminaries. At Orleans he established hospitals for lying in women. He employed many skilful surgeons in the service of the poor. He made great improvements in physic, agriculture, arts, and manufactures. He purchased, and made public, a variety of useful remedies. His gardens were filled with medicinal plants of all sorts, brought from the most distant climates.

Nor did his charitable offices obstruct his progress in literature. He applied himself to the study of the writings of St. Thomas, of Esius, of the most excellent religious treatises, of the fathers of the church, and the best ecclesiastical writers, of the Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, and Greek tongues, to convince himself more and more of the fundamental principles of his faith; the œconomy of religion had struck him to such a degree, that he was ever firm



in the faith, and often said, “ that the perusal of impious treatises never excited in him the least doubt of the truth of the christian mysteries, and that the belief of these mysteries never disturbed his mind.” He also devoted some of his time to the study of history, geography, botany, chemistry, natural history, philosophy, and painting, all useful sciences; the progress he made in literature is scarce to be credited. In the seven or eight last years of his life, he could repeat without book the texts of scripture, with the differences between the Hebrew, the Greek, and the Vulgate. He understood the Greek as well as the Latin fathers. He could translate, with ease, the dialogues of Plato and other profane authors. Some, who heretofore would never believe the duke had attained so much knowledge, can now testify the truth of what we have advanced. It must be considered, that he had a quick and piercing genius, and that during the space of twenty-five years he studied many hours every day, chose the best masters in every kind of learning, and conversed with the learned of every country on such subjects as were most familiar to them. He honoured them all with his protection, encouraged them by his favours, and always preferred those whose inquiries tended to the advancement of virtue and the public good. He gave the Abbé Francis a pension, which he has continued in the codicil of his will, explaining thus the motives for so doing: “ being willing,” says he, “ to encourage the Abbé Francis, to whom the public are under great obligations for a modern work upon the proofs of our religion: and being willing to enable him to continue

his so useful labours, I give and bequeath to the said Abbé Francis an annuity of 1500 livres.” Those who excelled in nothing but the belles lettres and in poetry, had seldom access to this prince. An enemy to praise, he feared they might again revive the taste he had for French poetry; for sometimes he had made verses, and received no small praise for them. The Abbé l’Advocate (to whom we are principally indebted for this account) tells us he has seen pieces of his composition, which tho’ elegant and pretty, the duke afterwards threw into the fire. Sensible of the importance of time, he took care to improve every minute. When artists or learned men waited on him, they were admitted into his presence immediately; and if he appointed them to attend a certain hour, and other business would not permit him to see them, he sent his servant to let them know it, and save them the trouble of waiting.

Notwithstanding the immense sums which he dispersed at home and abroad, he discharged the debts of his ancestors, retrieved the exhausted finances, and considerably augmented the demesnes, of his house. Humble and modest in private life, he was splendid and magnificent in public. He went with the utmost pomp into Alsace to marry the queen by proxy. He behaved with becoming dignity when colonel-general of the French infantry. Cheerful and innocent in common conversation, he was ever serious on subjects of importance. He never spoke ill of any absent person, nor would he suffer others to do it in his presence. Ever equitable, even at the expence of his own interest, he thanked a private



vate man, whom he had furnished with money to go to law against himself, and who had gained his cause, for having saved him from the guilt of injustice.

The delight he found in piety and devotion he used thus to express: "I know by experience that sublunary grandeur and sublunary pleasure are delusive and vain; and are always infinitely below the conceptions we form of them; but, on the contrary, such happiness and such complacency may be found in devotion and piety, as the sensual mind has no idea of." His piety was real and solid. "Zeal, he would say, must be enlightened. Zeal and prudence ought ever to go hand in hand."

The duke, being once solicited by a nobleman to discard one of his officers from his service, because he was dissolute in his conduct, and would sometimes inveigh against religion, answered him with spirit: "Learn, sir, that the king ought not to deprive the state of an excellent officer, because his morals are not so good as could be wished, and he has not so great a veneration for religion as one could desire. Immorality and vice should be discouraged as much as possible, but his majesty must not, for things foreign to the service, deprive officers of their employments."

His intense application to study, and his severe abstinence, at last occasioned a long and painful illness; the news of which being spread abroad threw all France into consternation. The church of St. Genevieve was filled with people of all sorts, who offered up fervent prayers for the restoration of his health. The duke foresaw and waited for death with the greatest

fortitude and composure: he spoke of it, as of the demise of another person, to those about him: and in his last will he expatiates in the most pathetic manner on his belief in the resurrection. Notwithstanding his ill health, nobody could persuade him to sleep more than he was used to do; when any one represented that it was absolutely necessary, and that he should change his straw bed for a softer one, he replied, "Physicians have no concern for the soul, they only care for the body. When a man draws near his dissolution, his zeal should increase. 'Tis in the arms of self-denial, that a true christian is to die: I have always made it a part of my penitence to sit in an uneasy posture: I am resolved to persist in it to my last moments, for I have not yet practised mortification enough." In his will he expresses himself much in the same manner. In his last moments, he was solely intent on God, nor did he cease to implore his blessing for the duke of Chartres. "I have a son, (said he to the minister who attended him) whom I am going to commend to the all-perfect Being; I entreat God that his natural virtues may become Christian graces; that the qualities which gain him esteem, may be serviceable to his salvation; that his love for the king, and his love for me, may be the blossoms of that immortal charity, which the holy spirits and blessed angels enjoy."

The duke was steady to the plan he had prescribed for upwards of twenty years. He was ever anxious for the propagation of religion, and for the public good. He died on the 4th of February, 1752, aged forty-eight years and six months,



beloved by good people of all sorts, lamented by the poor, the sick, the unhappy.

He left behind a great number of writings; the chief of which are, 1. A translation and comment on some part of the Old Testament. 2. A literal version of the Psalms, from the original Hebrew, with notes and a paraphrase. This work is the most complete, which our pious and learned prince has left; in his last illness he was employed in it, and finished it but a few days before his death: It is full of great erudition and sound criticism: it contains a number of very curious and useful remarks: In one place he proves clearly, that the Greek annotations on the Psalms, which are found in the Catena of father Cordiers, and go under the name of 'Theodorus of Heraclaea, are of Theodorus of Mopsuest: a discovery which this learned prince first made, and which we must attribute to his deep penetration. 3. Several dissertations against the Jews, to serve as a refutation of the famous Hebrew book, entitled *Kisfuch Emouna*; i. e. *The Buckler of Faith*. The duke of Orleans, not satisfied with Goussier's refutation of this book, undertook to answer it himself, but did not live to complete the design. His manuscript, though incomplete, is far superior to Goussier's. He has examined and refuted the objection of the Jews. 4. A literal translation of the Epistles of St. Paul from the Greek, with a paraphrase, annotations, and useful remarks. 5. A treatise against theatrical exhibitions. 6. A solid resolution of the large French work, entitled the *Hexaples*. 7. Several other treatises and cu-

rious dissertations upon divers subjects. His modesty would never suffer him to publish any of his writings: he bequeathed them, with his library, to the order of Dominican Friars, and by his will, left that order full liberty to add, retrench, suppress, or even employ his writings, as materials in the composition of such works as they might undertake upon the same subjects. For the writings of St. Thomas he had a particular esteem, and this esteem he testifies, even in his last will.

One might easily fill a large volume with a detail of his royal highness's piety, his learning, his charity, and benevolence. It must be observed, however, that what is related in this account is not collected from popular reports. The gentleman, from whom this is taken, was admitted often into his company, from the time of his retirement to his death; and had ocular proof of many things here mentioned.

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*Memoirs of the life, &c. of the late Dr. Benjamin Hoadley, lord bishop of Winchester.*

**T**HIS worthy and illustrious prelate was born in the year 1676. I shall pass over the earlier and more private part of his life, and willingly hasten to that time when the powers of his understanding began to unfold themselves, and to shine forth in the republic of letters.

His first preferment in the church was the rectory of St. Peter le Poor, and the lectureship of St. Mildred's in the Poultry. In the year 1706 he published some remarks on the late Bishop Atterbury's sermon at the



the funeral of Mr. Bennet, in which Dr. Atterbury had, in the opinion of Mr. Hoadley, laid down some dangerous propositions. Two years after, Mr. Hoadley again entered the lists against his formidable antagonist; and in his *exceptions* against a sermon published by Dr. Atterbury, intitled—"The Power of Charity to cover Sin"—he attacked the doctor with his usual strength of reasoning, and dispassionate inquiry, confuted his erroneous opinions without anger, and conquered him without triumph. This, indeed, is allowed by all to be his distinguishing characteristic,—that in all the controversies which he held with his brethren, (and no one, surely, held more), he ever preserved an equanimity of temper—the meek and candid christian never lost in the disputer of this world—cool, calm, and composed, he forgets the man, whilst he is animadverting on the writer, never betrayed into any asperity of expression—any railing accusations, any personal reflections, and misbecoming flights, or those fallies of passion, which, as they give no strength to a bad argument, never add any grace or advantage to a good one. Happy would it be for the cause of religion and truth, if all who engage in controversy would imitate this pattern, and guard against virulence of expression, which, as it cannot tend to elucidate, so neither hath it any connection with, literary controversies—least of all in religious disputes, when the wrath of man cannot be supposed to work the righteousness of God. The reader, I hope, will pardon this small digression, which I was naturally led into, and which is in itself an interesting point.

In 1709, a dispute arose between these two learned combatants, concerning the doctrine of non-resistance, occasioned by a performance of Mr. Hoadley, intitled—*The Measures of Obedience*; some positions in which Dr. Atterbury endeavoured to confute, in his elegant Latin sermon, preached that year before the London clergy. In this debate Mr. Hoadley signalized himself in so eminent a degree, that the honourable house of commons gave him a particular mark of their regard, by representing, in an address to the queen, the signal services he had done to the cause of civil and religious liberty.

The principles, however, which he espoused, being repugnant to the general temper of those times, drew on him the virulence of a party; yet it was at this period [1710] (when, as he himself expressed it, *fury seemed to be let loose upon him*), that the late Mrs. Howland presented him to the rectory of Streat-ham, in Surry, which (as he expresses it in the last debt of gratitude that he paid to her memory, May 1719) was a more distinguishing mark of her regard, in that she presented it to him unasked,—unapplied to,—without his either having seen her, or been seen by her; To shew that, in her own expression (says he), she was neither ashamed nor afraid to give me that public mark of her regard, at that critical time.

Soon after the accession of king George I. Dr. Hoadley was consecrated to the see of Bangor; and in 1717, having broached some opinions concerning the nature of Christ's kingdom, &c. he again became the object of popular clamour, and was in a more particular man-



ner exposed to the rage of his brethren \*. At this juncture he was distinguished by another particular mark of the royal regards, by means of which the convocation was successively prorogued, and it was not permitted to sit, nor do any business, till that resentment was entirely subsided.

In 1721, he was translated to Hereford, and from thence, in 1723, to Salisbury.

When the posthumous works of Dr. Samuel Clarke were published in 1732, this prelate prefixed some account of the life, writings, and character of the author, and in the conclusion expresses himself thus:—"Having thus paid this last duty to the memory of this excellent man, which I could not but esteem a debt to such a benefactor to the cause of religion and learning united, and, as these works of his must last as long as any language remains to convey them to future times, perhaps I may flatter myself, that this faint and imperfect account of him may be transmitted down with them; and I hope, it will be thought a pardonable piece of ambition and self-interestedness, if, fearful lest every thing else should prove too weak to keep the remembrance of myself in being, I lay hold of his fame to prop and support my own. I am sure, as I have little reason to expect, that any thing of mine, without such an assistance, can live, I shall think myself greatly recompensed, for the want of any other memorial, if my name may go down to posterity, thus closely joined to his, and I myself be thought of, and spoke of, in ages to come, under the character of the friend of Dr. Clarke."

Perhaps this may be looked upon by some, rather as an over-strained mark of diffidence and humility, as the bishop might very well be supposed to need no other testimony than his own works, in order to go down to posterity, and to live in the voice and memory of men—but this mark of singular condescension must be chiefly imputed to a zeal for those tenets which the doctor so warmly patronized. In 1734, bishop Hoadley was translated to Winchester, (on the demise of Dr. Willis), and published his *Plain Account of the Sacrament*; a performance which served as a butt for his adversaries to shoot at, against which they pointed their arrows, and levelled their artillery; yet impartiality owns it to be clear, rational, and manly, wrote with great candour and judgment, and suited to the capacity of every serious and considerate enquirer after truth. His sermons (published in 1754 and 1755) are esteemed inferior to few writings in the English language, for plainness and perspicuity, energy and strength of reasoning, and a free and masterly manner.

Having now gone through the principal parts of his life and writings, I come to speak of his private character; and here there is one particular with regard to his lordship, which is worthy of observation, and that is—he was not always happy in the objects on whom he conferred his favours; I shall mention three instances to confirm this remark—Sagier—Pillonier—Fournier. The first, the bishop himself told me, proved highly unworthy of his regard. The second (whom he honoured with particular marks of

\* Dr. Snape and Dr. Sherlock were the chief of them.



regard) the bishop owns (in his letter to M. Chevalier, published in 1758) did not act agreeable to the obligations he had received. The last instance is too recent to need any mention here. These serve only to shew the natural philanthropy of his temper and disposition, prone to hospitality and munificence,—that charity which hopeth all things, and believeth all things, which, being a stranger to guilt itself, is laid open to the treachery of others. The accuracy with which the bishop drew up an account of the behaviour of Fournier, (in that letter before mentioned), is a strong proof, that, in such an advanced age, he still retained the exercise of his mental powers in full vigour, and that the natural force of his intellectual faculties was not abated.”

I come now to the last period of his life: he died (April 17, 1761) satisfied with a long life, equally full of days \* and honour, and with a pleasing prospect of the salvation which God had shewed him. His writings in favour of civil and religious liberty, will render his memory dear to this nation, as long as the love of freedom is the characteristic of Britons; and his name will always be mentioned with honour, by every friend to religion, learning, truth, and virtue.

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*Some account of the late Dr. Thomas Sherlock, who died June 18, 1761, aged 84. Extracted from his funeral sermon, preached by Dr. Nicolls, master of the Temple.*

HE was the son of a most eminent father, who was no less distinguished in the last age, than the son

has been in this.—And what is very remarkable, this place † has enjoyed the benefit of their instruction for more than 70 years.—Here give me leave to observe a similitude of circumstances between his son and him. It pleased God to prolong the son's days, even beyond those of his father, to preserve to him his great understanding, and to give him leisure to review his incomparable *Discourses*, and to make them fit for the reception which the world has given them. He too has had his controversies, and those carried on with warmth and spirit; but without any injury to his temper, or any interruption to his thoughts and mind. His father lived in more difficult times, had much to struggle with, and perhaps had more of labour in his composition. The son was more bright and brilliant, and carried a greater compass of thought and genius along with him. The one wrote with great care and circumspection, as having many adversaries to contend with; the other with greater ease and freedom, as rising superior to all opposition.—Indeed, the son had much the advantage of his father, in respect to the time and other circumstances of his life, not to say, what I believe must be owned by all, that his natural abilities and talents were much greater.—He was made master of the Temple very young, upon the resignation of his father, and was obliged to apply himself closely to business, and take infinite pains to qualify himself for that honourable employment; which he effectually did in the course of a few years, and became one of the most celebrated preachers of that time.

In this station he continued many

\* *Ætat.* 85.

† The Temple.

years,



years, preaching constantly, rightly dividing the word of God, and promoting the salvation of souls. For his preaching was with power; not only in the weight of his words and arguments, but in the force and energy with which it was delivered. For though his voice was not melodious, but accompanied rather with a thickness of speech, yet were his words uttered with so much propriety, and with such strength and vehemence, that he never failed to take possession of his whole audience, and secure their attention. This powerful delivery of words, so weighty and important, as his always were, made a strong impression upon the minds of his hearers, and was not soon forgot. And I doubt not but many of you still remember, the excellent instruction you have heard from him to your great comfort.

About this time also it was, that he published his much admired discourses upon the *Use and Intent of Prophecy*, which did so much service to the cause of Christianity, then openly attacked by some daring unbelievers.

Upon the accession of his late majesty to the throne, he was soon distinguished; and, with another truly eminent divine, [bishop Hare] advanced to the bench, where he sat with great lustre for many years; in matters of difficulty and nice discernment serving his king and country, and the church over which he presided, with uncommon zeal and prudence. Indeed such was his discretion and nice judgment, that all ranks of persons were desirous of knowing his opinion in every case, and by his quick and solid judgment of things he was able to do great good to many individuals, and

very signal services to his country.

All this time, while he was taken up in the business of the nation to which he was advanced, yet continued to preach to his congregation during term; and in vacation constantly went down to visit and to reside in his diocese, where he spent his time in the most exemplary manner; in a decent hospitality; in repairing his churches and houses, wherever he went; conversing with his clergy; and giving them and their people proper directions, as the circumstances of things required.

And thus did this great man lay himself out for the public good, always busy, always employed, long as God gave him health and strength to go through those various and important offices of life, which were committed to his care.

But now, though his mind and understanding remained in full vigour, infirmities of body began to creep very fast upon him. And then it was that he declined, when offered him, the highest honours of this church, because he was sensible through the infirmities he felt, he should never be able to give that personal attendance, which that great office requires. And this also induced him afterwards to accept the charge of this diocese wherein we live, because his business would be at home and about him, and would require no long journey, for which he found himself very unfit. And certain it is, that for the first three or four years he applied himself closely to business, and made one general visitation of his diocese in person: nay, he extended his care to parts abroad, and began his correspondence there, which would have



have been very useful to the church, his health had permitted him to carry it on; but about that time it pleased God to visit him with a very dangerous illness, from which indeed he recovered, but with almost the total loss of the use of his limbs; and soon after his speech failing him, he was constrained to give over the exercise of his function and office, and was even deprived of the advantages of a free conversation.

But though he was thus obliged to provide for the ministerial office, yet he still took care himself for the dispatch of business. For the mind was yet vigorous and strong in this weak body, and partook of none of its infirmities. He never parted with the administration of things out of his own hands, but required an exact account of every thing that was transacted; and where the business was of importance and consequence enough, he would dictate letters, and give directions about it himself. Under all his infirmities, his soul broke through like the sun from the cloud, and was visible to every eye. There was a dignity in his aspect and countenance to the very last. His reason sat enthroned with him, and no one could approach him without having his mind filled with that respect and veneration that was due to so great a character.

His learning was very extensive. God had given him a great and an understanding mind, a quick comprehension, and a solid judgment. These advantages of nature he improved by much industry and application; and in the early part of his life he read and digested well the ancient authors both Greek and Latin, the philosophers, poets, and

orators; from whence he acquired that correct and elegant style, which appears in all his compositions. His knowledge in divinity was obtained from the study of the most rational writers of the church, both ancient and modern; and he was particularly fond of comparing scripture with scripture, and especially of illustrating the epistles and writings of the apostles, which he thought wanted to be more studied, and of which we have some specimens in his own discourses. His skill in the civil and canon law was very considerable; to which he added such a knowledge of the common law of England, as few clergymen attain to. This it was that gave him that influence in all cases where the church was concerned, as knowing precisely what it had to claim from its constitutions and canons, and what from the common law of the land.

His piety was constant and exemplary, and breathed the true spirit of the gospel. His zeal was warm and fervent in explaining the great doctrines and duties of Christianity, and in maintaining and establishing it upon the most solid and sure foundations.

His munificence and charity was large and diffusive, not confined to particulars, but extended in general to all that could make out any just claim to it.

The instances of his public charities, both in his life-time and at his death, are great, and like himself. He hath given large sums of money to the corporation of clergymen's sons, to several of the hospitals, and to the society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts. And, at the instance of the said society, he consented to print at his own



own charge an impression of 2000 sets of his valuable *Discourses*, at a very considerable expence. And they have been actually sent to all the islands and colonies of America. And by the care of the governors and clergy, it is hoped by this time, that they are all properly distributed among the people of their respective colonies, to their great improvement in the knowledge of rational and practical christianity. And to mention one instance more of his great charity and care for the education of youth, he hath given to Catherine-hall, in Cambridge, the place of his education, his valuable library of books; and, in his lifetime, and at his death, donations for the founding a librarian's place, and a scholarship, to the amount of several thousand pounds.

Besides these and many other public instances of his charity and munificence which might be mentioned, the private flow of his bounty to many individuals was constant and regular; and upon all just occasions he was ever ready to stretch forth his hand towards the needy and afflicted: of which no one can bear testimony better than myself, whom he often employed as the distributor of it.

He was indeed a person of great candour and humanity, had a tender feeling of distress, and was easily touched with the misfortunes of others. No man was ever more happy in domestic life, and no one could shew greater gentleness, goodness, and affection to all around him. To his servants he was a kind and tender master; he knew how to reward fidelity and diligence; especially in those who had been long in his service. They were careful over him, and he remem-

bered their care by leaving a largesum among them who had been nearest about him during his illness.

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*Some account of the late Henry Fielding, Esq.*

**H**ENRY Fielding was born at Sharpham Park in Somersetshire, near Glastonbury, April 22 1707. His father, Edmund Fielding served in the wars under the duke of Marlborough, and arrived to the rank of lieutenant-general at the latter end of George I. or the beginning of George II. His mother was the daughter of judge Gould, the grandfather of the present Sir Henry Gould, one of the barons of the Exchequer. By these his parents he had four sisters, Catharine, Ursula, Sarah, and Beatrice; and one brother, Edmund, who was an officer in the marine service. Sarah Fielding, his third sister, is well known to the literary world by many elegant performances. Our author's mother having paid her debt to nature, lieutenant-general Fielding married a second time, and the issue of that marriage were six sons, George, James, Charles, John, William, and Basil, all dead, excepting John, who is at present in the commission of the peace for Middlesex, Surrey, Essex, and the liberties of Westminster. Henry Fielding received the first rudiments of his education at home, under the care of the Rev. Mr. Oliver, of whom he has given a very humorous and striking portrait in Joseph Andrews, under the name of parson Trulliber. From Mr. Oliver's care he was removed to Eton School, where he became acquainted with lord



rd Lyttelton, Mr. Fox, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Charles Hanbury Williams, the late Mr. Winnington, &c. When he left this great seminary, he was said to be uncommonly versed in the Greek and Latin classics; for both which he ever retained a strong admiration. From Eton he was sent to Leyden, and there he studied the civilians for about two years. Remittances failing, at the age of twenty, or thereabout, he returned from Leyden to London, where, though under age, he found himself his own master; from that source flowed all the inconveniencies that attended him throughout the remainder of his life. The brilliancy of his wit, the vivacity of his humour, and his high elish of social enjoyment, soon brought him into request with the men of taste and literature, and with the voluptuous of all ranks. His finances were not answerable to the frequent draughts made upon him by the extravagance which naturally followed. He was allowed, indeed, 200*l.* a year by his father, but, as he himself used to say, any body might pay it that would. The fact was, general Fielding having married again soon after the death of our author's mother, had so large an increase of family, and that too so quick, that he could not spare any considerable disbursements for the maintenance of his eldest son. Of this truth Henry Fielding was sensible, and he was therefore, in whatever difficulties he might be involved, never wanting in filial duty, which, his nearest relations agree, was a shining part of his character. Disappointments, indeed, were observed to provoke him into occasional peevishness, and severity of animadversion: but his general

temper was remarkably gay, and for the most part overflowing into wit, mirth, and good humour. As he disdained all littleness of spirit, wherever he met with it in his dealings with the world, his indignation was apt to rise; and as he was of a penetrating discernment, he could always develope selfishness, mistrust, pride, avarice, interested friendship, the ungenerous, and the unfeeling temper, however plausibly disguised; and as he could read them to the bottom, so he could likewise assault them with the keenest strokes of spirited and manly satire. Disagreeable impressions never continued long upon his mind; his imagination was fond of seizing every gay prospect, and, in his worst adversities, filled him with sanguine hopes of a better situation. To obtain this, he flattered himself that he should find his resources in his wit and invention; and accordingly he commenced a writer for the stage in the year 1727, being then about twenty years of age.

His first dramatic piece soon after adventured into the world, and was called *Love in several Masques*. It immediately succeeded the *Provok'd Husband*, a play, which, for the continued space of twenty-eight nights, received as great and as just applauses, as ever were bestowed on the English stage. Notwithstanding these obstacles, Fielding's play was favourably received. His second play, the *Temple Beau*, appeared the year after. From the year 1727, to the end of 1736, almost all his plays and farces were written, not above two or three having appeared since that time; so that he produced about eighteen theatrical performances, plays and farces included,



cluded, before he was quite thirty years old. Though in the plan of his pieces he is not always regular, yet he is often happy in his diction and style: and in every groupe that he has exhibited, there are to be seen particular delineations that will amply recompense the attention bestowed upon them. The comedy of the *Miser*, which he has mostly taken from Moliere, has maintained its ground upon the stage ever since it was first performed, and has the value of a copy from a great painter by an eminent hand. If the comedy of *Pasquin* was restored to the stage, it would perhaps be a favourite entertainment with our audiences. It is said, that the wit and humour of our modern Aristophanes, Mr. Fielding, whose quarry in some of his pieces, particularly the *Historical Register*, was higher game than in prudence he should have chosen, were principal instruments that occasioned that law, which subjected all new pieces to the inspection of a licenser.

In the comedy called *Rape upon Rape, or the Coffee house Politician*, we have an admirable draught of a character very common in this country, namely, a man who is smitten with an insatiable thirst for news, and concerns himself more about the balance of power than of his books. The folly of these statesmen out of place is there exhibited with a masterly ridicule: and indeed in all the plays of our author, however in some respects deficient, there are strokes of humour and half-length paintings, not excelled by some of the ablest artists. His farces were almost all of them very successful, and many of them are still acted every winter with ap-

probation. They were generally the production of two or three mornings. It need not be observed, in justification of their being preserved in the same collection with his more important works, that farce is deemed by our best critics an appendage of the theatre, as well as pieces of a higher nature. A learned and excellent critic (the Rev. Mr. Hurd) has given it a full consideration in his *Dissertation on the several Provinces of the Drama*. "The representations, says he, of common nature may either be taken accurately, so as to reflect a *faithful and exact image* of their original, which alone is that I would call Comedy; or they may be forced and overcharged above the simple and just proportions of *nature*; as when the excesses of a *few* are given for *standing* characters, when not the men (in *general*) but the *passion*, is described; or when, in the draught of the man, the leading *feature* is extended beyond measure; and in these cases the representation holds of the province of farce." *The Lottery, the Intriguing Chambermaid, and the Virgin Unmask'd*, besides the real entertainment they afford, had on their first appearance this additional merit, that they served to make early discoveries of that true comic genius which was then dawning forth in Mrs. Clive.

So early as when he was at Leyden, Mr. Fielding made some efforts towards a comedy in the sketch of *Don Quixote in England*. When he left that place, and settled in London, a variety of characters attracted his notice, and of course served to strengthen his favourite inclination; the inconsistencies that flow from vanity, from affectation, from



om hypocrisy, from pretended friendship, and, in short, all the dissimulant qualities, which are often whimsically blended together by the folly of men, could not fail to strike a person who had so fine a sense of ridicule: and accordingly we find that he never seems so happy, when he is developing a character made up of motley and repugnant properties. To search out and to describe objects of this kind, seems to have been the favourite bent of his mind, and from his happy descriptions of the manners, he may justly be pronounced an admirable comic Genius in the largest acceptance of the phrase, implying humorous and pleasant imitation of men and manners, whether in the way of fabulous narration, or of dramatic composition. In the former species of writing lay the excellence of Mr. Fielding: in dramatic imitation he must be allowed to fall short of the great masters in that art.

An ingenious writer (Mr. Hurd) has passed a judgment upon Ben Jonson, which, though Fielding did not attain the same dramatic eminence; may be justly applied to him. "His taste for ridicule was strong, but indelicate, which made him not over-curious in the choice of his topics. His *style* in picturing characters, though masterly, was without that elegance of hand, which is required to correct and amplify the force of so bold a colouring. Thus the bias of his nature leading him to Plautus rather than Terence, for his model, it is not to be wondered that his wit is too frequently caustic, his raillery coarse, and his humour excessive."

This want of refinement seems to have been principally owing to the

woundings which every fresh disappointment gave Fielding, before he was yet well disciplined in the school of life: and perhaps too the asperity of his Muse was not a little encouraged by the practice of two great wits, who had fallen into the same vein before him; I mean Wycherley and Congreve, who were not fond of copying the amiable part of human life. In his style, Mr. Fielding derived an error from the same source: he sometimes forgot that humour and ridicule were the two principal ingredients of comedy; and, like Congreve, he frequently aimed at decorations of wit, which do not appear to make part of the *ground*, but seem rather to be embroidered upon it.

There is another circumstance respecting the drama, in which Fielding's judgment seems to have failed him: the strength of his genius certainly lay in fabulous narration; and he did not sufficiently consider that some incidents of a story, which when related, may be worked up into a deal of pleasantry and humour, are apt, when thrown into action, to excite sensations incompatible with humour and ridicule.

To these causes of his failure in the province of the drama, may be added, that sovereign contempt he always entertained for the understandings of the generality of mankind. It was in vain to tell him, that a particular scene was dangerous on account of its coarseness, or because it retarded the general business with feeble efforts of wit; he doubted the discernment of his auditors, and so thought himself secured by their stupidity, if not by his own humour and vivacity. A very remarkable instance of this disposition appeared, when the comedy



medy of *the Wedding-Day* was put into rehearsal. An actor, who was principally concerned in the piece, and, though young, was then, by the advantage of happy requisites, an early favourite of the public, told Mr. Fielding he was apprehensive that the audience would make free with him in a particular passage; adding, that a repulse might so flurry his spirits as to disconcert him for the rest of the night, and therefore begged that it might be omitted. "No, d—mn 'em, replied the bard, if the scene is not a good one, let them find *that* out." Accordingly the play was brought on without alteration, and, just as had been foreseen, the disapprobation of the house was provoked at the passage before objected to; and the performer, alarmed and uneasy at the hisses he had met with, retired into the green-room, where the author was solacing himself with a bottle of champaign. He had by this time drank pretty plentifully; and cocking his eye at the actor, while streams of tobacco trickled down from the corner of his mouth, "What's the matter, Garrick?" says he, "what are they hissing now?" "Why the scene that I begged you to retrench; I knew it would not do, and they have so frightened me, that I shall not be able to collect myself again the whole night." "O! d—mn 'em, replies the author, they *have* found it out, have they?"

If we add to the foregoing remarks an observation of his own, namely, that he left off writing for the stage, when he ought to have begun; and together with this consider his extreme hurry and dispatch, we shall be able fully to account for his not bearing a more distinguished

place in the rank of dramatic writers. It is apparent, that in the frame and constitution of his genius there was no defect, but some faculty or other was suffered to lie dormant, and the rest of course were exerted with less efficacy: at one time we see his wit superseding all his other talents; at another his invention runs riot, and multiplies incidents and characters in a manner repugnant to all the received laws of the drama. Generally his judgment was very little consulted. And indeed, how could it be otherwise? When he had contracted to bring on a play, or a farce, he would go home rather late from a tavern, and would, the next morning, deliver a scene to the players written upon the papers which had wrapped the tobacco in which he was so much delighted.

Though it was the lot of Henry Fielding to write always with a view to profit, he derived but small aids towards his subsistence from the treasurer of the play-house. One of his farces he has printed as it was *damned* at the theatre-royal in Drury-lane; and that he might be *more generous to his enemies than they were willing to be to him*, he informs them, in the general preface to his miscellanies, that for *the Wedding-Day*, though acted six nights, his profits from the house did not exceed fifty pounds. A fate not much better attended him in his earlier productions; but the severity of the public, and the malice of his enemies met with a noble alleviation from the patronage of the late duke of Richmond, John duke of Argyll, the late duke of Roxburgh, and many persons of distinguished rank and character among whom may be numbered the present



present lord Lyttelton, whose friendship to our author softened the rigour of his misfortunes while he lived, and exerted itself towards his memory when he was no more, by taking pains to clear up imputations of a particular kind, which had been thrown out against his character.

Mr. Fielding had not been long a writer for the stage, when he married Miss Craddock, a beauty from Salisbury. About that time his mother dying, a moderate estate at Stower in Dorsetshire devolved to him. To that place he retired with his wife, on whom he doted, with a resolution to bid adieu to all the follies and intemperances of a town-life. But unfortunately a kind of family-pride here gained an ascendant over him, and he began immediately to vie in splendor with the neighbouring country squires. With an estate not much above two hundred pounds a year, and his wife's fortune, which did not exceed fifteen hundred pounds, he encumbered himself with a large retinue of servants all clad in costly yellow liveries. For their master's honour, these people could not descend so low as to be careful in their apparel, but in a month or two were unfit to be seen; the squire's dignity required that they should be new equipped; and his chief pleasure consisting in society and convivial mirth, hospitality threw open his doors, and in less than three years, entertainments, hounds, and horses, entirely devoured a little patrimony, which, had it been managed with œconomy, might have secured to him a state of independence for the rest of his life. Sensible of the disagreeable situation he had now reduced himself to, he immediately

determined to exert his best endeavours to recover, what he had wantonly thrown away, a decent competence; and being then about thirty years of age, he betook himself to the study of the law. The friendships he met with from some, who have since risen to be the first ornaments of the law, will for ever do honour to his memory. His application, while he was a student in the Temple, was remarkably intense: he has been frequently known by his intimates, to retire late at night from a tavern to his chambers, and there read, and make extracts from the most abstruse authors, for several hours before he went to bed. After the customary time of probation at the Temple, he was called to the bar. He attended with assiduity both in term-time and on the western circuit, as long as his health permitted; but the gout soon rendered it impossible for him to be as constant at the bar as the laboriousness of his profession required: he could only now follow the law by snatches, at such intervals as were free from indisposition; which could not but be a dispiriting circumstance, as he saw himself at once disabled from ever rising to the eminence he aspired to. However, under the severities of pain and want, he still pursued his researches with an eagerness of curiosity peculiar to him; and tho' it is wittily remarked by Wycherly, that Apollo and Littleton seldom meet in the same brain, yet Mr. Fielding is allowed to have acquired a respectable share of jurisprudence, and in some particular branches he is said to have arisen to a great degree of eminence, more especially in crown-law, as may be judged from his leaving two volumes in



folio upon that subject \*. This work remains still unpublished in the hands of his brother, Sir John Fielding; and by him I am informed that it is deemed perfect in some parts. It will serve to give us an idea of the great force and vigour of his mind, if we consider him pursuing so arduous a study under the exigencies of family-distress, with a wife and children, whom he tenderly loved, looking up to him for subsistence, with a body lacerated by the acutest pains, and with a mind distracted with a thousand avocations, and obliged for immediate supply to produce almost extempore a play, a farce, a pamphlet, or a news-paper. A large number of fugitive political tracts, which had their value when the incidents were actually passing on the great scene of business, came from his pen: the periodical paper, called *The Champion*, owed its chief support to his abilities; and though his essays in that collection cannot now be ascertained, yet the reputation arising to him at the time of publication was not inconsiderable. It does not appear that he ever wrote much poetry: correct versification probably required more pains and time than his exigencies would allow. In the preface to his *Miscellanies* he tells us, that his poetical pieces were mostly written when he was very young, and were productions of the heart rather than of the head. He adds, that this

branch of writing is what he very little pretended to, and was very little his pursuit. Accordingly, out of the new edition of his works, which was intended to consist entirely of pieces more highly finished than his works of mere amusement generally are, his verses are all discarded.

In the progress of Henry Fielding's talents there seem to have been three remarkable periods; one, when his genius broke forth at once, with an effulgence superior to all the rays of light it had before emitted, like the sun in his morning glory; the second, when it was displayed with collected force, and a fulness of perfection, like the sun in meridian majesty; and the third, when the same genius, grown more cool and temperate, still continued to cheer and enliven, but shewed at the same time that it was tending to its decline, like the same sun, abating from his ardour, but still gilding the western hemisphere.

To these three epochas of our author's genius, there is an exact correspondence in the *Joseph Andrews*, *Tom Jones*, and *Amelia*. It will not be improper here to mention, that the reverend Mr. Young, a learned and much esteemed friend of Mr. Fielding's, sat for parson Adams. Mr. Young was remarkable for his intimate acquaintance with the Greek authors, and had as passionate a veneration for Æschylus as Parson Adams; the over-

\* The gentlemen of the western circuit have a tradition concerning Fielding, which, though somewhat inconsistent with the account that Mr. M. has given of him, yet is perfectly agreeable to the idea generally entertained of his humour and character. Having attended the judges two or three years without the least prospect of success, he published proposals for a new law-book: which being circulated round the country, the young barrister was, at the ensuing assizes, loaded with briefs at every town on the circuit.—But his practice thus suddenly increased, almost as suddenly declined.



flowings of his benevolence were as strong, and his fits of *reverie* were as frequent, and occurred too upon the most interesting occasions. Of this last observation, a singular instance is given by a gentleman who served, during the last war in Flanders, in the very same regiment to which Mr. Young was chaplain. On a fine summer's evening, he thought proper to indulge himself in his love of a solitary walk; and accordingly he sallied forth from his tent: the beauties of the hemisphere, and the landscape round him, pressed warmly on his imagination; his heart overflowed with benevolence to all God's creatures, and gratitude to the Supreme Dispenser of that emanation of glory which covered the face of things. It is very possible that a passage in his dearly beloved *Æschylus* occurred to his memory on this occasion, and seduced his thoughts into a profound meditation. Whatever was the object of his reflections, certain it is, that something did powerfully seize his imagination, so as to preclude all attention to things that lay immediately before him: and, in that deep fit of absence, Mr. Young proceeded on his journey, till he arrived very quietly and calmly in the enemy's camp, where he was, with difficulty, brought to a recollection of himself by the repetition of *Qui va là?* from the soldiers upon duty. The officer who commanded, finding that he had strayed thither in the undesigning simplicity of his heart, and seeing an innate goodness in his prisoner, which commanded his respect, very politely gave him leave to pursue his contemplations home again.

Soon after the publication of *Joseph Andrews*, Fielding's last co-

medy, the *Wedding-Day*, was exhibited on the stage; and, as we have already observed, it was attended with an indifferent share of success. The law from this time had its hot and cold fits with him. The repeated shocks of illness disabled him from being as assiduous an attendant at the bar, as his own inclination, and patience of the most laborious application, would otherwise have made him. Besides the demands for expence, which his valetudinarian habit of body constantly made upon him, he had likewise a family to maintain; from business he derived little or no supplies, and his prospects therefore grew every day more gloomy and melancholy. To these discouraging circumstances, if we add the infirmity of his wife, whom he loved tenderly, and the agonies he felt on her account, the measure of his afflictions will be well nigh full. To see her daily languishing and wearing away before his eyes, was too much for a man of his strong sensations; the fortitude of mind with which he met all the other calamities of life, deserted him on this most trying occasion; and her death, which happened about this time, brought on such a vehemence of grief, that his friends began to think him in danger of losing his reason. When the first emotions of his sorrow were abated, he began again to struggle with his fortune. He engaged in two periodical papers successively; the first of these was called *The True Patriot*, which was set on foot during the late rebellion, and was conducive to the excitement of loyalty, and a love for the constitution, in the breasts of his countrymen. The *Jacobite Journal* was calculated to discredit the



shattered remains of an unsuccessful party, and, by a well-applied raillery and ridicule, to bring the sentiments of the disaffected into contempt.

By this time Fielding had attained the age of forty-three; and being incessantly pursued by reiterated attacks of the gout, he was wholly rendered incapable of pursuing the business of a barrister any longer. He was obliged therefore to accept the office of an acting magistrate in the commission of the peace for Middlesex, with a yearly pension out of the public-service money. That he was not inattentive to the calls of his duty, is evident from the many tracts he published relating to several of the penal laws, and to the vices and mal-practices which those laws were intended to restrain; particularly a *Charge* to the grand jury, delivered at Westminster on the 29th of June, 1749, and the *Enquiry into the Cause of the Increase of Robberies, and a Proposal for the Maintenance of the Poor*.

Amidst these severe exercises of his understanding, and all the laborious duties of his office, his invention could not lie still; but he found leisure to amuse himself, and afterwards the world, with the *History of Tom Jones*. And now we are arrived at the second grand epoch of Mr. Fielding's genius, when all his faculties were in perfect unison, and conspired to produce a complete work, eminent in all the great essentials of composition, in fable, character, senti-

ment, and elocution; and as these could not be all united in so high an assemblage, without a rich invention, a fine imagination, an enlightened judgment, and a lively wit, we may fairly here decide his character, and pronounce him the English Cervantes. It may be added, that in many parts of the *Tom Jones* we find he possessed the softest graces of character-painting, and of description: many situations and sentiments are touched with a delicate hand, and throughout the work he seems to feel as much delight in describing the amiable parts of human nature, as in his early days he had in exaggerating the strong and harsh features of turpitude and deformity. This circumstance breathes an air of philanthropy through his work.

Thus have we traced our author in his progress to the time when the vigour of his mind was in its full growth of perfection; from this period it sunk, but by slow degrees, into a decline: *Amelia*, which succeeded *Tom Jones* in about four years, has indeed the marks of genius; but of a genius beginning to fall into its decay. *Amelia* is the *Odyssey*, the moral and pathetic work, of Henry Fielding\*.

While he was planning and executing this piece, it should be remembered, that he was distracted by that multiplicity of avocation which surround a public magistrate, and his constitution, now greatly impaired and enfeebled, was labouring under the attacks of the gout, which were, of course, severer than

\* *Amelia*, in the new edition of Mr. Fielding's works, is printed from a copy corrected by the author's own hand. The exceptionable passages, which inadvertency had thrown out, are here retrenched; and the work, upon the whole, will be found nearer perfection than it was in its original state.



ever. However, the activity of his mind was not to be subdued. One literary pursuit was no sooner over, than fresh game arose. A periodical paper, under the title of *The Covent Garden Journal*, by Sir Alexander Drawcanfir, Knight, and Censor General of Great Britain, was immediately set on foot. It was published twice in every week, viz. on Tuesday and Saturday, and conducted so much to the entertainment of the public, that it was felt with a general regret that the author's health did not enable him to persist in the undertaking any longer. Soon after this work was dropt, by the advice of physicians Mr. Fielding set out for Lisbon: the last gleams of his wit and humour sparkled in the account he left behind him of his *Voyage to that place*. In this his last sketch he puts us in mind of a person, under sentence of death, jesting on the scaffold: for his strength was now quite exhausted; and in about two months after his arrival at Lisbon, he yielded his last breath, in the year 1754, and in the forty-eighth year of his age.

He left behind him (for he married a second time) a wife, and four children, three of which are still living, and are now training up in a handsome course of education under the care of their uncle, with the aid of a very generous donation, given annually by Ralph Allen, Esq; for that purpose. An instance of humanity, which the reader did not want to learn of him, whose life is a constant effusion of munificence; but for the sake of the writer, whose works have afforded such exquisite entertainment, he will be glad to know that the generous patron of the father is

now the tender guardian of his orphans.

Thus was closed a course of dis-appointment, distress, vexation, infirmity, and study; for with each of these his life was variously chequered, and, perhaps, in stronger proportions than has been the lot of many. We have seen how Mr. Fielding very soon squandered away his small patrimony, which, with œconomy, might have procured him independence: we have seen how he ruined, into the bargain, a constitution, which, in its original texture, seemed formed to last much longer. When illness and indigence were once let in upon him, he no longer remained the master of his own actions; and that nice delicacy of conduct, which alone constitutes and preserves a character, was occasionally obliged to give way. When he was not under the immediate urgency of want, they who were intimate with him are ready to aver, that he had a mind greatly superior to any thing mean or little; when his finances were exhausted, he was not the most elegant in the choice of the means to redress himself, and he would instantly exhibit a farce or a puppet-show in the Hay market theatre, which was *wholly inconsistent with the profession he had embarked in*. But his intimates can witness how much his pride suffered, when he was forced into measures of this kind; no man having a juster sense of propriety, or more honourable ideas of the employment of an author and a scholar.

Henry Fielding was in stature rather rising above six feet; his frame of body large, and remarkably robust, till the gout had broke the vigour of his constitution. His



friend Hogarth, to whom he often promised to sit, and for whom he has left us in his writings many beautiful memorials of his affection, had long laboured to try if he could bring out any likeness of him from images existing in his own fancy; and just as he was despairing of success, for want of some rule to go by in the dimensions and outlines of the face, fortune threw the grand *desideratum* in the way. A lady, with a pair of scissors, had cut a profile, which gave the distances and proportions of his face sufficiently to restore the artist's lost ideas of him. Glad of an opportunity of paying this last tribute to the memory of an author whom he admired, Mr. Hogarth caught at this outline with pleasure, and worked with all the attachment of friendship till he finished an excellent drawing, which stands at the head of the new edition of his works.

Mr. Murphy gives the character of Fielding in the following terms: His passions, as the poet expresses it, *were trembling alive all o'er*: whatever he desired, he desired ardently; he was alike impatient of disappointment or ill usage, and the same quickness of sensibility rendered him elate in prosperity, and overflowing with gratitude at every instance of friendship or generosity: steady in his private attachments, his affection was warm, sincere, and vehement; in his resentments he was manly, but temperate, seldom breaking out in his writings into gratifications of ill-humour, or personal satire. It is to the honour of those whom he loved, that he had too much penetration to be deceived in their characters; and it is to the advantage

of his enemies, that he was above passionate attacks upon them. Open, unbounded, and social in his temper, he knew no love of money; but inclining to excess even in his very virtues, he pushed his contempt of avarice into the opposite extreme of imprudence and prodigality. When young in life he had a moderate estate, he soon suffered hospitality to devour it; and when in the latter end of his days he had an income of four or five hundred a year, he knew no use of money, but to keep his table open to those who had been his friends when young, and had impaired their own fortunes. Tho' disposed to gallantry by his strong animal spirits, and the vivacity of his passions, he was remarkable for tenderness and constancy to his wife, and the strongest affection for his children. Of sickness and poverty he was singularly patient, and under the pressure of those evils he would quietly read *Cicero de Consolatione*; but if either of them threatened his wife, he was impetuous for her relief: and thus often from his virtues arose his imperfections. A sense of honour he had as lively and delicate as most men; but sometimes his passions were too turbulent for it, or rather his necessities were too pressing: in all cases where delicacy was departed from, his friends knew how his own feelings reprimanded him. The interest of virtue and religion he never betrayed: the former is amiably enforced in his works; and for the defence of the latter, he had projected a laborious *Answer to the posthumous Philosophy of Bolingbroke*; and the preparation he had made for it, of long extracts and arguments from the fathers and the most eminent writers of controversy,



verfy, is ftill extant in the hands of his brother, Sir John Fielding. In fhort, our author was unhappy, but not vicious *in his nature*; in his understanding lively, yet folid; rich in invention, yet a lover of real fcience; an obferver of mankind, yet a fcholar of enlarged reading; a fpirited enemy, yet an indefatigable friend; a fatirift of vice and evil manners, yet a lover of mankind; an ufeul citizen, a polished and inftitutive wit; and a magiftrate zealous for the order and welfare of the community which he ferved.

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*An Account of the Life of Ariofto.*

**L**Odovico Ariofto, the famous Italian poet, and author of *Orlando Furiofo*, was born at the caftle of Reggio in Lombardy in 1474. His father, who was major-domo to duke Hercules, lived to the extent of his fortune, fo left but little at his death. Ariofto, from his childhood, fhewed great marks of genius, efpecially in poetry, and wrote a comedy in verfe on the ftory of Pyramus and Thisbe, which his brothers and fifters played. His father being utterly unlearned, and rather regarding profit than his fon's inclination, compelled him to ftudy the civil law; in which, having plodded fome years to no purpofe, he quitted it for more pleafing ftudies; yet often lamented, as Ovid and Petrarch did before him, and our own Milton fince †, that his father banifhed him from the Mufes. On which occafion, one cannot help obferving, how cruel and impolitic it is in parents to force their chil-

dren from thofe prevailing ftudies to which their genius leads them, and make them apply to others, which, as they hate, can never be a credit or advantage to them. At the age of twenty-four Ariofto loft his father, and found himfelf perplexed with family-affairs. However, in about fix years he was, for his good parts, taken into the fervice of Don Hippolito, cardinal of Efte. At this time he had written nothing but a few fonnets; but now he refolved to make a poem, and chofe Bayardo's *Orlando Inamorato* for a ground-work. However, he was prevented writing for a great many years, and was chofen as a fit perfon to go on an embaffy to Pope Julio II. where he gave fuch fatisfaction, that he was fent again, underwent many dangers and difficulties, and at his return was highly favoured. Then, at his leisure, he again applied himfelf to his poem: but foon after he incurred the cardinal's difpleafure, for refufing to accompany him into Hungary, by which he was fo difcouraged, that he deferred writing for fourteen years, even till the cardinal's death. After that he finifhed by degrees, in great perfection, that which he begun with great expectation. Duke Aftolfo offered him great promotions if he would ferve him; but preferring liberty to grandeur, he refufed this and other great offers from princes and cardinals, particularly from Leo X. from all whom he received notwithstanding great presents. The duke of Ferrara delighted fo much in his comedies, of which he wrote five, that he built a ftage on purpofe to have them played in his

† See his Latin poem, *Ad Patrem*.



court, and enabled our poet to build himself a house in Ferrara, with a pleasant garden, where he used to compose his poems, which were highly esteemed by all the princes in Italy, who sent him many presents; but he said, “he would not sell his liberty for the best cardinal’s hat in Rome.” In his diet he was temperate, and so careless of dainties, that he was fit to have lived in the world when they fed upon acorns. Whether he was ever married, is uncertain. He kept company with one Alexandra, to whom, it was reported, he was married privately, and a lady Genevera, whom he slyly mentions in the 24th book of *Orlando*, as poets are apt to intermix with their fictions some real amours of their own. He was urged to go ambassador to pope Clement, but would by no means accept it. He translated the *Menecmi* of Plautus: and all his own comedies were so esteemed, that Don Francisco of Esterehearted the prologue himself in public. He began one of his comedies in his father’s life-time, when the following incident shews the remarkable talent he had for poetry. His father one day rebuked him sharply, charging him with some great fault, but all the while he returned him no answer. Soon after his brother began on the same subject; but he easily refuted him, and, with strong arguments, justified his own behaviour. “Why then, said his brother, did you not satisfy my father?” “In truth, said Lodovico, I was thinking of a part in my comedy, and methought my father’s speech to me was so suited to the part of an old man chiding his son, that I forgot I was concerned in it myself, and considered it only to make it

part of my play.” Which, by the way, is not near so bad as the story of a famous painter, who having prevailed on a man to be tied naked to a cross to represent a crucified saviour, took occasion to stab him, the better to represent the agonies of death. It is also reported of Ariosto, that coming by a potter’s shop, he heard him singing a stave out of his *Orlando*, with so bad a grace, that, out of all patience, he broke with his stick several of his pots: the potter, in a pitiful tone, asking what he meant by wronging a poor man that had never injured him, “You rascal, he replied, I have not done thee half the wrong thou hast done me, for I have broken but two or three pots of thine, not worth so many halfpence; whereas thou hast broken and mangled a stanza of mine worth a mark of gold.”

Ariosto was tall, of a melancholy complexion, and so absorbed in study and meditation, that he often forgot himself. His picture was drawn by Titian, in a masterly manner. He was honoured with the laurel by the hands of the emperor Charles V. He was naturally affable, always assuming less than was his due, yet never putting up a known injury, even from his superiors. He was so fearful on the water, that whenever he went out of a ship, he would see others go before him: and, on land, he would alight from his horse on the least apprehension of danger. How inconsistent this with that fiery imagination which could so well describe the courage, strength, and marvellous intrepidity of an Orlando Furioso, as well as of many other renowned and valiant knights, and valiant ladies too! For certainly he was much fitter to handle



handle the pen than the sword, and to write advantageously the achievements of others, than afford matter of panegyric, at least, in the manner of these heroes, whose praises he delighted to sing: tho', in the opinion of many, the character of a good poet, and a good man, is, at least, equal to that of an honourable warrior, and successful knight-errant.

He lived to the age of 59, and towards his latter end grew infirm, and by much physic injured his stomach. He affirmed that he was willing to die; and the rather, because he heard that the greatest divines were of opinion, that after this life we should meet and know our friends; saying, to those that stood by, "that many of his friends were departed whom he had a great desire to see; and that every hour seemed to him a year, till he might visit them." He died in Ferrara, in the year 1533: and there was scarce a man that could write, but honoured him with an epitaph.

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*Life of Inigo Jones. Extracted from Mr. Walpole's Anecdotes of Painters.*

**T**Owards the end of James the first's reign, Genius was called out and appeared. The magnificent temper or taste of the duke of Buckingham, led him to collect pictures, and pointed out the study of them to prince Charles. Rubens came over, Inigo Jones arose, and Architecture broke forth in all the lustre and purity of Rome and Athens.

The greatest artist of this profession that has appeared in these kingdoms, and so great, that, in the reign of arts, we scarce know

the name of another architect, was Inigo Jones, who, if a Table of Fame, like that in the Tatler, were to be formed for men of real and indisputable genius in every country, would save England from the disgrace of not having her representative among the Arts. She adopted Holbein and Vandyck, she borrowed Rubens, she produced Inigo Jones. Vitruvius drew up his grammar, Palladio shewed him the practice, Rome displayed a theatre worthy of his emulation, and king Charles was ready to encourage, employ, and reward his talents. This is the history of Inigo Jones, as a genius.

He was born about 1572, the son of a cloth-worker; and, by the most probable accounts, was bound apprentice to a joiner; but, even in that obscure situation, the brightness of his capacity burst forth so strongly, that he was taken notice of by one of the great lords at court, who sent him to Italy to study landscape painting, to which his inclination then pointed. He was no sooner at Rome, than he found himself in his proper sphere: he felt that nature had not formed him to decorate cabinets, but design palaces. He dropt the pencil, and conceived Whitehall. In the state of Venice he saw the works of Palladio, and learned how beautiful taste may be exerted on a less theatre than the capital of an empire. How his abilities distinguished themselves in a spot where they certainly had no opportunity to act, we are not told, though it would not be the least curious part of his history; certain it is, that, on the strength of his reputation at Venice, Christian IV. invited him to Denmark, and appointed him his architect;



test; but on what buildings he was employed in that country, we are yet to learn. James I. found him at Copenhagen, and queen Anne took him in the quality of her architect to Scotland. He served prince Henry in the same capacity, and the place of surveyor-general of the works was granted to him in reversion. On the death of that prince, with whom at least all his lamented qualities did not die, Jones travelled once more into Italy, and, assisted by ripeness of judgment, perfected his taste. To the interval between these voyages I should be inclined to assign those buildings of Inigo, which are less pure, and border too much upon the bastard style, which one may call King James's Gothic. Inigo's designs of that period are not Gothic; but have a littleness of parts, and a weight of ornaments, with which the revival of the Grecian taste was encumbered, and which he shook off in his grander designs. The surveyor's place fell, and he returned to England; and, as if architecture was not all he had learned at Rome, with an air of Roman disinterestedness, he gave up the profits of his office, which he found extremely in debt; and prevailed upon the comptroller and paymaster to imitate his example, till the whole arrears were cleared.

In 1620, he was employed in a manner very unworthy of his genius: king James set him upon discovering, that is, guessing, who were the founders of Stone-henge. His ideas were all romanized; consequently, his partiality to his favourite people, which ought rather to have prevented him from charging them with that mass of barbarous clumsiness, made him conclude it a Roman temple. It is remarkable,

that whoever has treated of that monument, has bestowed on it whatever class of antiquity he was peculiarly fond of: and there is now a heap of stones in these northern countries, from which nothing can be proved, but has been made to depose in favour of some of those fantastical hypotheses. Where there was so much room for visions, the Phœnicians could not avoid coming in for the share of the foundation; and, for Mr. Toland's part, he discovered a little Stone-henge in Ireland, built by the druides Gealcopa, (who does not know the druides Gealcopa?) who lived at Inishoen, in the county of Donegal.

In the same year Jones was appointed one of the commissioners for the repair of St. Paul's; but which was not commenced till the year 1633, when Laud, then bishop of London, laid the first stone, and Inigo the fourth. In the restoration of that cathedral he made two capital faults. He first renewed the sides with very bad Gothic, and then added a Roman portico, magnificent and beautiful indeed, but which had no affinity with the ancient parts that remained, and made his own Gothic appear ten times heavier. He committed the same error at Winchester, thrusting a screen in the Roman or Grecian taste into the middle of that cathedral. Jones indeed was by no means successful when he attempted Gothic. The chapel of Lincoln's-Inn has none of the characteristics of that architecture. The cloyster beneath seems oppressed by the weight of the building above.

The authors of the life of Jones place the erecting of the Banqueting-house in the reign of king Charles; but it appears, from the accounts of Nicholas



Nicholas Stone, that it was begun in 1619, and finished in two years—a small part of the pile designed for the palace of our kings; but so complete in itself, that it stands a model of the most pure and beautiful taste. Several plates of the intended palace at Whitehall have been given; but Mr. Walpole thinks, from no finished design. The four great sheets are evidently made up from general hints; nor could such a source of invention and taste as the mind of Inigo, ever produce so much sameness. The strange kind of cherubims on the towers at the end are preposterous ornaments, and, whether of Inigo, or not, bear no relation to the rest. The great towers in the front are too near, and evidently borrowed from what he had seen in Gothic, not in Roman buildings. The circular court is a picturesque thought; but without meaning or utility. The whole fabric, however, was so glorious an idea, that one forgets for a moment (says Mr. Walpole) in the regret for its not being executed, the confirmation of our liberties, obtained by a melancholy scene that passed before the windows of that very Banqueting-house.

In 1623 he was employed at Somerset-house, where a chapel was to be fitted up for the Infanta, the intended bride of the prince. The chapel is still in being. The front to the river, part only of what was designed, and the water-gate, were erected afterwards on the designs of Inigo, as was the gate at York-stairs.

On the accession of Charles, Jones was continued in his posts under both king and queen. His fee, as surveyor, was eight shillings and four pence a day, with an allowance

of 46l. a year for house-rent, besides a clerk and incidental expenses. What greater rewards he had, are not upon record. Considering the havock made in offices and repositories during the war, one is glad of being able to recover the smallest notices.

During the prosperous state of the king's affairs, the pleasures of the court were carried on with much taste and magnificence. Poetry, painting, music, and architecture were all called in to make them rational amusements. Mr. Walpole is of opinion, that the celebrated festivals of Louis XIV. were copied from the shews exhibited at Whitehall, in his time the most polite court in Europe. Ben Jonson was the laureat; Inigo Jones the inventor of the decorations; Lanieri and Ferabosco composed the symphonies; the king, the queen, and the young nobility, danced in the interludes. We have accounts of many of those entertainments, called masques; they had been introduced by Anne of Denmark.

Lord Burlington had a folio of the designs for these solemnities, by Inigo's own hand, consisting of habits, masks, scenes, &c. The harmony of these masks was a little interrupted by a war that broke out between the composers, Inigo and Ben; in which, whoever was the aggressor, the turbulent temper of Jonson took care to be most in the wrong. Nothing exceeds the grossness of the language that he poured out, except the badness of the verses that were the vehicle. There he fully exerted all the brutal abuse which his contemporaries were willing to think wit, because they were afraid of it; and which only seems to shew the arrogance of the man, who



who presumed to satirize Jones and rival Shakespear.

Another person, who seems to have borne much resentment to Jones, was Philip earl of Pembroke. In the Harleian Library there is an edition of Stone-henge, which formerly belonged to that earl, the margins of which were full of abuse of Jones and others. Earl Philip's resentment was probably occasioned by some disagreement while Jones was employed at Wilton: there he built that noble front in a grotto at the end of the water. Wilton is one of the principal objects in the History of Arts and the Belles Lettres: Sir Philip Sidney wrote his *Arcadia* there for his sister; Vanduyck drew many of the race; Holbein and Inigo Jones imagined the buildings; earl Thomas completed the collection of pictures, and assembled that throng of statues; and the last earl Henry has shewn, by a bridge designed by himself, that had Jones never lived, Wilton might yet have been a villa worthy of ancient Rome.

The works of Inigo Jones are not scarce; Surgeon's-hall is one of his best works. One of the most admired is the Arcade of Covent-garden, and the Church: "two structures, says Mr. Walpole, of which I want taste to see the beauties. In the Arcade there is nothing remarkable; the pilasters are as arrant and homely stripes as any plaisterer would make. The barn-roof over the portico of the church strikes my eyes with as little idea of dignity or beauty, as it could do if it covered nothing but a barn. It must be owned, that the defect is not in the architect, but in the order. — Who ever saw a beautiful Tuscan building? Would the Ro-

mans have chosen that order for a temple?" The expence of building that church was 4500l.

Ambresbury in Wiltshire was designed by Jones, but executed by his scholar Webb. Jones was one of the first that observed the same diminution of pilasters as in pillars. Lindsay-house, in Lincoln's-Inn Fields, which he built, owes its chief grace to this singularity. In 1618 a special commission was issued to the lord chancellor, the earls of Worcester, Pembroke, Arundel and others, to plant and reduce to uniformity Lincoln's-Inn Fields, as it shall be drawn by way of map, or ground-plot, by Inigo Jones, surveyor-general of the works. That square is laid down with a regard to so trifling a singularity, as to be of the exact dimensions of one of the pyramids: this would have been admired in those ages, when the Keep at Kenelworth Castle was erected in the form of an horse-fetter, and the Escorial in the shape of St. Laurence's gridiron.

Colehill in Berkshire, the seat of Sir Matthew Pleydell, built in 1650, and Cobham-hall in Kent, were Jones's. He was employed to rebuild Castle Ashby, and finished one front; but the civil war interrupted his progress there and at Stoke-park in Northamptonshire. Shaftsbury-house, now the London Lying-in hospital, on the east side of Aldersgate-street, is a beautiful front. The Grange, the seat of the lord chancellor Henley, in Hampshire, is entirely of this master. It is not a large house, but by far one of the best proofs of his taste. The hall, which opens to a small vestibule with a cupola, and the staircase adjoining, are beautiful models of the purest and most classic antiquity.

The



The gate of Beaufort-garden, at Chelsea, designed by Jones, was purchased by Lord Burlington, and transported to Chiswick, where, in a temple, are some wooden seats with lions, and other animals, for arms, not of his most delicate imagination, brought from Tart-hall. He drew a plan for a palace at Newmarket; but not that wretched hovel that stands there at present. One of the most beautiful of his works is the Queen's house at Greenwich. The first idea of the hospital is said to have been taken by his scholar Webb, from his papers.

Inigo tasted early the misfortunes of his master. He was not only a favourite, but a Roman catholic: in 1646 he paid 545 l. for his delinquency and sequestration. Whether it was before or after this fine, it is uncertain, that he, and Stone the mason, buried their joint stock of ready money in Scotland-yard; but an order being published to encourage the informers of such concealments, and four persons being privy to the spot where the money was hid, it was taken up, and re-buried in Lambeth-marsh.

Grief, misfortunes, and age, put an end to his life in Somerset-house, July 21, 1651.

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*Memoirs of M. d'Ensenada.*

AT the beginning of the last war, when the count de Gages was going to embark for Italy, he found himself obliged to remain for a few days upon the sea-coast, and having inquired for a house, where he might be tolerably accommodated, he was directed to that of an officer in the revenue, who, as his ex-

cellency was informed by the merchants of Cadiz, was the greatest economist in Spain. Thither he went, and was received with equal politeness and respect. He had a very commodious apartment, in which every thing was elegantly neat, tho' there was nothing rich or expensive. He was served with the utmost punctuality, and the landlord was so very attentive, that he often foresaw his wants, and provided for them before they were mentioned. The count de Gages, one of the honestest, most grateful, and best-tempered men in the world, was perfectly pleased with his situation, and quite charmed with his landlord, who was ever ready to serve him, though not troublesomely officious.

The count had a great many papers, memorials, instructions, relations, and other pieces of that nature, in the digesting of which he had great occasion for a secretary, and his own was sick. The landlord offered his assistance, and told his excellency, by way of apology, that he had obtained this little employment by his service in the secretary's office. The count very gladly accepted this offer, and was equally amazed at his dexterity and diligence, and was above all surprised at a certain perspicuity in method and propriety of style, which he had scarce observed in any other man's writings. In short, he found him at once so useful and so agreeable, that he resolved not to part with him; and therefore, without saying a word, he recommended him to the minister, as a person that might be extremely necessary to him in Italy, as a commissary of provisions: desiring, that as he meant to take him along with him, his commission



mission and his instructions might be expedited by his secretary, who was now so well recovered as to be in a condition to join his master. This request was accordingly complied with; and from a small place in the customs, which scarce brought him five hundred pounds a year, he was graced with a title and an appointment of five thousand pieces of eight, with a power of drawing upon the treasury for one hundred times that sum; all which was but an earnest of his future fortunes.

The count de Gages being possessed of the commission, sent immediately for him to whom it belonged, and after many expressions of his entire satisfaction, in reference to his conduct and capacity, as well as in regard to the entertainment he had received in his house, asked him if he was willing to go with him to Italy. He answered very submissively to this, that he looked upon the honour done him by his excellency as so great, that he was ready to follow him to the end of the earth, and that he desired only twenty-four hours time to settle his accounts. Monsieur de Gages presented him with his commission, which Ensenada received with all the marks of respectful gratitude, but without any fawning adulation; only telling his excellency, that he was afraid he had conceived too good an opinion of him, that he would do his utmost to deserve it, and that if he found this exceeded his powers, he would resign his commission, rather than disgrace his benefactor. At the same time he was appointed commissary, a person was sent down to succeed him in his former office, who was desirous of taking the furniture, and whatever else belonged to M. En-

senada, at a reasonable price. The new commissary gave a specimen of his temper which surprised the count de Gages; for instead of naming any sum, he told him that he left a clerk and a couple of servants behind him, and that provided he was kind to them, all that belonged to him was entirely at his service; which his successor promised, and took him at his word.

His conduct in Italy did honour to the count de Gages' recommendation; he was equally assiduous and exact, indefatigable in business, attentive to the general officers, disinterested in respect to those of inferior rank, and extremely affable to all who had any concern with him. In the course of that war, as every body knows, the count de Gages met with incredible difficulties; he was expected to do with a very small army, what would have been a hard task to perform with one much more numerous. He was obliged to bear with the caprices of his master Philip V. a monarch who tho' he had an excellent heart, had also a temper very unequal. His ministers likewise were very far from living on good terms, or in any degree of confidence with each other, and it was the interest of the count to be well with them all, which he heartily endeavoured, and succeeded in it better than could be expected. But what created the greatest uneasiness, was the slowness of the supplies; and it was this circumstance that enabled M. Ensenada to distinguish himself by continuing to find resources, which he did much longer than perhaps any other man could have done.

But as all things have a period, at length these were quite worn out, so that monsieur de Gages, his ge-

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general officers, and his commissary, found themselves fairly at their wits' end, with the untoward prospect at no great distance, of having an army without either pay or magazines. In this state of things, the count de Gages, and those whom he consulted, unanimously resolved to send M. Ensenada into Spain, in hopes he might solicit better in person, than even by the many excellent memorials which he had transmitted to the court on the melancholy subject of their distresses. He cheerfully accepted this commission, tho' at the same time he observed, that he had stretched his personal credit to the very utmost; and that he was less afraid of falling into the hands of the enemy, than of being exposed to the resentment of his disappointed creditors. They expressed a very grateful sense of his condescension, in accepting this commission; and he rather, because they knew he had ever lived within bounds, and had only borrowed to preserve his friends from being pinched by necessity; and therefore they loaded him with recommendations to all the persons in power, with whom they had, or believed they had, any degree of interest.

With these credentials M. Ensenada made the best haste he could to Madrid, and entered upon his solicitations with all the spirit and address possible. He was exceedingly well received by the ministers, who made him ample acknowledgments for the many services he had rendered to the army; gave him abundant assurances, little assistance, and not a single real, though they did not pretend to question the truth of his representations. Instead of hunning, he sought out all his creditors, and after affording them the

most convincing proofs that he had not squandered away their money, he told them plainly, that they must exert their interests with the great, in order to put it in his power to repay them. This was of more real service to him than all the numerous packets that he brought from Italy, and procured him, by degrees, considerable sums, which those very persons enabled the minister to raise; for the real source of all this distress was the emptiness of the royal coffers, an evil that a war very quickly brings on under a despotic government, where the knowledge that the state is under difficulties drives individuals into seeking every method of concealing their money, without offering them any one motive to part with it. In the midst of these embarrassments, Philip V. was gathered to his fathers, and was succeeded by his son Ferdinand the Sixth. A circumstance that naturally put a stop to public business of every kind.

This event, which would have dispirited any other man than our commissary, quickened his thoughts, and added a new spring of action. He entered into an acquaintance with some of the minor courtiers, in order to learn from them the character of the new monarch. This he found to be absolutely impossible; since they all agreed that he was so silent and reserved, that the only thing they knew about him was his extreme affection for the queen. As to her majesty, they represented her as a pious, virtuous, and affable princess, very fond of fruit, and who had a prodigious passion for jewels. M. Ensenada, reflecting a little upon this, took the proper measures for having a great quantity of the finest peaches from the kingdom



kingdom of Valencia earlier than any body else, and prevailed upon a Jew to procure him a melon made in gold set with the finest stones, with a large diamond at the top, and a fine emerald where the stalk seemed to be broken off. This was placed on the summit of a silver pillar in the midst of a large salver filled with peaches, and being presented to the queen by one of the ladies of honour, procured M. Ensenada an introduction at court, where his assiduity and address enabled him to make a much quicker progress than could be imagined, to which his courteous behaviour and boundless generosity did not a little contribute; so that in a short space of time he became a minister.

Thus far M. Ensenada's abilities seemed to extend with his fortune; and it was a confidence arising from this that threw him from a height which had really made him giddy. There was at this time a minister at the head of the Spanish councils, whose high birth and great experience would have excused many defects, if superior talents and a probity rarely seen in courts, had not surpassed the lustre derived from his quality and his employments. This very worthy, as well as able man, saw in its true light the connection between the interests of Spain and Great Britain, which ever governed his conduct. M. Ensenada, lifted up by success, and believing in the midst of grandeur that he was still inconsiderable while there was yet any subject above him, struck into the contrary road, as much at least from necessity, as choice: and hence, arose his intrigues with the courts of Versailles and Naples, in which he found himself baffled when he least expected it, stripped

of his employments, and sent into exile, notwithstanding all the efforts of his powerful protectors. But not long after the commencement of the present reign he was again recalled to court, where, though he no longer figures as a minister, he is yet known to have much credit, and is with great probability at least, if not justice, suspected to have no small hand in the late sudden change of system in that court.

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*Memoirs of Count Zinzendorff.*

**T**HERE is no court in Europe, or it may be in the world, more jealous of its grandeur, than that of Vienna; and of course, the ministers in no court whatever affected greater state, or are at more pains to impress a very high degree of reverence and respect upon all who have the honour to approach them. But it sometimes happens, that even to candid observers, there are amazing littlenesses visible in these otherwise great men; and broad streaks of folly now and then appear through all the grave wisdom and refined policy of those mighty statesmen. They give law to great kingdoms, they decide on the fate of potent nations, they prescribe rules even to latest posterity, and in the midst of all this attention to others so it is! that they have great and glaring foibles, uncorrected in themselves; which naturally tarnish the glory, and diminish that esteem, in which they should seem to have placed their felicity.

Lewis count Zinzendorff is celebrated for his profound ministerial abilities, by all the memoir-writers of the present age, from the sc-

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lemn marquis de Lamberti, down to the ingenious baron de Pollnitz. This illustrious count was descended from a very noble family in Austria, and his mother was a princess of the house of Hölstein. He had a good person, strong natural parts, improved by a regular education, and still much more improved by long experience in a variety of great employments, which he discharged with a deserved reputation, and rose gradually to the elevated station of chancellor of the court, minister for foreign affairs, and knight of the order of the Golden Fleece, in the reign of the emperor Charles the Sixth. He had distinguished himself, in the conduct of many perplexed negotiations; and it was to his consummate skill in politics we stand indebted for the famous Pragmatic Sanction, that has already made such a noise in Europe, embarrasses it at present, and the consequence of which will probably reach, and may perhaps again embarrass, ages that are still to come.

Baron de Pollnitz, with his usual care and circumspection, remarks, "That he kept the noblest and most elegant table at Vienna." This, which to a common reader, it is likely, may appear no uncommon circumstance, might very probably have pleased that great minister more than all the fine things he has said of him besides. With all his shining talents, and profound abilities, which had rendered him admired in so many different courts, the count was less zealous of his reputation in the cabinet, than of his honour in displaying the most splendid, and the most exquisite table, that perhaps was ever kept, in that or any other capital.

His magnificence in this point

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would have been truly wonderful, if it had not been eclipsed by various excellencies of a superior kind. His skill was so great, that he was equally acquainted with Asiatic and Italian luxury. His oſios exceeded those of Spain; his pastry was much more delicate than that of Naples; his Perigord pyes were truly brought from thence; his sausages were made at Bologna; his macaroni by the Grand Duke's cook: and as for his wines, no country that produced a grape of any repute, but a sample of it, for the honour of its vineyards, was to be found at his all-capacious side-board. His kitchen was an epitome of the universe; for there were cooks in it of all nations; and in the adjacent numerous and spacious apartments, were to be found rarities collected from all the quarters of the globe. He had, in order to collect these, his agents for provisions in every country; the carriages on which they were laden came quicker and more regular than the posts, and those who were very well informed believed that the expences of his entertainments ran higher than that for secret correspondence, though very possibly they might be rendered subservient and useful to each other.

In his general conversation, the count was cautious and circumspect; in his conferences with other ministers, reserved though very polite; but at his table all this state-machinery was laid aside. There, to display his superior learning, he discoursed at large, and delivered the most curious as well as copious lectures on all his exotic and domestic delicacies. In these he shewed a true spirit of justice; no man was ever less a plagiary. This pillau

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he had from prince Eugene, who had it from the bashaw of Buda; the egg-soup was made after the mode of the marchioness de Prie; the Roan ducks were stewed in the style of the cardinal du Bois; and the lampreys came ready dressed from a great minister in England. His dishes furnished him with a kind of chronology; his water-fouchy was borrowed from marshal d'Auverquerque's table, when he was first in Holland; the pheasant tourt was a discovery he made in Spain, where he was so lucky as to pick up a man, who, as a purveyor, had been in the service of that prince of bon-vivans the duke de Vendosme: but he always allowed, that the grand school of cookery was the congress at Soissons, where the political conferences indeed proved ineffectual, but the entertainments of the several ministers were splendid beyond description. In a word, with a true Apician eloquence, he generously instructed all the novices in good living; and, as Solomon discoursed of every herb, from the cedar of Lebanon to the hyssop on the wall; so he began with a champignon no bigger than a Dutchman's waistcoat-button, and ended with wild boar, the glory of the German forests!

On his public days, there was an half hour, and sometimes near a whole one, when he was altogether inaccessible; and with respect to his employment in those seasons, as is ever the case as to the privacies of prime ministers, there was a great variety of deep as well as different speculations. An inquisitive foreigner, however, resolved to be at the bottom, cost what it would; and by a gratification to one of his pages, which might have procured

a greater secret, he was let into this. In order to gratify his curiosity, he was placed in a closet, between the room where the count was, and the chamber of audience, where he had the satisfaction of beholding the following pleasant scene. The count, seated in his elbow-chair, gave the signal of his being ready for the important business, when, preceded by a page, with a cloth on his arm, and a drinking-glass, one of his principal domestics appeared, who presented a silver salver, with many little pieces of bread, elegantly disposed; he was immediately followed by the first cook, who, on another salver, had a number of small vessels filled with so many different kinds of gravy. His excellency then tucking his napkin into his cravat, first washed and gargled his mouth, and having wiped it, dipped a piece of bread into each kind of sauce, and having tasted with much deliberation, rinsing his palate (to avoid confusion) after every piece, at length with inexpressible sagacity decided as to the destination of them all. These grand instruments of luxury, with their attendants, then were dismissed, and the long-expected minister having fully discussed this interesting affair, found himself at liberty to discharge next the duties of his political function.

This is no malignant censure, but a gentle and genuine representation of this great man's ostentation, in what he chose to make his principal profession. If it was right, as possibly many may think it, then, tho' faintly drawn, this is to be considered as a panegyric: but if wrong, it is no libel, but barely an admonitory exhortation to those, who, in every high station, may be a little tinged with this folly; and a short exercise,



exercise, upon this proposition, that the science of eating, great as it may be, is after all no liberal science.

*Authentic conversation between the king of Prussia and the ingenious Mr. Gellert, professor in Belles Lettres at Leipfick; extracted from a letter, dated, Leipfick, January 27, 1761.*

THE 18th of October last, about three o'clock in the afternoon, while professor Gellert was sitting in his nightgown at his desk, much out of order, he heard somebody knock at his door.—“ Pray, Sir, walk in.”—“ Sir, your servant, my name is Quintus Icilius, and I am extremely glad to have the pleasure of forming an acquaintance with one so famous in the republic of letters. I am not, however, come here in my own name only, but in that of his Prussian majesty, who desires to see you, and has commanded me to conduct you to him.” After some excuses founded on his ill health, M. Gellert accompanied Major Quintus, who introduced him into the apartment of his majesty, where the following conversation was carried on by the king and the two literati.

*King.* Are you professor Gellert?

*Gellert.* Yes, Sire.

*K.* The English envoy has mentioned you to me as a person of eminent merit. From whence are you?

*G.* From Hanichen, near Freyberg.

*K.* What is the reason that we have no good German writers?

*Major Quintus.* Your majesty has before your eyes an excellent German writer, whose productions even

the French have judged worthy of a translation, and whom they call the *La Fontaine of Germany*.

*K.* This, Mr. Gellert, is, no doubt, a strong proof of your merit. Pray, have you read *La Fontaine*?

*G.* Yes, Sir, but without imitating him. I have aimed at the merit of being original in my way.

*K.* Here you are in the right. But what is the reason that we have not in Germany a greater number of such good authors as you?

*G.* Your majesty seems prejudiced against the Germans.

*K.* By no means!

*G.* Against the German writers at least.

*K.* That may be, and the truth is, I have not a very high opinion of them. Whence comes it that we find no good historians among them?

*G.* We have, Sir, in Germany, several good historians; among others Cramer, the continuator of Bossuet, and also the learned Mascow.

*K.* A German continue the *Universal History of Bossuet*! how can that be?

*G.* He has not only continued it, but also performed this difficult task with the greatest success. One of the most eminent professors in your majesty's dominions has declared this continuation equal in eloquence, and superior in point of exactness, to Bossuet's history.

*K.* How does it come to pass that we have no good translation of Tacitus in the German language?

*G.* That author is extremely difficult to translate, and the French translations that have been given of him, are entirely destitute of merit.

*K.* This I acknowledge.



G. There are several causes that have contributed hitherto to prevent the Germans from becoming eminent in the different kinds of writing. While the arts and sciences flourished among the Greeks, the Romans were solely occupied in the pernicious art of war. May we not look upon this as the military age of Germany? May I not add to this, that they have not been animated by such patrons of learning as Augustus and Lewis XIV.

K. And yet you have had two Augustus's in Saxony.

G. True, Sire, and we also have seen good beginnings in that country.

K. How can you expect that there should be one Augustus in Germany, divided as it is?

G. That, Sire, is not my meaning. I only wish that every prince would encourage, in his own dominions, men of true genius.

K. Were you never out of Saxony?

G. I was once at Berlin.

K. You ought to travel.

G. Sire, I have no inclination to travelling, nor would my circumstances enable me to travel, had I ever so much inclination to it.

K. What kind of sickness are you troubled with? I suppose it is the malady of the learned.

G. Be it so: since your majesty does me the honour to give it that name. I could not, without the greatest vanity, have given it that appellation myself.

K. I have had this disease as well as you; and I think I can cure you. You have only to use exercise, ride every day, and take once a week a dose of rhubarb.

G. This remedy, Sire, might

prove to me worse than the disease. If the horse I use has more health and spirits than I myself have, I dare not ride him; and if he has less, I certainly should not receive much benefit from the use of him.

K. Why then don't you make use of a carriage?

G. I am not rich enough for that.

K. Aye, there it is that the shoe generally pinches the German literati. The times, indeed, are but bad at present.

G. Very bad, indeed, Sire. But if your majesty would be so generous as to give peace to Germany—

K. How can I do that? Have you not heard that I have against me three crowned heads?

G. My chief knowledge, Sire, lies in ancient history: I have studied much less that of modern times.

K. Which do you prefer as an epic poet, Homer or Virgil?

G. Homer certainly, as an original genius, merits the preference.

K. Virgil, however, is a more polished writer.

G. We live in an age too remote from that of Homer to form an accurate judgment of the language and manners of that early period. I therefore depend upon the judgment of Quintilian, who gives Homer the preference.

K. We must not, however, pay a slavish deference to the judgment of the ancients.

G. Neither do I follow it blindly. I only adopt it when antiquity throws such a mist over an object as prevents my seeing it with my own eyes, and, consequently, hinders me from judging for myself.

K. You have composed, I am told,



told, fables remarkable for their elegance and wit. Can you repeat me one?

G. I really don't know, Sire, if I can; my memory is far from being good.

K. Do your best; I shall take a turn in the apartment, and give you time to recollect one.—Well, have you succeeded?

G. Yes, Sire. "A certain painter of Athens, who exercised his art with a view to reputation rather than from the love of gain, addressed himself to a connoisseur for his opinion of one of his pictures, which represented the god Mars. The connoisseur could not dissemble; he found the piece defective; he objected particularly the too great appearance of art that reigned through the whole. The painter defended his work with all the warmth of an inordinate self-love; the critic answered his arguments, but without producing conviction. In the mean time arrives a coxcomb, who casts an eye upon the picture, and without giving himself a moment's time to reflect, cries out in a rapture, Gods! what a master-piece! Mars lives, breathes, terrifies in that admirable production. Observe those feet, those nails! What taste; what an air of grandeur in the helmet, the shield, and in the whole armour of the terrible deity! The painter blushed, beheld the true connoisseur with a look that spoke confusion and conviction; and said to him, I am now persuaded that your judgment is well founded. The coxcomb retired, and the picture was effaced."

K. Now for the moral.

G. It is this; "When the productions of an author do not satisfy a good judge, it is a strong pre-

sumption against them; but when they are extolled by a blockhead, then it is high time to commit them to the flames."

K. Excellent, Mr. Gellert! The piece is admirable; and there is something elegant in the construction of this fable. I can perceive the force and beauty of this composition. But when Gottsched read to me the translation of *Iphigenia*, I had before me the French original, and did not understand a word of what he read. If I stay here some time, you must come and see me often, and read me some of your fables.

G. I don't know, Sire, if I may venture to read, as I have acquired by habit that singing tone of voice which is common in our mountains.

K. Aye, like that of the Silesians. You must, however, read your fables yourself, otherwise they will lose.—Return soon hither.

When Mr. Gellert was gone, the king said, "This is quite another man than Gottsched;" and the day following, he said at table, that "Of all the learned Germans, Gellert was the most rational and judicious."

*Some account of the late Richard Nash, Esq.*

**R**ichard Nash, Esq; or, as he is commonly called, Beau Nash, the subject of this memoir, was born in the town of Swansey, in Glamorganshire, on the 18th of October, 1674. His father's principal income arose from a partnership in a glass-house; his mother was niece to colonel Poyer, who was killed by Oliver Cromwell for defending



Pembroke castle against the rebels. Nash himself was educated under Mr. Maddocks at Caermarthen school, and from thence sent to Jesus college, in Oxford, to prepare him for the study of the law.

The first method Mr. Nash took to distinguish himself at college was not by application to study, but by assiduity in intrigue. In the neighbourhood of every university there are girls, who with some beauty, more coquetry, and little fortune, lie upon the watch for every raw amorous youth. Our hero was quickly caught, and went thro' all the mazes and adventures of a college-intrigue, before he was 17; he offered marriage, the offer was accepted; but the affair coming to the knowledge of his tutor, he was sent home, with proper instructions, to his father.

Mr. Nash having thus quitted college, bought him a pair of colours, and entered into the army, but still continuing his intrigues; and finding that the profits of his commission would not enable him to support his expences, he exchanged the military life for the study of the law, and accordingly entered his name in the Temple books. Here he went to the very summit of second-rate luxury. Though very poor he was very fine, he spread the little gold he had in the most ostentatious manner, and tho' the gilding was but thin, he laid it on as far as would go.

In those days it was customary for the inns of court to entertain every monarch, on their accession to the throne, with a pageant. King William, the last to whom this honour was exhibited, was then just come to the crown. Mr. Nash was appointed to conduct the ceremony,

which he discharged so much to the satisfaction of his majesty, that he offered him knighthood. "Please your majesty (replied Nash), if you intend to make me a knight, I wish it may be one of your poor knights of Windsor, and then I shall have a fortune at least able to support the title." We do not find, however, that the king took the hint, he had numbers to oblige, and never cared to give money without adequate services.

But though Nash acquired no riches by his late office, he gained many friends. With these he conversed with the greatest familiarity, and his generosity and benevolence already began to shew themselves amidst all his poverty. An instance of this kind is told us about this time, which does him no small honour. When he was to give in his accounts to the master of the temple, among other articles, he charged, "For making one man happy 10l." Being questioned about the meaning of so strange an item, he frankly declared, that happening to overhear a poor man tell his wife and a large family of children, that 10l. would make him happy, he could not avoid trying the experiment, adding, that if they did not chuse to acquiesce in his charge, he was ready to refund the money. The master, struck with such an uncommon instance of good-nature, publicly thanked him, and desired that the sum might be doubled, as a proof of their satisfaction. This fact is recorded in the Spectator, though without a name.

On the other hand we are told, that while the poor blessed his charity and munificence, his creditors complained with great reason of his injustice; and amongst other stories related



related of him to this purpose, is one which informs us of a friend's not being able to procure a just debt of him, but by the employing another person to borrow a sum of Nash to the amount. The person obeyed, and readily obtained that from Nash's generosity, which the other had often implored in vain from his justice.

Our hero being now thirty years old, without a fortune, or talents to procure one, and being entered besides into a life of gaiety, commenced gamester. In this profession he experienced all the vicissitudes which attend that course of life, being sometimes in affluence, and at other times reduced to the lowest ebb of poverty. His profession naturally drew him down to Bath, the waters of which began then to be in repute. Captain Webster, his predecessor in office, dying about the same time, Nash found means to succeed him, and by the regulations he introduced both there and at Tunbridge, soon became the favourite of all the rich and great who frequented those places of public pleasure. These presented him with boxes and many other valuable testimonies of their favour; but the principal honour he received in this respect was from the late prince of Wales and the prince of Orange, to the memory of each of whom he has raised a column. A suit in chancery, however, which he imprudently commenced afterwards, against the keepers of the gaming-tables there and at Tunbridge, contributed not a little to lessen his reputation, as it shewed him to be intimately connected with a very infamous set of people; but still continuing his protection to the innocent, and his friendship to all who stood in need of it, he main-

tained his post as supreme arbiter of all their pleasures, to the very day of his death.

Some time before his decease, we are told, his temper became so changed, between age and poverty, that he grew very affronting, peevish, and disgustful. This gave encouragement, as it is said, to a gentleman, who trod the stage for many years with reputation, to endeavour to supplant him in his place. But be this as it will, Nash still preserved his power, and the corporation of Bath, in gratitude for the great benefits derived from him to the city, allowed him a pension of six score guineas a year, which was paid him by ten guineas at a time, on the first Monday in every month. This, with the sale of his snuff-boxes, and other trinkets, enabled him to lead out a lingering life, which he was very desirous to have made longer, till the 3d of February, 1761, when he died, sincerely regretted by that city, to which he had been a great benefactor, aged eighty-seven years, three months, and some days.

His funeral was performed with all the pomp and solemnity the place could afford, and his epitaph was written both in Latin and English by some of the first geniuses of the age. Two of the best of these are given us in the volume which contains his memoirs. [See our last volume.]

As to his abilities, we are told, that he was not without good sense, though he employed it on trifles; and as he was always aiming at saying good things, he now and then had the fortune to succeed. A specimen of his wit is given us in a reply to Dr. Cheyne, who, having prescribed for him, and asking him the next day, if he had followed



his prescription, "No (says he) for if I had, I should have broke my neck, for I threw it out of the two pair-of stairs window." Much better were the bon-mots that were played off against him. Telling a noble earl, one day, that he had lost five hundred pounds at cards, "Is it not surprizing (said he), that fortune should always serve me so?" "Not at all (replied the earl), it cannot be surprizing that you should lose your money; but all the world is surprized where you get money to lose."

His conversation, like his life, was trifling, and strongly tinged with vanity, braggade, and impertinence. Of this we have a specimen or two in some of those stories which, the writer of his life tells us, he used to be continually repeating towards the latter end of his life. But, with all his faults, it must be owned, that he was not without good qualities; and the many instances of his unbounded charity and benevolence, with the means that he contrived to put the pleasures of the rich under some regulation, ought to serve as a veil to those follies of which his life was but too full.

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*A short Character of his Excellency Thomas, Earl of Wharton, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. By Dr. Swift.*

*London, Aug. 30, 1710.*

THE kingdom of Ireland being governed by deputation from hence, its annals, since the English establishment, are usually digested under the heads of the several governors: but the affairs and events of that island, for some years

past, have been either so insignificant, or so annexed to those of England, that they have not furnished matter of any great importance to history. The share of honour, which gentlemen from thence have had by their conduct and employments in the army, turneth all to the article of this kingdom; the rest, which relateth to politics, or the art of government, is inconsiderable to the last degree, however it may be represented at court by those who preside there, and would value themselves upon every step they make towards finishing the slavery of that people, as if it were gaining a mighty point to the advantage of England.

Generally speaking, the times which afford most plentiful matter for story, are those in which a man would least chuse to live; such as under the various events and revolutions of war, the intrigues of a ruined faction, or the violence of a prevailing one; and lastly, the arbitrary, unlawful acts of oppressing governors. In the war, Ireland hath no share, but in subordination to us; the same may be said of their factions, which, at present, are but imperfect transcripts of ours. But the third subject for history, which is arbitrary power and oppression; as it is that by which the people of Ireland have, for some time, been distinguished from all her majesty's subjects, so being now at its greatest height, under his excellency Thomas earl of Wharton, a short account of his government may be of some use or entertainment to the present age, although, I hope, it will be incredible to the next; and because this account may be judged rather an history of his excellency than of his government, I must here declare,



declare, that I have not the least view to his person in any part of it. I have had the honour of much conversation with his lordship, and am thoroughly convinced how indifferent he is to applause, and how insensible of reproach; which is not a humour put on to serve a turn, or keep a countenance, nor arising from the consciousness of innocence, or any grandeur of mind, but the mere unaffected bent of his nature.

He is without the sense of shame or glory, as some men are without the sense of smelling; and, therefore, a good name to him is no more than a precious ointment would be to these. Whoever, for the sake of others, were to describe the nature of a serpent, a wolf, a crocodile, or a fox, must be understood to do it, without any personal love or hatred for the animals themselves.

In the same manner his excellency is one whom I neither personally love nor hate. I see him at court, at his own house, and sometimes at mine, (for I have the honour of his visits); and when these papers are public, it is odds but he will tell me, as he once did upon a like occasion, that he is damnably mauled; and then, with the easiest transition in the world, ask about the weather for time of the day: so that I enter on the work with more cheerfulness, because I am sure neither to make him angry, nor any way hurt his reputation; a pitch of happiness and security to which his excellency hath arrived, and which no philosopher before him could reach.

I intend to execute this performance by first giving a character of his excellency, and then relating

some facts during his government, which will serve to confirm it.

I know very well, that men's characters are best known from their actions; but these being confined to his administration in Ireland, his character may, perhaps, take in something more, which the narrowness of the time, or the scene, hath not given him opportunity to exert.

Thomas, earl of Wharton, lord lieutenant of Ireland, by the force of a wonderful constitution, hath passed some years, his grand climacteric, without any visible effects of old age, either on his body or his mind; and in spite of a continual prostitution to those vices which usually wear out both, his behaviour is in all the forms of a young man at five-and-twenty. Whether he walketh, or whistleth, or sweareth, or talketh bawdy, or calleth names, he acquitteth himself in each beyond a templar of three years standing. With the same grace, and in the same stile, he will rattle his coachman in the middle of the street, where he is governor of the kingdom; and all this is without consequence, because it is in his character, and what every body expecteth. He seemeth to be an ill dissembler, and an ill liar, although they are the two talents he most practiseth, and most valueth himself upon. The ends he hath gained by lying appear to be more owing to the frequency, than the art of them; his lies being sometimes detected in an hour, often in a day, and always in a week. He tells them freely in mixed companies, although he knows half of those that hear him to be his enemies, and is sure they will discover them the moment they leave him. He sweareth solemnly he loveth, and



and will serve you ; and your back is no sooner turned, but he tells those about him you are a dog and a rascal. He goeth constantly to prayers in the form of his place, and will talk bawdy and blasphemy at the chapel-door. He is a presbyterian in politics, and an atheist in religion ; but he chuseth at present to whore with a papist. In his commerce with mankind his general rule is, to endeavour to impose on their understanding, for which he hath but one receipt, a composition of lies and oaths : and this he applieth indifferently to a freeholder of forty shillings, and a privy counsellor ; by which the easy and the honest are often either deceived or amused, and either way he gaineth his point. He will openly take your employment away to-day, because you are not of his party ; to-morrow he will meet or send for you, as if nothing at all had passed, lay his hands with much friendship on your shoulders, and, with the greatest ease and familiarity, tell you that the faction are driving at something in the house ; that you must be sure to attend, and to speak to all your friends to be there, although he knoweth at the same time, that you and your friends are against him in the very point he mentioneth : and, however absurd, ridiculous, and gross this may appear, he hath often found it successful : some men having such an awkward bashfulness, they know not how to refuse on a sudden, and every man having something to hope or fear, which often hinders them from driving things to extremes with persons of power, whatever provocations they may have received. He hath sunk his fortune by endeavouring to ruin one kingdom

[England], and hath raised it by going far into the ruin of another [Ireland.] With a good natural understanding, a great fluency in speaking, and no ill taste of wit, he is generally the worst companion in the world ; his thoughts being wholly taken up between vice and politics, so that bawdy, profaneness, and business, fill up his whole conversation. To gratify himself in the two first, he maketh use of suitable favourites, whose talents reach no higher than to entertain him with all the lewdness that passeth in town. As for business, he is said to be very dexterous at that part of it which turneth upon intrigue ; and he seemeth to have transferred those talents of his youth, for intriguing with women, into public affairs. For as some vain young fellows, to make a gallantry appear of consequence, still chuse to venture their necks by climbing up a wall or window at midnight to a common wench, where they might as freely have gone in at the door, and at noon-day ; so his excellency, either to keep himself in practice, or advance the fame of his politics affects the most obscure, troublesome, and winding paths, even in the most common affairs, those which would be brought about as well in the ordinary terms, or would follow of course, whether he intervened or not.

He bears the gallantries of his lady with the indifference of a stoic, and thinks them well recompensed by a return of children to support his family, without the fatigues of being a father. He has three predominant passions, which you will seldom find united in the same man, as arising from different dispositions of mind, and naturally thwarting each



each other ; these are, love of power, love of money, and love of pleasure : they ride him sometimes by turns, and sometimes all together. Since he went into Ireland, he seemeth most disposed to the second, and hath met with great success, having gained by his government, of under two years, five and forty thousand pounds, by the most favourable computation, half in the regular way, and half in the prurient.

He was never yet known to refuse to keep a promise. But here I desire to distinguish between a promise and a bargain ; for he will be sure to keep the latter when he has the fairest offer.

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*An account of the death of Oliver Cromwell, and the succession of his Son Richard to the protectorship ; as first published by authority.*

“ *Whitehall, Sept. 3, 1658.*  
**H**IS most serene and renowned highness Oliver, lord protector, being, after a sickness of about fourteen days (which appeared an ague in the beginning) reduced to a very low condition of body, began early this morning to draw near the gates of death ; and it pleased God, about three o'clock in the afternoon, to put a period to his life.

We would willingly express, on this sad occasion, the deep sorrow which hath possessed the minds of his most noble son and successor, and other dearest relations, had we language sufficient : but all that we can use will fall short of the merits of that most excellent prince.

His first undertakings for the public interest, his working things all

along as it were out of a rock ; his founding a military discipline in these nations, such as is not to be found in any example of preceding times ; and whereby the noble soldiers of these nations may, without flattery, be commended for piety, moderation, and obedience, as a pattern to be imitated, but hardly to be equalled by succeeding generations : his wisdom and piety in things divine ; his prudence in management of civil affairs, and conduct in military, and admirable successes in all, made him a prince indeed among the people of God ; by whose prayers being lifted up to the supreme dignity, he became more highly feared in their hearts, because in all his actings, it was evident that the main design was to make his own interest one and the same with theirs, that it might be subservient to the great interest of Jesus Christ.

And in the promoting of this, his spirits knew no bounds ; his affection could not be confined at home, but broke forth into foreign parts, where he was universally admired by good men, as an extraordinary person raised up of God ; and by them owned as the protector and patron of the evangelical profession. This being said, and the world itself witness of it, we can only add, that God gave him blessings proportionable to all these virtues, and made him a blessing to us ; by his wisdom and valour, to secure our peace and liberty, and to revive the ancient renown and reputation of our native country.

After all this, it is remarkable how it pleased the Lord, on this day, to take him to rest, it having formerly been a day of labour to him ; for which both himself and  
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the day (September 3) will be most renowned to posterity; it having been to him a day of triumphs and thanksgiving, for the memorable victories of Dunbar and Worcester\*: a day which, after so many strange revolutions of Providence, high contradictions, and wicked conspiracies of unreasonable men, he lived once again to see; and then to die with great assurances and serenity of mind, peaceably in his bed.

Thus, it hath proved to him to be a day of triumph, indeed; there being much of Providence in it, that, after so glorious crowns of victory, placed on his head by God, on this day, having neglected an earthly crown, he should now go to receive the crown of everlasting life.

Being gone, to the unspeakable grief of all good men, the privy council immediately assembled; and being satisfied that the lord protector was dead, and upon sure and certain knowledge that his late highness did, in his life-time, according to their humble petition and advice, declare and appoint the most noble and illustrious lord, the lord Richard, eldest son of his said highness, to succeed him in the government as lord protector, it was so resolved at the council; which being made known to the officers of the army, it was pleasant to behold with how much content and satisfaction they received the notice of it, and unanimously concurred therewith; being resolved, to their utmost, to maintain the

succession according to law: which worthy resolution of theirs, as it speaks them men of honour, prudence, and fidelity, mindful of the merits of their late great leader and common father, and of the grand interest and establishment after all our shakings; so it is but answerable to the worth and nobleness of his son, who, in all respects, appears the lively image of his father, the true inheritor of all his christian virtues; a person, who, by his piety, humanity, and other noble inclinations, hath obliged the hearts of all, and thereby filled this people with the hopes of much felicity, thro' God's blessing upon his government."

Then follows an account of the privy council's waiting on Richard, his short speech to them, and the manner of his proclamation: all which, being in every respect the same as at the accession of every king, is not worth transcribing, as there would be nothing new in it, more especially at this juncture, when we had a recent example,

This panegyric on Oliver and his son is closed with the following prayer: "May all the days of his highness's life be crowned with the blessings of the most high God, and the highest affections of his people."

Such was the language made use of by the friends and partizans of Oliver Cromwell, whose real character, after such extravagant applauses on one side, and detractions on the other, has been never better or more truly presented, than by

\* On the 3d of September, 1650, Cromwell totally defeated the Scots at Dunbar, under the command of Lesley; and on the anniversary of this battle, in the succeeding year, was fought the great battle of Worcester, when Charles II. was totally defeated by Cromwell, and with great difficulty escaped from the field of battle, under the innumerable hardships which every one is acquainted with, and at last safely arrived in Normandy.



the great earl of Clarendon, who styles him, *a great wicked man*.

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*Remarkable Speech of Richard Cromwell to his Parliament.*

AS this speech is curious in itself, and not to be met with in any of the common or general histories of England, we imagine the perusal of it will not be disagreeable. The style is perfectly puritanical; but, as Richard was never accused of hypocrisy, had no share in the crimes of his father, and ever led an innocent life, the language appears not in so ridiculous a light, as when proceeding from the mouth of a man, the whole tenor of whose actions contradicted and belied his words. The terms in which he speaks of his father, though it is needless to mention they are in the highest degree false and flattering, are no other than could be expected from him on such an occasion, at such a juncture, and to such an audience. The oration was, as follows:

*“ My Lords, and Gentlemen,*

“ I believe there are scarce any of you here, who expected, some months since, to have seen this great assembly, at this time, in this place, in peace; considering the great and unexpected change, which it hath pleased the all-disposing hand of God to make in the midst of us: I can assure you, that if things had been according to our own fears, and the hopes of our enemies, it had not been thus with us: and, therefore, it will become both you and me, in the first place, (as to reverence and adore the great God, possessor of heaven and earth,

in whose hands our breath is, and whose are all our ways, because of his judgments), so to acknowledge him in his goodness to these lands, in that he hath not added sorrow to sorrow, and made the period of his late highness's life, and that of the nation's peace, to have been in one day.

Peace was one of the blessings of my father's government; a mercy after so long a civil war, and in the midst of so great division which that war bred, is not usually afforded by God unto a people in so great a measure.

*The Cause of God* and these nations, which the late protector was engaged in, met in all the parts of it, as you well know, with many enemies and great opposition; the archers, privily and openly, sorely grieved him, and shot at him; yet his bow abode him in strength, and the arms of his hands were made strong by the hands of the mighty God of Jacob.

As to himself; he died full of days, spent in sore and great travel; yet his eyes were not waxed dim, neither was his natural strength abated; as it was said of Moses, he was serviceable even to the last.

As to these nations, he left them in great honour abroad, and in full peace at home: all England, Scotland, and Ireland, dwelling safely, every man under his vine, and under his fig-tree, from Dan even to Beersheba.

He is gone to rest, and we are entered into his labours; and if the Lord hath still a blessing for these lands, (as I trust he hath) as our peace hath been lengthened out to this day, so shall we go on to reap the fruit, and gather the harvest, of what his late high-



highness hath sown and laid the foundation\*.

For my own part, being by the Providence of God, and the disposition of the law, my father's successor, and bearing that place in the government that I do, I thought it for the public good, to call a parliament of the three nations, now united and conjoined together in one commonwealth, under one government.

It is agreeable, not only to my trust, but to my principles, to govern these nations by the advice of my two houses of parliament: I find it inserted in the humble petition and advice (which is the corner-stone of this building, and that which I shall adhere to), "That parliaments are the great council of the chief magistrate, in whose advice both he and these nations may be both safe and happy." I can assure you, I have that esteem of them; and, as I have made it the first act of my government to call you together, so I shall further let you see the value I have of you, by the

answers I shall return to the advice that shall be given me by you, for the good of these nations.

You are come up from your several countries, as the heads of your tribes, and with hearts (I persuade myself) to consult together for their good: I can say, I meet you with the same desires, having nothing in my design, but the maintenance of the peace, laws, and liberties, both civil and christian, of these nations: which I shall always make the measure and rule of my government, and be ready to spend my life for.

We have summoned you up at this time, to let you know the state of our affairs, and to have your advice in them: and I believe a parliament was never summoned upon a more important occasion.

It is true, as I told you, we are, through the goodness of God, at this time at peace; but it is not thus with us because we have no enemies: no, there are enough both within us and without us, who would soon put an end to our

\* This puts one in mind of an anecdote related by M. de Voltaire. After Richard had quitted the protectorship, he made a voyage to France, where being one day at Montpellier, the prince of Conti, brother of the great Condé, discoursing with him, without knowing who he was, observed, "That Oliver Cromwell was a great man, but that his son Richard was a poor wretch, not to know how to enjoy the fruits of his father's crimes." This Richard, however, M. Voltaire remarks, lived contented, whereas his father had never known what happiness was. The genius of Richard was wholly different from that of Oliver; he was possessed of all the meek virtues which make the good citizen, and had none of that brutal intrepidity, which sacrifices every thing to its own interests. He might have preserved the inheritance which his father had acquired by his labours, if he would have consented to have put to death three or four of the principal officers of the army, who opposed his elevation; but he chose rather to lay down the government, than to reign by assassination, and lived retired, and almost unknown, till the age of ninety, in a country of which he had once been the sovereign; having, in his own person, exhibited a striking proof, that the fate of a kingdom frequently depends upon the character of one man. *Translation of Voltaire's Works, by Dr. Smollet, and others, vol. iv. pag. 246.*



peace, were it in their power, or should it at any time come into their power.

It will be becoming your wisdom to consider of the securing of our peace against those, who, we all know, are, and ever will be, our implacable enemies; what the means of doing this are, I shall refer unto you.

This I can assure you, that the armies of England, Scotland, and Ireland, are true and faithful to the peace and good interest of these nations; and it will be found so: and that they are a consistent body, and useful for any good ends; and if they are not the very best army in the world, you would have heard of many inconveniencies, by reason of the great arrear of pay, which is now due unto them, whereby some of them are reduced to great necessities: but you shall have a particular account of their arrears; and I doubt not but consideration will be had thereupon, in some speedy and effectual way. And this being matter of money, I recommend it particularly to the house of commons.

You have, you know, a war with Spain, carried on by the advice of parliament; he is an old enemy, and a potent one, and therefore it will be necessary, both for the honour and safety of these nations, that war be vigorously prosecuted.

Furthermore, the constitution of affairs in all our neighbour countries, and round about us (as well friends as enemies), is very considerable; and calls upon us to be upon our guard, both at land and sea; and to be in a posture able to maintain and conserve our own state and interest.

Great and powerful fleets are preparing to be set forth into those seas, and considerable armies of several nations and kings are now disputing for the mastery of the Sound, with the adjacent islands and countries; among which is the emperor of Germany, and other popish states. I need not tell you of what consequence these things are to this state.

We have already interposed in these affairs, in such a manner as we found it necessary for the interest of England; and matters are yet in such a condition in those parts, that the state may, with the assistance of God, provide that their differences may not prejudice us.

The other things that are to be said I shall refer to the lord keeper Fiennes; and close up what I have to say, with only adding two or three particulars to what I have already said.

And, first, I recommend to your care, the people of God in these nations, with their concernments: the more they are divided among themselves, the greater prudence should be used to cement them.

Secondly, the good and necessary work of reformation, both in manners, and in the administration of justice, that profaneness may be discountenanced and suppressed, and that righteousness and justice may be executed in the land:

Thirdly, I recommend to you the Protestant cause abroad, which seems, at this time, to be in some danger, having great and powerful enemies, and very few friends; and I hope, and believe, that the *Old English* zeal to that cause is still amongst us.

Lastly,



Lastly, My Lords, and you gentlemen of the house of commons, That you will, in all your debates, maintain and conserve love and unity among yourselves; that therein you may be the pattern of the nation, who have sent you up in peace, and with their prayers, that the spirit of wisdom and peace may be among you; and this shall also be my prayer for you. And to this let us add all our utmost endeavours for the making this an happy parliament "

[Whoever penned this speech, it was allowed to be a very handsome and sensible one by all, and far exceeded that which followed of the lord keeper Fiennes.]

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*A short view of the character and writings of M. de Voltaire; taken from a French pamphlet published at Utrecht, under the title of Critical Reflections upon the Article GENEVA, in the Encyclopedie; in some letters from an English gentleman, on his travels, to a noble lord.*

THE article in question, which was composed by Monf. d'Alembert, tho' it may be in many respects extremely honourable to the city of Geneva, is yet highly injurious to the whole body of its clergy, a clergy whose sentiments, morals, and taste, do honour to their profession. In this article their moderation is represented as indifference, and their rational manner of treating the sublime mysteries and doctrines of Christianity as Socinianism, nay, as a kind of Deism, and that by whom? by M. d'Alembert,

whose attachment to Christianity more than doubtful, notwithstanding some mean professions he has lately made, to appease a bigotted and persecuting church, in the 1<sup>st</sup> edition of his *Philosophical and Literary Miscellany*. The truth of the matter is, there is at present a club of pretended sages, who by way of eminence call themselves philosophers, seem to have formed a sort of confederacy against the cause of Christianity, and are not a little anxious about making proselytes, that they may acquire weight by the number of their adherents. For this purpose they pretend to have secret as well as open friends, and are willing to dye with the colour of their sect, as many as they can conveniently. Voltaire, who in genius, and in abuse of genius, in exuberance of talent and want of principle, is this day one of the first men in Europe, is justly suspected to be one of those pretended philosophers, and he is thus represented in the letters above mentioned.

"Cast your eye, my lord, upon monsieur de Voltaire, who is looked upon as the *Coryphaeus* of these philosophers; or rather permit me to give you a just, though general idea of his character and writings. He has undoubtedly been enriched by nature with a very considerable degree of genius and understanding but has received with them such an ungovernable imagination, such insatiable passions, and such a restless temper, as have, in many cases, destroyed their natural effects, and perverted their application to the worst purposes. His principal talent is poetry. His prose, however, is highly and justly esteemed and is, not without reason, supposed



posed to equal his poetic style in elegance and facility; though he has been reproached by some with running after antitheses and epigrammatical points. His conversation is full of lively strokes of wit, and rendered interesting by a great number of agreeable anecdotes, which he has collected from a long intercourse with persons of the first distinction. All this is proper to form a *wit*; but in what light will he appear, if we consider him as a philosopher?

The period, in which he first came forth to public view, was certainly dangerous to unguarded innocence and virtue. It was under the regency of Philip, Duke of Orleans, a period of luxury, licentiousness, and irreligion, in which an Epicureanism, much worse than that of Epicurus, reigned, and gave a tone to the principles and manners of the times, that Mons. de Voltaire made his appearance in the world. It was pretty much such a period as the reign of Charles II. in our island, when courtiers and poets, tired of the bigotry, hypocrisy, and fanaticism, that had extended their gloomy reign during the republic, ran headlong into the opposite extreme of atheism and sensuality, when they had got a libertine monarch at their head. And it is remarkable enough, that the religious disputes of Jansenists and Jesuits in France, about the *Constitution*, were followed with the same effects in France under the regency of Philip, that succeeded the debates about Episcopacy and Presbyterianism, under the reign of Charles. Monsieur Arrouet (for so Voltaire was originally named) was born, in the midst of the disputes

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above mentioned, of parents who were Jansenists; and perceiving, among the disputants on both sides, much animosity, artifice, and misguided zeal, he, as many absurdly do, conceived a disgust at religion in general, and contracted an early habit of pointing his satyirical wit and pleasantry against that respectable object. His connections with the late lord Bolingbroke confirmed him in this unreasonable and perverse habit, and wholly corrupted his taste and judgment, with respect to religious matters. He seems to have adopted all the ideas of that incoherent noble author, though he has disguised them much more than Bolingbroke did, and has expressed them with much less energy, eloquence, and ingenuity. Nothing less would satisfy Voltaire's ambition than the glory of adding to his fame, as a poet, the reputation of a profound philosopher, and an eminent historian; though in these two latter characters he is no more than superficial. *The Henriade*, *The Life of Charles the Twelfth*, some tragedies, and several pieces of poetry and literature, are, in my opinion, the only pretensions he can plead to the character of an eminent author: and it must be confessed, that these productions are sufficient to establish a shining reputation. His *Essay on Universal History*, though it contains several agreeable anecdotes, and some curious relations, is yet a very indifferent performance, pregnant with glaring falsehoods and willful misrepresentations of facts; of which an attentive reader will find examples in every page. It resembles a gallery of historical pictures, in which the painter has followed more the excursions of his fancy,

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private



private sentiments, and particular views, than the dictates of nature or the truth of things.

It is more particularly observable, that this pretended historian never indulges his romantic vein with greater complacence, than when the history of religion, or the affairs of the church, come in his way; nay, he often goes out of his way in order to disfigure them, and to set christianity and its ministers in a ridiculous or odious point of light. His philosophical performances are generally acknowledged to be superficial and inaccurate. He tried his talent in that way upon the philosophy of Sir Isaac Newton, with a view to obtain a place in the Academy of Sciences. But this project failed; for his book was despised, and he was denied admission into that learned body. The vivacity of his fancy renders him inconsiderate and imprudent beyond all expression. Were he really the author of that impious, obscene, and cynical poem, intitled the *Maid of Orleans*, this must be sufficient to render him infamous in the opinion of all such as have any sense of decency left; but he has denied that the impieties that dishonour this work flowed from his pen. He is always talking of reason, humanity, forbearance, and mildness: he is always lamenting the indecent quarrels and animosities that prevail too much among men of learning; and perhaps no man living acts more in opposition to those pompous professions. He has composed an agreeable and witty chapter concerning *printed Lies*, and no author certainly has printed more than he himself."

Such are the principal strokes in the character, which the sensible

author of the *Letters* above mentioned gives of Monsi. de Voltaire. These, however, are but scattered and imperfect hints, which relate but to a very small part of the writings and character of that poet. I therefore hope to give you, some time hence, a more full, extensive, and circumstantial account of the *life, character, transactions, and writings* of that *mixed* man.

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*An original Letter from the Duke of Buckingham to King James I.*

*Dear Dad and Gossip,*

A S necessity inforces me, instead of repairing to you, according to your command, and my promise, to go many miles from you another way, and consequently from myself, all my perfect joys and pleasures chiefly, nay solely, consisting in attending your person; so, methinks, duty and good manners command me, on the other part, to give you an account under my own hand, though it be yet something unsteady and weak.

But before I give the reasons of the change of my former resolutions, there is a thing not much in exercise now in the world, called thankfulness, that calls so fast and earnestly upon me, that I must first, though I have already done it by the assistance of a young gentleman, called Babie Charles, whom you likewise, by your good offices, made my friend, who, without doubt, hath already perfectlier made my thanks, than I shall myself; yet, having the pen in my hand, I must needs tell you what I observe in your late absent and public favour, but ancient manner of obliging your poor unworthy servant, whereby I



find you still one and the same dear and indulgent master you were ever to me, never being contented to overvalue and love me yourself, but to labour, all manner of ways, to make the whole world do so too. Besides, this assures me, you trust me as absolutely as ever, lately expressed in this, that you have no conceit of my popularity, otherwise why should you thus study to endear me with the upper and lower house of parliament, and so consequently with your whole kingdom? all and the least I can say is this, that I naturally so love your person, and upon so good experience and knowledge adore all your other parts, which are more than ever one man had, that were not only all your people, but all the world besides, set together on one side, and you alone on the other, I should, to obey and please you, displease, nay despise all of them; and this shall ever be my popularity.

Give me leave here to use your own proverb; "For this the devil con me thanks." The reasons of my going to Newhall are these: first, I find business and the sight of busy folks does me much harm; and though your extraordinary care and watchful eye over me would keep them from speaking with me, yet, in a court, I must needs look many of them in the face; then Theobald's house is now very hot, and hath but few change of rooms, both inconvenient for a sick body: then my lord of Warwick tells me, that by experience, he hath found Newhall air as good a one to ride away an ague, as any in England, and that lately he lost one by the benefit of that air. I mean near hand, which I think will be all one. By this time, I fear I have troubled you; and were it not that I write

to you, I am sure I should have wearied myself. I have now only one request to you, as you first placed me in your Babie Charles's good opinion, if you think fit, for your service, in my absence continue me in it; and so give me your blessing.

Your Majesty's  
Most humble slave and dog.  
STINIE.

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*Some Account of a very extraordinary Clergyman. From Mr. Morrice's Memoirs of the first Earl of Orrery.*

UPON the ruin of the royal family and the death of the king, his lordship retired to Marston, his seat in England, which his father had bought of Sir John Hipsley; and which was formerly part of Edmund earl of Cornwall's estate.

I have heard him repeat a remarkable incident that happened during his residence there; which, as it will shew the distress of the royal party in those days, may perhaps be acceptable to the curious.

The parish church of Marston is very near to the mansion-house: lord Orrery never failed to go thither on a Sunday; but one Sunday, having sat there some time, and being disappointed of the then qualified minister, his lordship was preparing to return home, when his servants told him a person in the church offered to preach. His lordship, though he looked upon the proposal only as a piece of enthusiasm, gave permission; and was never more surprised or delighted than with the sermon, which was filled with learning, sense, and piety.



ty. His lordship would not suffer the preacher to escape unknown, but invited him to dinner; and, inquiring of him his name, life, and fortune, received this answer:

“ My lord, my name is Ashberry; I am a clergyman of the church of England, and a loyal subject to the king: I have lived three years in a poor cottage under your warren-wall, within a few paces of your lordship’s house. My son lives with me, and we read and dig by turns. I have a little money, and some few books, and I submit cheerfully to the will of Providence.”

This worthy and learned man (for such lord Orrery always called him) died at Marston some years

after; but not till his lordship had obtained an allowance of 30*l.* *per ann.* for him without any obligation of taking the covenant.— Thus far Mr. Morrice.

As a memorial of the above transaction, the poor cottage in which Mr. Ashberry lived, with a little garden adjoining to it, is still kept up in its old form by the present earl of Cork and Orrery, being taken into his gardens; and the two rooms of which it consists, *viz.* a kitchen and a chamber, are furnished as much as possible in the taste of those times, and with all sorts of useful furniture and books, prints, &c. of equal antiquity.



## NATURAL HISTORY.

*It has been often observed by naturalists, that the bellies of salmon are always found empty, and many attempts have been made to assign the cause of it. The following is a letter to a friend on the subject, by a gentleman who resides at Berwick, near the great salmon-fishery.*

To Mr. Peter Collinson.

DEAR SIR,

I Have made what inquiry I could concerning the salmon, but I find that people who have the best opportunities, are not always the most curious in improving them. The fact you mentioned, was confirmed to me; some added, the salmon must live upon water, but I cannot well admit this, because, though they are generally caught in long nets, yet they are sometimes caught with a rod, and artificial fly. I cannot see how salmon should rise at an artificial fly, unless they were accustomed to catch at natural ones. I believe they are sometimes caught with bait also, which, if it be so, must, I apprehend, direct to another species of their food; all that I have inquired of agree, that the stomach of the salmon is remarkably small. I apprehend, therefore, that they

are not voracious, for as all voracious animals are apt at times to gorge themselves to an incredible degree, and, at others, to suffer abstinence for a surprising time, it is probable their stomachs must be proportionably large, and fitted to retain the aliments a considerable time; on the other hand, creatures who are of a different nature, and have very small stomachs, will require frequent supplies of food, as they can receive it but in small quantities, and it will pass quickly through their stomach; now, as the stomachs of these animals will be more frequently empty than those of the voracious ones, it will be more difficult to find any thing in them when killed. You see that, according to my hypothesis, the salmon ought not to be capable of keeping a long fast; yet their stomachs being always found empty, is a surprising phenomenon. Some queries, I think, are necessary to be resolved, in order to explain it: as, what quantity of food will the stomach of the salmon receive and retain at a time? what time does this food take in digestion and passing through the stomach? what is the interval between the salmon's being caught either in a net or upon a hook, and its death? Is this inter-



val sufficient for the digestion and passage of such a quantity of food as its stomach is capable of receiving at a time? If this last query should be answered in the affirmative, it would account for the phenomenon, but the interval between their being caught and their death must vary according to circumstances. The salmon certainly retire to the sea, and return to the fresh waters alternately; it is also certain, I believe, that they seek the rivers for the sake of spawning. I doubt whether they have any certain seasons of going and returning: I am rather inclined to think, that some may be returning while others are only coming up; however, in general, the summer is the season of their coming up from the sea; of course, the winter must be the season of their return to it: from the 30th of September to November 30, is what we call close time, when fishing is forbidden here, it being supposed the season of the salmon's spawning, when it is not lawful to disturb them. According to this regulation, it is supposed that the salmon have done spawning and are returned to the sea by the end of November. It is allowed, that the salmon are fatter and better, at their return from sea, than after they have lain any time in the fresh water; of course the salmon ought to be caught only in their return from the sea; the salmon caught in winter are far inferior to those caught in summer. I suspect they are caught in their return to sea. By the latter end of April, or beginning of May, they begin to return in considerable quantities, and keep coming up all the summer. In great droughts, the salmon are always very scarce, they do

not chuse to take river till we have some land-floods; when the river is a little discoloured with a gentle flood, they come up in surprising quantities. Is not the bait or land-flies, which the flood washes into the river on these occasions, what tempts the salmon to take the river at that time? It cannot be the increased depth of water, for they have plenty of water for many miles above Berwick in the severest droughts, yet they will keep playing and hovering just off the mouth of the river, till a land-flood happens; in a great flood they do not come up so fast; on these occasions, when the flood has abated a little, the salmon come up. I apprehend that the stream, at such times, is too violent for them during the strength of the flood.

Berwick, August 8.

Your's, &c.

*To this letter I shall only add the following remark.*

**I**NSECTS, in general, leave off eating, when near laying their eggs, or changing their form. The moth of the silk-worm engenders and lays eggs, but never eats.

When salmon are near spawning, they may perhaps grow sick, and subsist for a time on animalculæ, with which all waters abound.

It is highly probable, by their waiting for land-floods, that some sort of sustenance is brought down; but, whatever it is, it is quickly digested, or else it would be found in their stomachs when they are caught.

*Som.*



*Some account of the animal sent from the East-Indies, by general Clive, to his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, which is now in the Tower of London: In a letter from James Parsons, M. D. F. R. S. to the Rev. Tho. Birch, D. D. Secretary to the Royal Society. From the Phil. Transf.*

AT the request of the Rev. Dr. Lyttelton, dean of Exeter, I went to observe this creature, in order to find what class of animals he belonged to; and made the drawing now before the Royal Society, for its inspection. I have endeavoured to make it as accurate as possible in all its proportions; yet am afraid I have made the ears a small matter too long. There is a figure of it in the London Magazine for December last, which has no resemblance at all to it, except in the ears, which the engraver, who drew it, has made to turn forwards, contrary to nature. However the following description will, I believe, be the proper account of it.

It is something taller than the largest sized cat, being about 15 inches high at the shoulders; slender and light, tho' strong. The head is small in proportion to the rest, and the neck slender. It has nothing fierce in its aspect, but it is mild and very tame. It is exactly of a fawn-colour, having its ears black on their outsides, and lined with white hairs, and some white round the root of each ear; it is also white under the throat and belly, and a little so on the back of its limbs. Its eyes are small, and its head like that of a cat, but somewhat slenderer; its legs are genteel and strait, with the paws of a cat, having the power of

dilating and contracting its toes, which are armed with strong crooked nails, in the same manner as a cat or tyger does; and its actions are like those of a cat. I sat and watched its motion, and saw it lick its foot, and rub it over its face several times exactly like a cat; and was told by the man who shewed it me, that, if it is offended, it hisses. I examined its teeth, and find them in the same number and manner with those of a cat. And as to its food, they gave it raw mutton every day; and when it is sick, which it often is, they give it a live fowl, or rabbit, which it seizes eagerly, and lies upon it, without motion, for a considerable time, to suck the blood, and this proves a certain cure. The figure shews it to have also a tail like that of a cat.

None of the natural historians have any account of this animal, that I have yet seen, except the learned Dr. Walter Charleton, who has a bad figure of it, engraved at the expence of Dr. John Lawson, his cotemporary, of the college of physicians, as it appears in an inscription at the bottom of the plate, wherein the head is, contrary to truth, very large and strong in appearance, the tail like that of a fox, and the whole as strong as a mastiff dog; the name given it in the plate is the same with this, but differently spelled, thus, Siyah-ghush.

This author very justly ranks it among the cats, and has given such an account of this animal as well deserves the notice of this learned society, of which I have made the following English extract.

“ Among the wild cats, which vary according to the difference of



climate, manner of living, and the like, none is more worthy of notice than that which is now kept in the park of our sovereign K. Charles II. It was sent to the king by an English gentleman, who was governor of our mercantile affairs in the dominion of Surat, and is called, among other names, in the Persian language, *Siyah-ghush*, that is, Black-ear \*, all along the coast of Coromandel, and indeed all over India. It is about the size of a fox, but like a cat in its form; and has the cunning and cruelty of a leopard, with the limbs of a cat, but longer and stronger; having so much strength, that I saw it kill a hound, that came in its way, in a moment. The legs are thick set with hair, and its nails concealed under them, which were never extended but upon seizing its prey, which is common to lions, panthers, and domestic cats. But what seems peculiar to this animal is, that having jumped upon his prey, he lies upon it unmoved, holding his bite, as if he was dead, whether by joy, or in order to drink the blood of the creature. The great men in India have them bred up tame; because of their dexterity in catching birds, hares, rabbits, and such like; and such is their craft and fierceness, that they will seize even a fox; but their keepers will not suffer them to attack anything above their strength, and therefore they only set them at cranes, geese, ducks, pheasants, partridges, peacocks, and such like game, which they seize by many kinds of deceit, to the great pleasure

of the spectators; and catch those timid animals the hare, rabbit, fawn, goat, &c. by swift running, and sometimes by craft.

When they are sick (which, from over-gorging their stomachs, they often are), their keepers steep a piece of tender meat in human urine, and feed them with it; and being bruised or tired by over-hunting, they give them some mummy, wrapped up in their meat, and a warm place to rest in, till they recover."

It is said of this animal, that he follows the lion at a distance, in order to feed on what he leaves of the animals he destroys. To illustrate this, Dr. Charleton quotes a passage from the *Apolog.* of *Scheich Saadi*, which was written five hundred years before, and published in Persian and Latin by Georgius Gentius; which is in English as follows:— "This Black-ear is asked, "What makes him keep company with the lion, and seem so officious to please him?" to which he answers, "That I may feed on his leavings, and lead my life safely under his protection." To which it is replied, "Since you live under the shadow of his protection, and draw such benefit from him, why do you not approach nearer to him?" He answers, "If I took your counsel, and came near to him, I should not be safe from his fury a moment."

Now from this particular account by the learned Charleton, and my own observations on him and his actions, I am inclined to rank this animal among the cats; and join

\* Dr. Charleton says, that he was obliged to his good friend the learned Dr. Tho. Hyde, then principal librarian to the Bodleian Library, for this interpretation, who was well versed in the oriental languages.



with Linnæus, who, in his *Ord. secund.* has a fifth species of *Felis*, which agrees well with the principal characters of the animal before us: his words are,

*Felis caudâ elongatâ, auribus—  
————— penicilliformibus.*

*The following account of a battle between a serpent and a buffalo, was sent by a letter from a Dutch gentleman at Batavia to his friend at Berlin, with the manner in which these serpents attack, conquer, and devour the largest animals.*

IN our colonies of the East Indies, there are serpents upwards of 25 feet in length. Though their throat may seem too narrow to be capable of swallowing animals of a certain bigness, we have notwithstanding frequent proofs that this indeed happens; and, amongst those I have bought of our hunters, a stag of middle age was found quite entire, with his skin and all his members, in the body of one of them. In another was found a wild he-goat, with his great horns, and no part of his body was wanting; and in a third a hedge-hog, armed with all its prickles. In the island of Amboyna a woman with child was thus sucked in by one of these serpents: it is so they swallow up whole animals, which they find means to compass in the following manner:

When hunger presses them, they lie in ambush, and endeavour to surprise some animal; and when they have seized it, they twine

about its body so closely, that they break its bones by squeezing it. If the animal is strong, and makes great resistance, and the serpent cannot stifle him in his first position of laying hold of him, he strives to grapple with some trunk of a tree, which he surrounds with his tail, and thereby acquiring an addition of strength, redoubles his efforts, till he suffocates him. At the same time he seizes him by the nostrils with his teeth, and so, not only intercepts his respiration, but the deep wounds he gives with his bites occasioning a great effusion of blood, he at last kills by this method the largest animals.

Persons of credit assured me of having seen in the kingdom of Aracan, on the frontiers of that of Bengal, a like combat, near a river, between an enormous serpent of this kind, and a buffalo (an animal at least as large as the wild ox) which was killed and devoured by the serpent. His bones made so great a noise while the serpent was breaking them, by twining about his body, and pressing it together, that it was heard within cannon-shot by some who were witnesses of this spectacle. It seems astonishing, that those serpents, whose throat is so narrow in proportion to the rest of their body, can swallow so large an animal quite entire, and without tearing it in pieces as dogs and lions; but they succeed effectually, and the way is thus:

When these serpents, whose throat is indeed narrow, but susceptible of a great dilatation, have killed some animal, and shattered his bones, so as that nothing appears more than a shapeless mass, they begin by stretching him out by the tongue  
as



as much as possible, and, by licking, to smooth and polish him, as well as they can, down the hair: they afterwards besmear the whole skin with a glutinous mucosity, then lay hold of him by the head, and at last swallow him quite entire by strong reiterated suction; but they sometimes take up two days, and even more, in going through this work, according to the bigness of the animal: after this, the serpent, gorged with so great a quantity of food, becomes incapable of attacking or defending himself; and the country-people and hunters, without incurring any danger, throw a rope about his neck, and strangle him with it, or sometimes even strike him dead with clubs and sticks. Having afterwards cut him up in pieces, they sell his flesh, which is reckoned very delicious food; but they separate the head, being persuaded, that the teeth of the upper jaw are surrounded with little bladders, filled with a venomous liquor, which bursting at the time of biting, infuse their poison into the wound; and this poison, soon mixing with the mass of blood, occasions certain death in all kinds of animals, when it reaches the heart.

Being desirous to have the skeleton of one of these serpents which I had bought; and my servants having boiled it in a great copper with water and quick lime, one of them took the head for clearing it, the flesh being already separated; and in turning it about one of the great fore-teeth, which

are extremely sharp, wounded him in the finger, which was immediately followed by a prodigious inflammatory swelling in the head, and a continued fever and delirium.

These symptoms did not cease, till the serpent-stone, prepared here by the Jesuits, and applied to the wound, had attracted all the venom.

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*History of Jeffery Hudson the Dwarf.  
From Mr. Walpole's Anecdotes of  
Painting in England.*

AT St. James's \* (says he, in the life of Daniel Mytens) is Jeffery Hudson, the dwarf, holding a dog by a string, in a landscape, coloured warmly and freely, like Snyder or Rubens. Mytens drew the same figure in a very large picture of Charles I. and his queen, which was in the possession of the late earl of Dunmore; but the single figure is much better painted. The history of this diminutive personage was so remarkable, the reader will perhaps not dislike the digression.

† He was born at Oakham in Rutlandshire in 1619; and about the age of seven or eight, being then but eighteen inches high, was retained in the service of the duke of Buckingham, who resided at Burleigh on the Hill. Soon after the marriage of Charles I. the king and queen being entertained at Burleigh, little Jeffery was served up to table in a cold pye, and pre-

\* The picture of the queen of Scots at St. James's is a copy of Mytens.

† See Fuller and Wright's Rutlandshire.



presented by the duchess to the queen, who kept him as her dwarf. From seven years of age till thirty, he never grew taller; but after thirty he shot up to three feet nine inches, and there fixed. Jeffery became a considerable part of the entertainment of the court. Sir William Davenant wrote a poem called *Jesfreidos*, on a battle between him and a \* turkey-cock; and in 1638 was published a very small book, called the *New Year's Gift*, presented at court by the lady Parvula to the lord Minimus (commonly called Little Jeffery) her majesty's servant, &c. written by Microphilus, with a little print of Jeffery prefixed. Before this period Jeffery was employed on a negotiation of great importance: he was sent to France to fetch a midwife for the queen; and on his return with this gentlewoman, and her majesty's dancing-master, and many rich presents to the queen from her mother Mary de Medicis, he was taken by the Dunkirkers †. Jeffery, thus made of consequence, grew to think himself really so. He had borne with little temper the teasing of the courtiers and domestics, and had many squabbles with the king's gigantic porter ‡: at last being provoked by Mr.

Crofts, a young gentleman of family, a challenge ensued; and Mr. Crofts coming to the rendezvous armed only with a squirt, the little creature was so enraged, that a real duel ensued; and the appointment being on horseback with pistols, to put them more on a level, Jeffery, with the first fire, shot his antagonist dead. This happened in France, whither he had attended his mistress in the troubles. He was again taken prisoner by a Turkish rover, and sold into Barbary. He probably did not remain long in slavery; for at the beginning of the civil war he was made a captain in the royal army, and in 1644 attended the queen to France, where he remained till the restoration. At last, upon suspicion of his being privy to the Popish plot, he was taken up in 1682, and confined in the Gatehouse, Westminster, where he ended his life, in the sixty-third year of his age.

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*On the existence of Giants in South America.*

THE instability of philosophic systems has long been a subject of ridicule or complaint; inno-

\* The scene is laid at Dunkirk, and the midwife rescues him from the fury of his antagonist.

† It was in 1630. Besides the present he was bringing for the queen, he lost to the value of 2500l. that he had received in France on his own account from the queen-mother and ladies of that court.

‡ A bass-relief of this dwarf and giant is to be seen fixed in the front of a house near the end of Bagnio-court, on the east side of Newgate-street. Probably it was a sign. Oliver Cromwell too had a porter, of an enormous height, whose standard is recorded by a large O on the back of the terrace at Windsor, almost under the window of the gallery. This man went mad, and prophesied. In Whitechapel there was a sign of him, taken from a print of St. Peter.



vations in the subjects of taste or religion are more permanent : but almost every age produces new attempts to explain the secrets of nature, as some latent property happens to be known ; so that the old man finds the system of his youth exploded or forgotten.

Among other disquisitions in physic or natural history, that of the size of men, in different countries or different ages, has not a little employed speculation, and produced disputes. On one side, the testimony of all antiquity, which mentions giants as familiarly known ; the skeletons dug up of a monstrous size, and some more modern discoveries in the southern parts of America, are brought to confirm their existence. On the other side, when the proofs come to be examined, the antients will appear frequently to have been deceived themselves, or to have attempted to deceive others ; the skeletons will appear to have belonged to other animals, never to men ; and the existence of the tall Patagons in South America has been called in question by Sir Hans Sloane, Frazer, and others. In this manner the controversy seemed almost at an end ; but there has been lately published at Madrid a work, entitled *Gigantologia*, by P. Joseph Tarrubia, proving the existence of this species of men, not only from the concurrent testimony of all antiquity in this our old world, but from several Indian antiquities discoverable in the new. The monstrous statues of several of their idols, which are affirmed to have been no bigger than the life, and several utensils, that, from their size, could have been made

use of only by giants, are confirmations of this ; but what is a more irrefragable proof than either, the author insists upon having seen several Spaniards, who have seen those monstrous men as they happened to stray from their wild retreats, verging towards the straits of Magellan. They are described as being nine or ten feet high ; strong in proportion to their size : and active to a surprising degree : but instead of dipping into a controversy, that time, and not disputations, will one day determine, we will only transcribe a story told us of one of those extraordinary species of beings.

Madalena de Niqueza was one of those unhappy women, who leaving Europe, expected to find affluence and fortune in some of the extensive provinces subject to the Spanish monarchy in Southern America. Those who are friendless at home are generally friendless among strangers. She wandered for some time in the streets of Carthagena, feeling all the miseries of houseless indigence, and an unfavourable sky. In this forlorn state, an Indian shepherd saw her, married her, and brought her with him to his native village, which bordered on the savage countries of the Guanoas and Chiquitos.

Those barbarous nations, which could never be reduced to the subjection of the Spaniards, make continual excursions upon the countries that have been reduced, and kill or carry away the inhabitants who happen to fall into their power. In one of these incursions, Madalena and her husband were taken prisoners, and carried some hundred leagues to the south, where they



they were several times exchanged for other commodities in the usual course of traffic, till at length they arrived among a people still, if possible, more rude than their former masters; and here they were put to the usual employment of keeping cattle.

In this situation, however, they had not long continued, when a general alarm was spread through the Indian town where they were stationed, for an army of giants were marching forward, and laying all things waste with fire and sword before them. Madalena could perceive that the Indians, instead of attempting to fly, rather endeavoured to conceal themselves, as they despaired of finding safety by swiftmess, in which the giants so much excelled them. The formidable army at length appeared, but, instead of spreading that terror which was expected, she was surprized to see the humanity with which they treated their prisoners. This body of giants consisted of about four hundred; the lowest soldier in the whole army was not under nine feet high, and the tallest was about eleven. Their features were regular, their limbs exactly proportioned; they had a sweetness and affability in their looks, and their speech was deep, clear, and sonorous. Madalena and her husband were now made prisoners once more, but treated with infinitely more compassion and tenderness than by their former masters. The giant to whose lot she fell, used to hearken to the account of her adventures with pleasure, and seemed to regard her misfortunes with a passion mixed with love and pity. They lived in a state of perfect equality

among each other, and had people of ordinary stature to do the domestic offices of life. Their women were by no means proportionably large, not being above six feet and an half high; and the children, when brought into the world, were of the usual size. In this situation Madelana continued for almost four years, when, growing weary of servitude, she was resolved to travel down to the western shore, which bounds the great Pacific Ocean, which she effected, and was brought off by a Spanish bark, and carried to Panama, from whence, some time after, she found means of returning to Europe.

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*Account of a Girl who subsisted near four years on Water alone.*

*From the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences, at Paris, for the year 1756.*

NOVEMBER 9, 1751, Christina Michelot, aged ten years and a half, the daughter of a vine-dresser at Pomard, half a league from Beaune, was seized with a fever, which was looked upon as the beginning of the measles. She took a light ptisan; but absolutely refused every other medicine, and would swallow nothing but water. The measles did not appear, and she had no other symptom but such a violent head-ach, that she got out of bed to roll on the floor; and one day her father going hastily to take her up, she fell into a swoon, which continued so long, that she was supposed to be dead: she recovered, however, but some days after lost the use of all her limbs, which retained



tained only the flexibility of those of a person newly dead.

This went off; she recovered her appetite and her speech, but the head-ach continued; and soon after she fell into a delirium, accompanied with convulsions, startlings, and a trembling of the arms and legs, and sometimes she could not be kept in bed.

To remove this, she was bled in the foot, and blisters were applied to her legs. This threw her into a total languor, and she lost the use of all her limbs, and the power of eating and speaking, retaining only her hearing, seeing, and feeling, and a little respiration. Except in the delirium mentioned above, which did not continue long, she still preserved the use of her reason, which she employed to intimate, by inarticulate sounds, what she liked or disliked. These sounds were at first only two: she multiplied them afterwards, and began to add to them a little motion of her hands, which increased as the sounds became more varied: still she took nothing but water, and that in a very small quantity: hence her belly shrunk so much, that one imagined they could feel the vertebræ through it, and could distinguish none of the intestines. All that part, and the lower extremities, which had lost all feeling, seemed to be seized with a partial palsy. As to the rest, the body still kept its colour, her eye was brisk, her lips of a good red, and her complexion very fresh; her pulse was regular, and even strong.

She still continued the same regimen, except that she swallowed the water with much more ease, and in greater quantity. A physician

of Beaune, who saw her in this condition, could not believe her sole nourishment was water, till a lady, at his desire, took her into her house, and kept her long enough to satisfy him of it: he then thought to deceive her, by giving her, instead of water, veal-broth highly clarified. He indeed deceived her senses, but not her stomach, which immediately threw up the broth with nauseas and violent convulsions, which were followed by a fever.

On her leaving this lady's house, her father carried her with him on a pilgrimage.

On her return, she was so distressed with thirst, that she made a violent effort, and her speech returned, to ask for water: from this time she retained the use of her speech, which became more and more familiar to her. She also increased the quantity of her drink, which she discharged plentifully by urine. It will be easily imagined, from the regimen she had so long observed, that she had no discharge by stool.

She now recovered the use of her arms so far as to be able to spin, to dress herself, and to make use of two short crutches, by the help of which she dragged herself on her knees, not being able yet to use her legs; by this means she could go to the jar which contained all her provisions, and even to the houses of some neighbours: she was in this condition when M. Lardillon saw her on the 9th of December, 1754, about three years after the beginning of her disorder. He observed that she began at that time to raise her right knee; that neither the flesh of her thigh, nor that of her leg, on that side, was fallen away.



ay, nor those of her arms and hands; that her skin was soft, her face plump, with an air of serenity that discovered no bad habit of body: he ventured to foretel that she would get quite well, and perhaps sooner than was generally imagined. His prediction was fully verified: as soon as she arrived at the age of puberty, her appetite returned, she began by little and little to eat; and, with the assistance of some light medicines, all the symptoms of her disorder successively disappeared: so that, in the month of July, 1755, she eat as usual, and began to walk without crutches, having been near four years without taking any nourishment. However high we may have carried our knowledge of the human body, and the animal œconomy, we are very far from being able to account for such phenomena.

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*Account of a periodical Dumbness: From the Ephemerides of the Curious.*

THE son of an inn-keeper at Jelsing, in the duchy of Wirtemberg, of a choleric constitution, and about 25 years of age, was taken so ill after supper on St. Stephen's day, now upwards of 15 years ago, that he could neither stand nor sit. He was also so sick at heart, that, had he not been relieved by copious vomiting, he was often apprehensive of being suffocated. About an hour after, he was better; but, during three whole months, he became much dejected and melancholy, and sometimes seized with fear. After the expiration of this term, he was suddenly struck dumb, without being able to pronounce the least word; or

form the least sound, though he could speak very articulately before. At first, the loss of his speech and voice was instantaneous, but began to continue longer every day; so that, from the duration of some minutes, it amounted to half an hour, two hours, three hours, and lastly, to twenty-three hours, yet without order. Such was his condition upwards of half a year. At last, the return of his speech kept so constant and regular an order, that now, for 14 years together, he cannot speak but from noon, during the space of an entire hour, to the precise moment of one o'clock. Every time he loses his speech, he feels something rise from his stomach to his throat. He cannot be deceived by the transposition of hours, because he observes always and very exactly the term, from twelve to one, though no bell rings nor clock strikes. Excepting this loss of speech, he makes no complaint of the disorder of any animal function. Both his internal and external senses are sound; he hears always very exactly, and answers by gestures or writing to the questions proposed to him. He eats and drinks heartily, and is very handy and active in doing the business of the family. At his time of speaking, his discourse is discreet and sensible for a person of his education; and if desired to read, which he sometimes does of himself, he is sure to stop short always in silence the moment that one o'clock in the afternoon locks up the powers of his tongue.

There cannot be a more extraordinary case than this, nor one so much deserving of the attention of the curious. How to account for it, must be extremely difficult. Perhaps



haps something he eat at supper, when he was first taken ill, has ever since remained undigested in his stomach or intestines; and as he used to feel something rising from thence towards his throat, it probably caused the extinction of his voice, which he did not recover till it again subsided.

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*An account of a French lady, blind from her infancy, who can read, write, and play at cards, &c.*

A Young gentlewoman of a good family in France\*, now in her 18th year, lost her sight when only two years old, her mother having been advised to lay some pigeons blood on her eyes, to preserve them in the small-pox; whereas, so far from answering the end, it eat into them: nature, however, may be said to have compensated for the unhappy mistake, by beauty of person, sweetness of temper, vivacity of genius, quickness of conception, and many talents which certainly much alleviate her misfortune.

She plays at cards with the same readiness as others of the party; she first prepares the packs allotted to her, by pricking them in several parts, yet so imperceptibly that the closest inspection can scarce discern her indexes. She sorts the suits, and arranges the cards in their proper sequence, with the same precision, and nearly the same facility, as they who have their sight. All she requires of those who play with her, is to name every card as it is played; and these she retains so exactly, that she frequently performs

some notable strokes, such as shew great combination and strong memory †.

The most wonderful circumstance is, that she should have learned to read and write; but even this is readily believed on knowing her method. In writing to her, no ink is used, but the letters are pricked down on the paper; and by the delicacy of her touch, feeling each letter, she follows them successively, and reads every word with her fingers ends. She herself in writing makes use of a pencil, as she could not know when her pen was dry; her guide on the paper is a small thin ruler, and of the breadth of her writing. On finishing a letter, she wets it, so as to fix the traces of her pencil, that they are not obscured or effaced: then proceeds to fold and seal it, and write the direction all by her own address, and without the assistance of any other person. Her writing is very strait, well cut, and the spelling no less correct. To reach this singular mechanism, the indefatigable cares of her affectionate mother were long employed, who accustomed her daughter to feel letters cut in cards or pasteboard, brought her to distinguish an A from a B, and thus the whole alphabet, and afterwards to spell words: then by the remembrance of the shape of the letters to delineate them on paper, and lastly, to arrange them so as to form words and sentences.

She has learned to play on the guitar, and has even contrived a way of pricking down the tunes as an assistance to her memory. So delicate are her organs, that in singing a

\* Mademoiselle de Salignac, born at Xaintonge.

† In this respect she is equalled, if not excelled, by Mr. Stanley, organist of St. Andrew's, who, though blind almost from his birth, plays at whist as well as most men.



tune, tho' new to her, she is able to name the notes.

In figured dances she acquits herself extremely well, and in a minuet with inimitable ease and gracefulness. As for the works of her sex, she has a masterly hand; she sews and hems perfectly well; and in all her works she threads the needles for herself, however small.

By the watch, her touch never fails telling her exactly the hour and minute\*.

As a supplement to this letter we shall give a postscript of the late bishop (then Dr.) Burnet to the second letter of his travels.

“ In the account that I gave you of Geneva, I forgot to mention a very extraordinary person that is there, Mrs. Walkier; her father is of Staff-house: she lost her sight when she was but a year old, by being too near a stove that was very hot: there rests in the upper part of her eye so much sight, that she distinguishes day from night: and when any person stands between her and the light, she will distinguish by the head and its dress a man from a woman, but when she turns down her eyes she sees nothing: she hath a vast memory: beside the French, that is her natural language, she

speaks both High Dutch, Italian, and Latin; she hath also the Psalms by heart in French, and many of them in Dutch and Italian: she understands the old philosophy well, and is now studying the new: she hath studied the body of divinity well, and hath the text of the scriptures very ready: on all which matters I had long conversations with her. She not only sings well, but she plays rarely on the organ; and I was told she played on the violin, but her violin was out of order. But that which is most of all, is, she writes legibly: in order to her learning to write, her father, who is a worthy man, and hath such tenderness for her, that he furnished her with masters of all sorts, ordered letters to be carved in wood, and she by feeling the characters formed such an idea of them, that she writes with a crayon so distinctly, that her writings can be well read, of which I have several essays. I saw her write, she doth it more nimbly than can be imagined; she hath a machine that holds the paper, and keeps her always in line. But that which is above all the rest, she is a person of extraordinary devotion, great resignation to the will of God, and a profound humility. The preceptor that the father kept in the

\* The reader may observe from this account, that the French lady has nothing to boast of in which she is not excelled by the gentleman already mentioned, except reading and writing. The works peculiar to her sex are gained mechanically; but the distinguishing colours, telling the precise time by a watch, naming the notes in music, and many other things depending upon the ear and touch, are so familiar to Mr. Stanley, that his friends cease to think them extraordinary in him; his naming the number of persons in a room on entering it; his directing his voice to each person in particular, even to strangers when they have once spoken; his missing any person absent, his telling who that person is; his conceptions of youth, beauty, symmetry, and shape, are such wonderful attainments as are, perhaps, all peculiar to himself; with which nothing that is reported of the French lady can be brought in competition.



house with her, he th likewise a wonderful faculty of acquiring tongues, When he came first to Geneva (for he is of Zurich), he spoke not a word of French, and within thirteen months he preached in French correctly, and with a good accent: he also began to study Italian in the month of November, and before the end of the following February he preached in Italian; his accent was very extraordinary, for the Italian language is not spoken in Geneva, tho' the race of the Italians do keep up still an Italian church there."

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*An Account of the imposture of the Boy of Bilson.*

**T**HE boy of Bilson, who was only thirteen years old, by instruction, could so conduct himself before the public, that the spectators were induced, by the extraordinary fits, agitations, and the surprising distempers wherewith he seemed to be affected, to believe him to be possessed of a devil, and bewitched. In his fits, he seemed to be both deaf and blind, writhing his mouth, continually groaning and panting, and although often pinched with men's fingers, pricked with needles, tickled on his sides, whipped severely with rods, and treated with other corrections, he was never known to discover the least sense of what was done unto him. When he was thought to be out of his fits, he digested nothing given him for nourishment, but would often surprise the company with voiding and casting rags, thread, straw, crooked pins, needles, &c. out of his mouth. By such means his belly grew almost

as flat as his back; his throat swelled and grew hard; his tongue seemed to be stiff, and rolled up towards the roof of his mouth; so that he seemed always dumb; had he not vouchsafed to speak a few words once a fortnight or three weeks.

This impostor proceeded so far, as to accuse a poor honest, industrious old woman, named Joan Cock, of witchcraft, and of bewitching him in particular. And by his artful behaviour, when she was brought ever so secretly into the room where he was, raised a strong presumption of the truth of his accusation; for which crime of witchcraft the poor woman was apprehended, and obliged to take her trial at Stafford assizes in 1620, to the manifest danger of her life, but acquitted by the jury.

The judges then committed the care of the boy to the bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, then present in court, who carried him to his palace at Eccleshall; and there having first taken the advice of well-approved physicians, concerning the state of his body, his lordship did intend to proceed with him by severities; but being informed, in the mean time, that the boy always fell into agitations and violent fits, upon hearing these words of St. John's gospel, *In the beginning was the Word, &c.* he resolved to begin with this experiment: "Boy," said the bishop, "it is either thou thyself, or the devil, that abhorrest those words of the gospel; and if it be the devil, there's no doubt of his understanding all languages; so that he cannot but know, and shew his abhorrence, when I recite the same sentence in the gospel out of the Greek text: But if it be thyself, then thou art an execrable wretch, who playest the devil's



devil's part, in loathing that part of the gospel of Christ, which, above all other scriptures, doth express the admirable union of the Godhead, and manhood, in one Christ and Saviour, which union is the arch pillar of man's salvation: Wherefore look to thyself, for now thou art to be put upon trial, and mark diligently whether it be the same scripture which shall be read unto thee out of the Greek Testament, at the reading whereof in the English tongue thou dost seem to be so much troubled and tormented,"

Then the bishop read to him the 12th instead of the 1st verse of the 1st chapter of St. John, which the pretended demoniac, supposing to be the first verse, as usual, fell into a fit, which being soon over, the bishop then read to him the real first verse in Greek; but he supposing this was some other text, shewed no sort of emotion at this reading.

Here the bishop would have rested the detection of the imposture, and the youngster seemed greatly confounded at his own mistake; but recovering himself, and resuming various emotions and postures, he excused himself to the company by pretending he was disturbed at the sight of two mice; complained of great sickness; and, in order to get home to his father's house, he would answer no more questions; but, by writing as well as he could, signified that he was troubled with a violent pain in his belly. To confirm his complaint, he next day contrived to make water as black as ink, and continued so to do for two days, with tokens of great pain. A circumstance which alarmed the bishop greatly, and had well nigh obtained his dismissal, before the

imposture could be sufficiently made out to quiet the minds of the divided people. But, by diligence, and narrow watching, it was on the third day discovered, that he made black water by the help of an inkhorn, which stood in one corner of the room; and being taken in the fact, he confessed, and related the manner of his imposing so many ways upon the public.

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*An account of the family at Wattisham, which has lately been afflicted with the loss of their limbs; published by Dr. Wollaston, of Bury in Suffolk.*

JOHN DOWNING, a poor labouring man, living at Wattisham, in January last, had a wife and six children; the eldest, a girl 15 years of age, the youngest about four months.—They were all at that time very healthy, and had not any of them been ill for some time before.—On Sunday, the 10th of January 1762, the eldest girl complained, in the morning, of a pain in her left leg, particularly in the calf of the leg. Towards evening the pain grew exceedingly violent.—The same evening another girl complained of the same violent pain in the same leg.—On the Monday, the mother, and another child; and on Tuesday all the rest of the family were affected in the same manner; some in one leg, some in both legs.—The little infant was taken from the mother's breast: it seemed to be in pain, but the limbs did not mortify; it lived a few weeks. The mother, and the other five children, continued in violent pain a considerable time: In about four, five, or six days, the



diseased leg began to turn black gradually, appearing at first covered with blue spots, as if it had been bruised.—The other leg of those who were affected at first only in one leg, about that time also began to be affected with the same excruciating pain, and in a few days that leg also began to mortify.

—The mortified parts separated gradually from the sound parts; and the surgeon had, in most of the cases, no other trouble than to cut through the bone, which was black and almost dry.—The state of their limbs at present is thus:

Mary, the mother, aged 40, has lost the right foot at the ankle; the left foot also is off, and the two bones of the leg remain, almost dry, with only some little putrid flesh adhering in the same places. The flesh is found to about two inches below the knee.—The bones would have been sawn through that place if she would have consented to it.

Mary, aged 15, both legs off below the knees.

Elizabeth, aged 13, both legs off below the knees.

Sarah, aged 10, one foot off at the ankle.—The other foot was affected, but not in so great a degree, and is now found again.

Robert, aged 8, both legs off below the knees.

Edward, aged 4, both feet off.

An infant, four months old, dead.

The father was attacked about a fortnight after the rest of the family, and in a slight degree; the pain being confined to his fingers.

—Two fingers on the right hand continued for a long time discoloured, and partly shrunk and contracted: but he begins now to have some use of them.—The nails of

the other hand were also discoloured.—He lost two of them.

It is remarkable, that, during all the time of this misfortune, the whole family are said to have appeared, in other respects, well, eat heartily, and slept well, when the violence of the pain began to abate.—The mother is now emaciated, and has very little use of her hands.—The eldest girl has a superficial ulcer in one thigh, and seems also ill. The rest of the family are pretty well.—The stump of some of them perfectly healed,

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*An account of an Amputation of a leg, without any subsequent Hæmorrhage. By Thomas Antrobus, surgeon in Liverpool. Extracted from the second volume of Medical Observations and Inquiries.*

WILLIAM JAMES, of Bristol, aged thirty years, was admitted, Feb. 1758, into the infirmary at Liverpool, for a spitting of blood; and soon afterwards was seized with an epidemic malignant fever; which brought on a mortification of the left foot. On this occasion, warm spirituous fomentations were used; cataplasms, made of the Spec. e Cymino, with the grounds of strong beer, were applied; and the Peruvian bark administered in a warm cordial julep. By this method, the progress of the mortification was stopped, about two inches above the ankle; and, in a little time, a separation, with a good digestion of the sound part, ensued. This favourable appearance, tho' some symptoms of a fever still remained, determined me, with the approbation of the other surgeons, Mr. Bromfield and Mr. Pickering, to take off the leg.



The amputation was accordingly performed, in the usual place below the knee ; but when the tournequet was slackened, there was no efflux of blood from the divided arteries, nor the least pulsation to be perceived, at any of their extremities. By what the patient seemed to suffer in the operation, there was no apparent diminution of sensibility. The effusion of blood, which followed the incision through the skin and flesh, was very small, and seemed to be no other than the recurrent blood, from the crural and other veins. It appeared blackish, as if it had stagnated some time ; and much resembled that which is found in the veins of a dead body. Sponges, dipt in warm water, were applied to the stump, for the space of ten or fifteen minutes, the tournequet being still loose ; whilst those who were present at the operation were astonished that no hæmorrhage followed. After attending so long, and no sign of bleeding being observed, the stump was dressed, without any ligatures made on the arteries, with compresses dipt in warm oil of turpentine, and laid on the extremities of the arteries. These, with the other dressings, were secured by an easy bandage ; and the tournequet remained loose, lest a new accession of fever should bring on the apprehended hæmorrhage. The integuments, muscles, and bones of this part, appeared to be in a natural and vivid state ; but the arm, on the same side, had such an uncommon blackish hue, as seemed to threaten a total gangrene, though the radical artery enjoyed a good pulsation.

In the evening I visited my pa-

tient, found the pulse much raised, and no appearance of the livid colour on the arm remaining ; nor were the dressings discoloured with any blood. I ordered the tournequet to be kept loose on the thigh, an opiate to be given, and the bark to be prepared again for him. On the fourth day after the operation, I renewed the dressings, and perceived not the least appearance of blood ; and instead of seeing a gangrened stump, unexpectedly a good digestion presented itself round the edges thereof, without much inflammation, hardness, or other bad symptom. He was dressed every day after ; the digestion increased ; and the delirium of the fever, which had still remained, soon went off. Thus, in the ordinary time, the part was healed, and the health of the patient perfectly recovered. From this account, truly stated, we find there was a separation of the mortification above the ankle ; and a good digestion upon the live part ; and though, upon amputating the limb, at the usual place below the knee, there was not the least appearance of blood, or pulsation, at the divided arteries ; yet a digestion appeared upon the stump, on the fourth day after the operation.

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*An account of a conception without the rupture of the hymen. From the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, for the year 1756.*

**I**N the month of March 1756, an unmarried woman, aged 30, died at Lille, of the consequences of a fixed pain in the left iliac region. Her body being opened by M. Varocquier,



rocquier, professor of anatomy at that place, in the presence of two surgeons, the left ovarium was observed to be as big as an hen's egg; and being opened, there flowed from it about an ounce of a lymphatic liquor like whey, and there was found in it a foetus a little decayed. It was of the length of two inches from the crown of the head to the knees. The uterus and the opposite ovarium were in their natural state; but what is extraordinary in this subject, in which M. Varocquier found a foetus, the hymen was quite entire. That which is reckoned an infallible proof of virginity is therefore but an equivocal mark.

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*An account of a remarkable Mummy.  
From the Memoirs of the Royal  
Academy of Sciences at Paris, for  
the year 1756.*

SOME peasants being at work in a field belonging to the village of Matres-d'Artieres, near Riom in Auvergne, found a kind of trough, seven feet long, three broad, and eight inches in depth, cut out of a stone which seemed to be a granite, and covered with another stone of the same kind. In this trough was a leaden coffin, which contained the body of a lad about twelve or thirteen; so well embalmed, that the flesh was still flexible and supple. The arms were covered with bands twisted round them from the wrist to the top of the shoulders, and the legs in the same manner from the ancles to the top of the thighs: a kind of shirt covered the breast and belly, and over all was a winding sheet. All these linens were im-

bibed with a balm of such a strong smell, that the stone trough retained it, and communicated it to those who came near it, long after the coffin was taken out of it. This mummy was carried first to the curate's of the parish: it had at that time on its head a wooden cup, lined with an aromatic paste, which had the same smell as the balm in which the linen had been dipped. It had also in its hands balls of the same paste, which were kept on by little bags, which covered the hands, and were tied at the wrists; and the arms, thighs, and legs were covered with some of the same paste. But being removed soon after to Riom, by order of the intendant of that place, all the coverings were taken away; and the colour of the skin, which was at first very clear, changed to a dark brown. The drug employed in embalming had very much diminished the bulk of the fleshy parts; but had preserved their suppleness so well, that a surgeon making an incision in the stomach, one of the by-standers put in his finger, and could feel the diaphragm, the great lobe of the spleen, and the liver; but these two last had lost much of their bulk. A part of the epiploon, about three inches in length, being extracted at this opening, was found to be quite sound, and as flexible as in its natural state. About twelve inches of the jejunum being likewise extracted, and tied at one end, it was inflated by blowing in it, as readily as if it had been that of an animal just killed. In short, the body seemed to be embalmed in a quite different manner from that of the Egyptians, whose mummies are dry and brittle.



No inscription on the coffin or linen, no medal, nor any symbol whatever, was found, that might discover the time when it was deposited in this place; and the peasants affirmed, with oaths, that they had not removed or embezzled any thing.

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*An account of a body which had been found entirely converted into Hair, a considerable time after it was buried.——From the Acts of Leipsic.*

**A**BOUT forty-three years ago, a woman was interred at Nuremberg, in a wooden coffin painted black, according to the custom of the country. The earth, wherein her body was deposited, was dry and yellow, as it is for the most part in the environs of that city. Of three bodies, buried in the same grave, this woman's was laid the deepest in the ground; and there being an occasion to make room for a fourth body, the grave was dug up anew: but, to the great surprise of the digger, when he had removed the two uppermost coffins, he perceived a considerable quantity of hair that had made its way through the flits and crevices of the coffin. The lid being taken off, there appeared a perfect resemblance of the human figure, the eyes, nose, mouth, ears, and all other parts, being very distinct; but from the crown of the head to the soles of the feet, it was covered with very long, thick, and frizzled hair. The grave-digger, after examining it for some time, happened to touch the upper part of the head; but was more surprised than before, on seeing the entire body shrunk, and nothing at last re-

main in his hand, but a bundle of rough hair, which insensibly assumed a brownish red colour.

The learned Honoratus Fabri, Lib. 3. de Plantis, and several other authors, are of opinion, that hair, wool, feathers, nails, horns, teeth, &c. are nothing but vegetables. If it be so, we need not be surprised to see them grow on the bodies of animals, even after their death, as has been frequently observed. Petrus Borellus, Hist. & Obs. Med. Cent. I. Obs. 10, pretends, that these productions may be transplanted as vegetables, and may grow in a different place from that where they first germinated. He also relates, in some of his observations on this subject, among others, that of a tooth drawn out and transplanted, which may appear pretty singular.

Though the external surface of bodies is the usual place for the growth of hair, it has, notwithstanding, been sometimes found on the tongue, in the interior of the heart, and on its surface; in the breasts and kidneys; and in other glandular and muscular parts: but there is no internal part where it is oftener found than in the ovarium of females. This has been observed in three different subjects by Dr. Tyson, as we find it related in the Philosophical Collections of Mr. Hooke; who also tells us, on the testimony of Mr. Arnold, that a man, hanged at Tyburn for theft, was found, in a very short time after he was taken away from the gallows, covered over in a very extraordinary manner with hair.

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*Observations on the Hair of dead Persons; being an Extract of a Letter from Bartholine to Sachs.*



*inserted in the Acts of Copenhagen.*

I Do not know, whether you ever observed, that the hair which, in people, when living, was black or grey, often after their death, in digging up their graves, or opening the vaults where they lie, is found changed into a fair or flaxen colour; so that their relations can scarce know them again by such a mark. This change is produced, undoubtedly, by the hot and concentrated vapours which are exhaled from the dead bodies.

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*Thoughts on the poisonous effects of Muscles.*

THE poisonous effect, consequent on eating muscles, does not proceed, as I apprehend, from any ill principle in the muscle itself, nor from any noxious quality in those little crabs frequently found in them; neither does it proceed from any property derived from the copperas-beds, near which muscles are sometimes found; nor from the malignity of any corrosive mineral whatever, nor from any heterogeneous mixture of animal salts that muscles may meet with in the stomach of the eater, for the following reasons:

1. That no poisonous quality is inherent in the substance of the muscle, is evident from this: that multitudes have made the muscle a part of their food, for many years, without finding the least inconvenience; on the contrary, have found them a wholesome, nourishing, and even a delicious food.

2. That the poison which produces the effect, if any such there be, does not reside in the crab, is

equally demonstrable; for some will swallow as many as can be brought them, without the least scruple; and, indeed, there is but little reason to suppose that a quantity of poison, sufficient to produce such sudden and apparent ill effects, can be contained in so small a crab, when those of so much larger dimensions are daily eaten with safety by all sorts of people on those coasts, where they are found in plenty.

3. That it cannot be owing to any vicious quality imbibed from the copperas-beds near which they are found, because the same effect is frequently produced by eating muscles gathered many hundred miles from any copperas-beds; and by those of the whitest and most inviting kind; nor can a quantity of vitriolic or mineral pungent salts, sufficient to poison a person, exist in dressed muscles, without discovering itself either in the liquor, or upon the palate when the muscles are eating.

And, 4. It cannot proceed from any heterogeneous mixture of animal salts in the stomach of the eater, because the sudden swelling of the person affected is a symptom that never follows from such a cause.

It is further observable, that particular people only are affected by the eating of muscles, and those differently at different times. I am myself acquainted with some persons who never could eat muscles without being ill; but who can now eat them boldly, and without the least apprehension of any bad consequences; and I have myself eaten them from my infancy, and yet they have never once disagreed with me, nor with any of my family, save one.

I am



I am therefore of opinion, from the observations I have been able to make, that the disorders proceeding from the eating of muscles, happen from the ready disposition of some glutinous particles on the surface of the muscle to adhere to what it touches of the stomach; and that the real cause, of what is generally thought the poisonous effect, is only the cohesion of the membrane of the muscle, like a piece of leaf-gold, to the inner coat or lining of the stomach, which, when once dislodged, the patient almost instantly recovers.

The reason why some may be more liable than others to be affected in this manner, may be owing to the disposition of the stomach itself, the viscosity of whose contents may be a concurrent cause of the disorder.

The usual symptoms that follow such an adhesion, are great oppression of the *præcordia*, strangulation, anhelation, short cough, tingling ears, watery eyes, swelled face and hands, with efflorescence and itchings in the skin; most of which symptoms I have known to follow the eating of raw hot bread, swallowing the skins of grapes, and even from eating French beans. In all these cases, gentle emetics seldom fail to relieve the patient; but as sudden disorders of this kind sometimes prove fatal before help can be called in, oils of any kind, mixed with warm water, taken into the stomach, may, in some cases, have a good effect: for as, in loosening a plaister from the skin, oil is often the easiest way of removing it, so, in cases of an adhesion to the internal coat of the stomach, oil may have the like effect.

Were people of weak stomachs

inclined to make the muscle a part of their necessary food, as in some places they are plenty, and are certainly nourishing, I would advise them, by way of prevention, first to prepare their stomachs by gentle emetics, and then to eat of them sparingly, with much bread and butter; and, by frequently eating them in this manner, those people, with whom such wholesome shell-fish have disagreed, have been brought to eat them without danger.

*Essex, March 20.*

J. C.

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*On the property of the Box-Tree to make the Hair grow.—From the Ephemerides of the Curious.*

A Young woman, of Gunberg in the Lower Silesia, having had a malignant dysentery, which occasioned the falling-off of all her hair, was advised by a person, some time after her recovery, (as her hair was not likely to grow again of itself, her head being then as bare as the hand), to wash it all over with a decoction of Box-wood, which she readily did, without the addition of any other drug. Using no precaution to secure her neck and face, hair of a chesnut colour grew in effect on her head, as she was told it would; but her whole neck and face was also soon covered with red-hairs, which made her so deformed, that she appeared little different from an ape or monkey. A physician advised her to apply to her face and neck a depilatory of the resin of the larch-tree, mixed up with that of mastich: but we have not yet learned what effect this remedy has produced on her.



*Of a stone, that, like the Chameleon, has the property of changing its colour, in certain circumstances.— From the Ephemerides of the Curious.*

**M**. Andrew Cnoffelius, one of the physicians of the court of Poland, relates, that, having been at Thorn, a famous lapidary there shewed him, among other curiosities, a stone, called by some the mineral polypus, about the size of a large pea, and of an ash colour. What was wonderful in this stone is, that, though opaque, and having no transparent part, after being laid in water, it began, in less than six minutes, to appear shining at the edges, and to communicate to the water a sort of luminous shadow, of the colour of yellow amber: it afterwards passed from yellow to the colour of an amethyst, and from thence successively to black, white, and a cloudy colour, and, as it were, surrounded with smoke. At last it appeared quite brilliant, entirely transparent, and of a very beautiful yellow-amber colour. Taken out of the water, it returned to its former opaque state, after being coloured successively, and in a retrograde order, with the same dyes it had before assumed in the water.

The doctor adds, that this stone is natural, and not a production of art; and that it also may be regarded as a proof of the existence of a formal light in nature.

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*Description of a new mineral.*

**I**T may be reasonably doubted, whether mankind will ever know all the riches of nature. Every cen-

tury, every age, every country is distinguished by new discoveries, and the time present in this article always adds to the time past. The mineral lately found in the neighbourhood of Gera in Voigtland, a province of Saxony, is an incontestable proof of this assertion. It appears in form of a pretty strong vein, leaning against a mountain. No person hath as yet presumed to define or impose a name upon it, either old or new; because its properties are so peculiar, that when some people find an analogy between it and certain minerals, others perceive very considerable differences between them. It is a very dusky substance, extremely white, resembling chalk, or the whitest terrestrial marrow, a quality without which it would be taken for the talc of silver (*lapis talci argenteus*), for it feels fat to the touch. It is used as paint by the ladies, and can neither be altered or impaired by fire: but the talc of silver is usually greenish, and that of gold yellow: besides, talc is flinty, and found in large pieces. All these qualities do not center in this new mineral, while it hath others which we don't find in talc. A learned and indefatigable mineralist and chymist has endeavoured, by all possible experiments, to discover the properties, and determine the true use of this substance: and these are what he has already ascertained. 1. The mineral is very proper for polishing gold and silver: it leaves not one scratch, and takes away every thing that can stain these metals. 2. It suffers no change in the fire, and cannot be brought to fusion. 3. In consequence of this last quality, it may be used for the smelting and separation of metals.



als. 4. It makes an excellent wash for the skin, which it wonderfully cleans and softens, having nothing corrosive in its composition. 5. Being put in water, it instantly dissolves. 6. Being diluted with a great quantity of water, it may be used as varnish to figures of plaister, which afterwards appear as if they were silvered. 7. It may be used for drawing on paper like lead ore: the strokes of it are soft, substantial, and shining, and extremely proper for drawing flowers to be coloured and painted. 8. It yields a very fine magisterium, infinitely superior to that which is prepared from marcasite, and affords an incomparable white for the ladies. 9. It may be used by organ-makers, to smear the rustian of their moulds, which, by that means, will be preserved in the furnace, without being burnt so soon as it commonly is. 10. It gives a polish to the organ-pipes, like that of silver. A person of learning, to whom we communicated this paper, being justly struck with the qualities of such a mineral which melts in water, and resists fire, thinks he perceives in it some resemblance to a mineral mentioned by Samuel Northon, who calls it Election.

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*Strange effects of Sea-water on Cast-Iron.—From the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, for the year 1756.*

IN the month of July 1756, there were fished up, in the road of La Hogue, within musket-shot of Fort Lillet, four iron guns, one of which was a sixteen pounder, part of the wreck of M. de Tourville's squadron, to which that general set fire

on the 29th of July, 1692; and which, consequently, had lain in the water sixty-four years. M. Morand, jun. had the curiosity to examine them: and sent the following account to the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris.

The guns were covered, both without and within, with a crust of mud mixed with sand, &c. This crust being taken off, the cannon were found to be as soft as tin: but after being exposed to the air for twenty-four hours, they resumed their former degree of hardness, and bore the largest charges three times successively, without being suffered to cool, tho' besides the balls, they were loaded with a number of flints on purpose to try them.

Becher, and some other authors, have given some interesting hints on the properties of marine salt; which may serve to explain this phenomenon: but as this is only a single fact, M. Morand doth not pretend to account for it, contenting himself with relating the circumstances.

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*Observations on the Salamander, by Matthias Tilingius, a member of the Academy of the Curious in Germany.*

SOME years ago, when I was a student in physic at Rostock, being out herbarising in a wood in the neighbourhood of that town. I found a land salamander, which was black, and spotted with yellow, like a lizard. I was pleased to have an opportunity of trying whether this insect could effectually resist the heat of fire; and, as soon as I came home, I threw it accordingly into



into the fire, but it was in a short time burnt, and reduced to ashes.

The ancients have told us a great number of fables concerning the salamander, and, among others, that it remains unhurt by the activity of fire. Some authors have indeed asserted, that the salamander resists not only the heat of fire, but that it lives in it as its own element, and feeds and thrives upon its substance. Some others have thought it enough to say, that the salamander can live for some time in fire, without being burnt, because, at first, the aqueous exudation, caused by heat, from its body, extinguishes the fire; but if the fire should be rekindled, or its heat increased, it would be burnt and consumed. Others, in fine, have maintained, with more reason, that nothing is more contrary to salamanders than fire, being consumed and reduced to ashes, soon after they are thrown into it. This is verified not only by the following observations, but by those of several modern authors.

For my part, I am persuaded, that what has given room to so erroneous an opinion, which passed from ancient authors, who copied one another, to the moderns, is, that formerly this insect was known no otherwise than by its name: hence we may account for the monstrous paintings and descriptions that have been made of it, sometimes representing it with the head of a sheep, and sometimes with the head of a serpent; sometimes cloathed with a lanuginous skin, and sometimes with a scaly skin, rough, oily, &c. One author puts it in the class of worms; another in that of spiders: so that those descriptions and paintings no more resemble the salamander, than the

as does the horse, or the owl the parrot.

I should be inclined to embrace the second opinion, if the observations I made did not seem very contrary to it. I cannot indeed aver it for matter of fact, that the salamander that I threw into the fire lived therein one moment: for, having repeated several times the experiment, in presence of some learned men, I observed, that so soon as I laid them on the coals, after struggling a little to save themselves, they gaped and expired; so that it always appeared to me that they could not bear the heat of fire, during the shortest interval of time. It is true, they remained afterwards pretty long before they were consumed, because a plentiful exudation of milky liquor oozed from all the pores of their skin, as others have already observed, which diminished the activity of the fire for some moments: but as this moisture acquired a thicker consistence, the salamander became less, and, wasting away by degrees, was at last reduced to ashes.

Now, what is there in this extraordinary, or particular to salamanders? Does not the same thing happen whenever a bit of raw flesh is put into the fire, or even wood, which are not inflammable till the humidity contained in them is evaporated? Without paying therefore any regard to the authority and superstitious stories of the ancients concerning salamanders, it may be confidently asserted, pursuant to experience, that salamanders, instead of living in fire as in their own element, instead of being nourished with fire, and extinguishing it by a property peculiar to them, surely die in it, and



d are consumed in as short a time as all other animals.

If any, still prepossessed in favour of the ancients, cannot persuade themselves that their opinion can be thus destitute of all foundation, must be supposed, that, in such case, they had in view the metaphorical salamander of the chymists, or the amianthus, which some have called by the name of salamander.

*An Account of a Treatise in Latin, presented to the Royal Society, intitled, A Dissertation on the surprising degree of artificial cold, by which Mercury was frozen. By J. Braun, of the Academy of Sciences, &c. Read at a Meeting of the Royal Society in the month of May, 1761, and extracted from vol. lii. part i. of the Philosophical Transactions for the same year.*

*To the Royal Society.*

Gentlemen,

VERY early last year, we were informed, that at Petersburg, by the means of artificial cold, the mercury in thermometers had been condensed to so great a degree as to become perfectly fixed and solid: but as this information was received only in a loose way, from the public gazettes, the opinions of philosophers here were suspended, in relation to their giving credit to this very extraordinary phenomenon, until the truth of it could be sufficiently authenticated. This has very lately been done by professor Braun, who first made the experiments, and who presented an account of them to the Royal Aca-

demy at Petersburg, a printed copy of which has been communicated by him to the Royal Society.

Professor Braun observes, that every age has its inventions, and that the discovery of some things seems to be reserved for particular persons. To this, the history of sciences in all ages, more particularly of the late and the present, bears witness sufficiently, by the invention of the air-pump, barometers, thermometers, optical instruments, electricity (more particularly the natural) artificial magnets, phosphorus, the discovery of the aberration of light, and of many other things in natural philosophy. He does not know, whether the congelation of mercury, which it was his good fortune to discover, may not be ranged among these: for who did not consider quicksilver as a body which would preserve its fluidity in every degree of cold? Neither was the fact otherwise, if this is understood of natural cold, such as it has been found in any part of the globe, hitherto discovered. But if it should happen; that the natural cold should ever be so intense as artificial cold has been found to be, the whole globe would have a different face, as men, animals, and plants, would certainly be destroyed. He did hint some time since, in a dissertation upon the degrees of heat, which certain liquors and certain fluids would bear before they boiled, and the degrees of cold they respectively bore before they were converted into ice, that there was a suspicion, that the mercury in some of the barometers and thermometers made use of for experiments in Siberia had been frozen: but since that in greater degrees of cold, the



mercury continued fluid in other barometers and thermometers, the immobility and hardness observed in some of these instruments was attributed more probably to the lead or the bismuth, with which the mercury had been adulterated, and was not considered as a real freezing of the mercury: but this has since been put out of all doubt; since it is certain that pure mercury would not freeze under such small degrees of cold, great as they were for natural cold. The experiments, which the professor made, in order to congeal mercury, demonstrate this most evidently; besides which, they exhibit new phænomena.

There happened at Petersburg, on the 14th of December, 1759, a very great frost, equal, if not more intense, than any which had been observed there: for, between nine and ten o'clock in the morning, Delisle's thermometer stood at 205; at seven o'clock, at 201; which last was the greatest degree of cold, that had been observed at Petersburg, either by himself or others. At one o'clock at noon, the thermometer stood at 197. Mr. Braun had been employed several days before this, in observing the several degrees of cold which different fluids would bear, before they were converted into ice, partly to confirm those things which he had already laid before the academy: and partly to make experiments upon liquors, which had not yet been examined; as on the days between the 7th and 14th the cold was intense enough to be between the degrees of 181 and 191.

When the natural cold was so intense as to be at 205, professor Braun conjectured, that it was of all others the most proper occasion

to try the effects of artificial cold; not doubting, but that artificial cold would be increased in proportion as the natural was more intense. Aquafortis, which was found by the thermometer to be 204 degrees cold, was the greatest part of it frozen, the ice having the appearance of crystals of nitre; which, however, immediately dissolved in a small degree of heat. The aquafortis, which, though frozen at the sides, was liquid in the middle, was poured upon pounded ice, in that proportion which was directed by Fahrenheit, the first person who made artificial cold with spirit of nitre. But before the professor made this experiment, he, by examination, found, that both the ice and aquafortis were of the temperature with the air, which was then 204. Upon the first pouring, the mercury fell 20 degrees; this spirit was poured off, and fresh put on, several times; but it was possible, by these means, to introduce no more than 30 degrees of cold; so that the mercury in the thermometer fell no lower than 234. Since therefore Fahrenheit could not produce cold greater than that of 40 below the cypher of his thermometer, which corresponds with 210 of that employed by professor Braun; nor Reamur, nor Muschenbroek, who often repeated the same experiment, our author was upon the point of giving up this pursuit; as considering this as the greatest degree to which artificial cold could be carried; thinking it sufficient honour to himself, to have added 20 degrees to the cold formerly known.

But reflecting that this was not all the fruit he expected from these experiments, he determined to pursue



them; but at the same time, never, to vary the manner of m. By good fortune, his ice all gone, and he was compelled to use snow in its stead, after having first tried, and found the snow of the same degree of cold as the air, at this time 203. In the snow, the thermometer, and the aquafortis, being of the same temperature, he immersed the thermometer in snow, contained in a glass; and, at first, only poured a few drops of the aquafortis upon the part of the snow, in which the thermometer was immersed; in which he observed the mercury to subside to 260. Elated by this remarkable success, he immediately conceived hopes, that these experiments might be carried further: nor was he deceived in his expectations; for, repeating the experiment in the same simple manner, he poured on only some more aquafortis, and immediately the mercury fell to 380. Upon which he immersed the thermometer in another glass filled with snow, but it had lost any of this acquired cold; and at length, by this third experiment, the mercury subsided 70 degrees. When he observed this enormous degree of cold, he could scarce give credit to his eyes, but believed his thermometer broke. To his infinite satisfaction, upon taking out his thermometer, he found it whole; though the mercury was immovable, and continued so in the open air twelve minutes. He carried his thermometer to a chamber, where the temperature of the air was 125 degrees; but, after some minutes, the mercury being restored to its fluidity, began to rise. But to be certain, whether this thermometer had re-

ceived any injury, and whether it would yet correspond with his thermometer, which he keeps as a standard, he suspended them together, and in twenty minutes the thermometers corresponded one with the other.

The thermometers, which our author usually employs, have a spherical bulb, and their scale is divided into 1200 parts, of which 600 are above the cypher, which denotes the heat of boiling water, and 600 below that heat. A thermometer of this construction was used in investigating the heat of boiling mercury and oils. He had another thermometer, of which the scale went no lower than 360 degrees below the cypher denoting the heat of boiling water. He repeated the former experiment with this, and the mercury very soon descended so, that the whole was contained in the bulb, which, however, it did not quite fill. The mercury in this bulb was immovable, even though he shook the thermometer; until about a quarter of an hour, it began to ascend in the open air; and it continued to ascend, till it became higher than the circumambient air seemed to indicate. He was struck with this extraordinary phenomenon, and very attentively looked at the mercury in this thermometer, and found certain air-bubbles interspersed with the mercury, which were not in that of the other thermometer. From these, and other experiments (it would be unnecessary to recite them all), he was satisfied, that the mercury in these thermometers had been fixed and congealed by the cold.

Hitherto our professor had only seen the mercury fixed within the bulb of his thermometers. These  
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he was unwilling to break. He was, however, desirous of examining the mercury in its fixed state, and therefore determined to break his thermometers in the next experiments. It was several days before he got other thermometers, which exactly corresponded with those he had already employed.

When these were procured, the natural cold had somewhat relented. In the former experiment, the thermometer stood at 204; it was now at 199. In making the experiment, he varied the manner a little. He first put the bulb of the thermometer into a glass of snow, gently pressed down, before he poured on the aquafortis; he then, in another glass, poured the aquafortis upon the snow, before he immersed his thermometer therein; he then, in like manner, put the snow to the aquafortis, before he put his thermometer therein. Which ever of these ways he proceeded, he found the event exactly the same; as the whole depended upon the aquafortis dissolving the snow. When he had proceeded so far, as to find the mercury immoveable, he broke the bulb of the thermometer, which had already been cracked in the experiment, but the parts were not separated. He found the mercury solid, but not wholly so, as the middle part of the sphere was not yet fixed. The external convex surface of the mercury was perfectly smooth; but the internal concave one, after the small portion of mercury which remained fluid, was poured out, appeared rough and uneven, as though composed of small globules. He gave the mercury several strokes with the pestle of a mortar, which stood near him. It had solidity enough to bear ex-

tension with these strokes: its hardness was like that of lead, though somewhat softer; and, upon striking, it sounded like lead. When the mercury was extended by the strokes, he cut it easily with a penknife. This mercury then becoming softer by degrees, in about twelve minutes it recovered its former fluidity, the air being then 197. The colour of the congealed mercury did scarce differ from that of the fluid; it looked like the most polished silver, as well in its convex part, as where it was cut.

The next day, the cold had increased to 212 degrees, which was 7 degrees beyond what it had ever before been observed at Petersburg. The season so much favouring, he thought it right to continue his pursuit, not only in further confirmation of what he had already observed, but to investigate new phenomena. In two thermometers he observed the same facts, in relation to the congealing mercury as he did the preceding day. In the bulbs which he broke, the whole of the mercury was not fixed as a very small portion, much less than that of the preceding day, continued fluid. He treated the mercury as he did the former; he beat it with a pestle, he cut it, and every thing was thus far the same. But he saw a very great difference in relation to the descending of the mercury in the thermometer, the like of which did not occur to him neither in the former, nor any of the subsequent experiments. From the former ones it appeared, that the mercury in the first experiment had only descended to 470, when it became immoveable, though the glass bulb was not cracked. In the experiment of the 25th, it descended



descended to 530; and in two thermometers on the 26th, to 650. But as well in the thermometer, which he used on the 25th, as in two of the 6th, the bulbs were cracked in the experiment: they cohered, however; nor was the least part of the bulb separated, but the congealed mercury seemed to adhere to all parts of the bulb. In the following experiments, he invariably found that the mercury sunk lower, if the whole of it was congealed, than if any part of it remained fluid. It then generally descended to 680 and 700, but the bulbs were never without cracks; moreover, it descended to 800, and beyond even to 1500; but in this last experiment the bulb was quite broke, so that the globe of mercury, thoroughly frozen, fell out, and by its fall, of about 3 feet, the globe of mercury became a little compressed; but in the former, only some parts of the bulb fell off.

Mr. Braun always found, that, *cæteris paribus*, the more intense the natural cold was, the more easy and more expeditiously these experiments did succeed.

In continuing these experiments he observed, that double aquafortis was more effectual than simple spirit of nitre, but that if both the aquafortis and Glauber's spirit of nitre, which he sometimes also used, were well prepared, the difference was not very considerable. When his aquafortis was frozen, which often happened, he found the same effects from the frozen parts, when thawed, as from that part of it, which remained fluid in the middle of the bottle. Simple spirit of nitre, though it seldom brought the mercury lower than 300 degrees, by the following method he even

froze mercury with it. He filled six glasses with snow, as usual, and put the thermometer in one of them, pouring thereupon the spirit of nitre. When the mercury would fall no lower in this, he, in the same manner, put it in a second, then in a third, and so in a fourth; in which fourth immersion, the mercury was congealed.

Another very considerable difference presented itself in pursuing these inquiries, with regard to the mode of descent of the mercury. He constantly and invariably observed, that the mercury descended at first gently, but afterwards very rapidly. But the point, at which the impetus begins, is not so easy to ascertain; as in different experiments it begins very differently, and sometimes at about 300, at other times about 350, and even further. In the experiment before mentioned, in which the mercury fell to 800, it proceeded very regularly to 600; about which point it began to descend with very great swiftness, and the bulb of the thermometer was broke. The mercury, however, was perfectly congealed.

He frequently observed another remarkable phenomenon; which was, that although the spirit of nitre, the snow, and the mercury in the thermometer, were previously reduced to the same temperature, upon pouring the spirit of nitre upon the snow, the mercury in the thermometer rose. But as this did not always happen, he carefully attended to every circumstance; from which it appeared, that this effect arose from his pouring the aquafortis immediately upon the bulb of the thermometer, not previously well immersed in the snow. He likewise observed another effect



twice only; and this was, that, after the thermometer had been taken out of the snow and aquafortis, the mercury continued to subside, in the open air, down as low as the congelation of mercury.

In the course of these inquiries, our professor found no difference, whether he made use of long or short thermometers; whether the tubes were made of the Bohemian, or the glass of Petersburg. Under the same circumstances, the same effects were also produced, making an allowance for the different contraction of the different glasses, under so severe a degree of cold. But if these tubes were filled with different mercury, there was then a sensible difference; inasmuch as mercury revived from sublimate did not subside so fast in the thermometer, as that did, which was less pure. He has even found, that he has been able to congeal the less pure mercury, at a time when he could not bring the revived mercury lower than 300 degrees: but this he would, till further trials have been made, not have considered as a general axiom.

From these experiments our author conceives it demonstrated, that heat alone is the cause of the fluidity of mercury, as it is that of water and other fluids. If, therefore, any part of the world does exist, in which so great a degree of cold prevails, as to make mercury solid, there is no doubt, but that mercury ought to appear there as a body equally firm and consistent, as the rest of the metals do here: that mercury, upon congealing, becomes its own ice, however different the mercurial ice may be from that of water and other liquids. The idea of freezing does or can comprehend

nothing more than a transition of bodies from a state of fluidity to that of firmness by the sole interposition of cold.

The ice of oily and saline bodies differs greatly from that of water, which is friable and easily broke, whereas that of mercury is ductile. And M. Braun proceeds to consider all bodies, which liquify by heat, as so many species of ice; so that every metal, wax, tallow, and glass, comes within his view in this respect.

Mercury then is, in its natural state, a solid metal; but is fusible in a very small degree of heat. Every metal begins to flow in a certain degree of heat; but this degree is different in different metals. Pure tin begins to run at 420; lead, at 530: and bismuth, at 470, in Fahrenheit's thermometer; or, according to our author, lead liquifies at 320 above the cypher in his scale, which corresponds with 596 in Fahrenheit; lead at  $170 = 416$  of Fahrenheit; bismuth at  $235 = 494$ ; zinc requires a greater heat to melt it than will make mercury boil. Now, if it could be settled, at what point mercury would begin to be congealed, we should know the point at which it began to flow; as it has been long known, that water is either fluid or solid, as the heat of it is a very few degrees above or under 32 in Fahrenheit's thermometer. Just so metals become solid, at almost the same degree of heat in which they become fluid. But in mercury the congealing point is at too great a latitude to be exactly determined; but our author estimates it to be about 469 degrees in his thermometer; at a less degree than which he has not been able to observe the slightest congelation. Hence it follows, that the

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condensation or contraction, and consequently the diminution of the volume of mercury, must be very great indeed. This is demonstrated by the great descent of the mercury in the thermometer, while it is freezing. But how great this diminution of the volume of the mercury is, cannot exactly be determined; and hence arises no small difficulty in determining its specific gravity, as this last must increase, as the bulk of the mercury lessens. Hence as mercury, even in its fluid state, comes of all bodies, platina excepted, the nearest to gold; in its solid state, it must still approach much nearer.

Our author had three thermometers filled with the most highly rectified spirits of wine. These not only exactly correspond with one another, but in less severe trials correspond reasonably well with those filled with mercury. But by the mixture of snow and spirit of nitre, which froze the mercury, he never was able to bring the spirit thermometers lower than 300. From hence it appears, that the cold, which will freeze mercury, will not freeze spirit of wine; and that therefore spirit thermometers are the most fit to determine the degree of coldness, in frigorific mixtures, until we are in a situation to construct solid metallic thermometers with sufficient accuracy.

Our author made many experiments, to try the effects of different fluids, in his frigorific mixtures. He invariably found, that Glauber's spirit of nitre and aquafortis were the most powerful. With oil of vitriol, the most ponderous of all acids, he was never able to congeal mercury. He likewise tried a great number of other fluids,

both acid and spirituous, which tho' when mixed with snow, produced cold, it was in very different degrees. He tried a series of experiments to this purpose; but it was in weather far less cold than the preceding experiments were tried in, viz. between 159 and 153, by his thermometer. By these it appears, that spirit of salt pounded upon snow, increased the natural cold 30 degrees; spirit of sal ammoniac, 10; oil of vitriol, 35; Glauber's spirit of nitre, 58; aquafortis, 40; simple spirit of nitre, 30; spirit of vinegar and lemon-juice, made no remarkable difference; dulcified spirits of vitriol, 20; Hoffman's liquor anodynus, 32; spirit of hartshorn, 10; spirit of sulphur, 10; spirit of wine rectified, 20; camphorated spirit, 15; French brandy, 12; and even several kinds of wine, increased the natural cold to 6, 7, or 8 degrees. That inflammable spirits should produce cold, seems very extraordinary, as rectified spirit seems to be liquid fire itself; and what still appears more paradoxical is, that inflammable spirits poured into water, cause heat; upon snow, cold; and what is water but melted snow?

Though not immediately relating to the principal purpose of this treatise, our author measured by his thermometer, when it stood in his study at 128 degrees, the heat occasioned by pouring different fluids into water. He found, that oil of vitriol produced 35 degrees; spirit of sea-salt, 10; Hoffman's anodyne liquor rectified, 5; spirit of wine, 10. On the contrary, spirit of sal ammoniac mixed with snow, spirit of sulphur, and spirit of hartshorn, mixed likewise with snow, made no perceptible differ-



ence. Highly rectified chymical oils, mixed with water, produced no heat; nor with snow, no cold; as was tried in the oils of turpentine, amber, mint, and mother of thyme. And here it is to be remarked, notwithstanding the contrary has been given out by some, that these chymical oils mixed with the most highly rectified spirit of wine, do produce no cold, either upon their mixture, or half an hour after.

It results from these experiments, that altho' there are many liquids, which can produce artificial cold, the nitrous acid is the most powerful; and mercury may be congealed by it, without any difficult process, at any time, when the heat of the atmosphere is not greater than 175 by the thermometer before mentioned. And these experiments have not only succeeded with our author, but with many others; among whom, it may be sufficient to mention Messieurs Lomonosow, Zeiher, Æpinus, and Model, as these gentlemen have made themselves well known in the philosophical world. The nitrous acid was poured upon the snow, in no determinate quantity; sometimes a few drops were sufficient, sometimes it required a larger quantity. Snow seems to be more fit for those experiments, than pounded ice; as the former, from its loose texture, is of more apt and easy solution.

Hence it appears, that mercury is no longer to be ranked with the semi-metals, but as a perfect one, fusible, though with a much less degree of heat than any of the others. It agrees likewise with other metals: as their parts, like it, when in fusion, attract one another, and run into globules, and, from a state

of fluidity, pass into a solid state, not all at once, but successively, and *vice versa*. But it is not worth inquiring, whether this metal, which agrees with all others, both in a solid and fluid state, has not the particular property of boiling at a certain degree of heat, which is by no means to be observed in other metals. The degree of heat, in which mercury begins to boil, is not at 600 of Fahrenheit's scale, as is generally imagined; but at least at 709 of the same scale, which corresponds with 414 of our author's, whose cypher is at the heat of boiling water.

Both the boiling and freezing of mercury have this in common, that when it begins to boil, it rises with rapidity; and descends rapidly, when it begins to freeze. If, therefore, the mean term of the congelation of mercury is fixed at 650 below the cypher, and the term of its boiling at 414 above the cypher; its greatest contraction to its greatest dilatation, will be 1064 degrees of our author's thermometer, and 1237 of Fahrenheit's; as 212 is the point of boiling water in this last, and 32 the freezing one; which corresponds with 150, under the term of boiling water, in our author's. Hence every one will see the great alteration of specific gravity in frozen and boiling mercury, as, between one and the other, the tenth part of the volume is lessened.

It may be asked, why the mixture of snow and nitrous acid does not run into a solid mass, and form itself into ice, but remain of a soft consistence, although actually much colder, than what is required to freeze aquafortis? We have already mentioned, that aquafortis freezes at 204 of our author's thermometer, which corresponds with 34 below



low the cypher of Fahrenheit's. The frigorific mass, in a degree of cold far below this, remained soft like a poultice. The cause of this extraordinary phenomenon seems to be no other than a continuation of the solution of the snow, and its mixing with the nitrous acid. For as the production of cold depends solely upon the solution and mixture, it cannot happen, that this mass, which constitutes a fluid of a hard kind, should run into a solid consistence, so long as the solution and mixture continue.

And now, Gentlemen, it requires no small share of your indulgence, to pardon my having extended this account so far: but I have to plead in my excuse, that the subject of this work is entirely new, and replete with a vast variety of curious facts; all which exactly

fall in with our excellent institution. For who, before Mr. Braun's discovery, would have ventured to affirm mercury to be a malleable metal? who, that so intense a degree of cold could be produced by any means? who, that the effects of pouring nitrous acid upon snow, should so far exceed those which result from mixing it with ice; when snow and ice are produced from the same substance, and seem to differ only in their configuration? As Mr. Braun's work is in very few hands, I had reason to hope, that you would not be displeased to be informed, in a degree somewhat circumstantial, of these very extraordinary facts. I am,

Gentlemen, &c.

W. WATSON.



## P R O J E C T S.

**I**T will not, we hope, be necessary to advertise our Readers, that we do not answer for the utility of the several Projects which we insert in our work. We insert them, because they wear a plausible appearance, and do not appear so chimerical in their nature, or so trivial in their design, as not to be deserving of a further examination, if found to answer the ends they propose, these ends being often of some moment to the convenience of life, or the improvement of manufacture. In examining schemes of this sort, new lights are often struck out, and the field of useful discoveries much enlarged.

*New materials for making paper.*

**B**EING informed that Mr. Collinson's garden on Mill-hill, near Hendon, in Middlesex, was celebrated for a collection of foreign trees, shrubs, and flowers; and having acquired some knowledge in these things by my travelling about, I determined to take it in course; and, I must confess, I was highly entertained with seeing so many new and rare trees and plants. Among others, I was shewn a China mulberry-tree, which had been raised by him from seed: It is called in Japan the paper mulberry-tree, because from this tree is made the greatest quantity of the paper that they use. I instantly thought, why not make pa-

per of it here as well as there? As rags may grow scarce and dear, this tree may supply that defect, for it is very flourishing, and easily increased.

I took a branch of the tree to compare it with the Japan mulberry, described and figured in Dr. Kempter's *Amœnitatum exoticarum*, fol. 473, and found it agreed exactly in every respect.

We are much beholden to that eminent traveller for giving us a description of the Japanese art of paper-making, which is here inserted, in hopes it may assist the ingenious artist to make the experiment, to whom I heartily wish success. Your's, &c.

JAMES WRIGHT,  
*A de-*



*A description of the manner in which the Japanese make paper of the bark of a tree.*

PAPER is made in Japan of the bark of the *Morus Papyrifera Sativa*, or, *True paper-tree*, after the following manner: Every year when the leaves are fallen off, or in the tenth Japanese month, which commonly answers to our December, the young shoots, which are very succulent, are cut off into sticks about three feet long, or something less, and put together in bundles to be afterwards boiled with water and ashes. If they should grow dry before they can be boiled, they must be first soaked in common water for about 24 hours, and then boiled. These bundles, or faggots, are tied close together, and put upright into a large kettle, which must be very well covered, and then they are boiled, till the bark shrinks so far, as to let about half an inch of the wood appear naked at the top. When the sticks have all been sufficiently boiled, they are taken out of the water, and exposed to the air till they grow cold, then they are slit open lengthways for the bark to be taken off, which being done, the wood is thrown away as useless, but the bark dried and carefully preserved, as being the substance out of which they are in time to make their paper, by letting it undergo a further preparation, consisting in cleansing it anew, and afterwards picking out the better from the worse. In order to this, it is soaked in water three or four hours, and being grown soft, the blackish skin which covers it is scraped off, together with the green surface of what re-

mains, which is done with a knife, which they call *kaadsi kusaggi*, that is a *kaadsi* razor; at the same time also the stronger bark, which is a full year's growth, is separated from the thinner, which covered the younger branches, the former yielding the best and whitest paper, the latter only a dark and indifferent sort. If there is any bark of more than a year's growth, mixed with the rest, it is likewise picked out and laid aside, as yielding a coarser and worse sort of paper; all gross knotty particles, and whatever else looks in the least faulty or discoloured, is picked out at the same time, to be kept with the last close matter.

After the bark has been sufficiently cleansed, and prepared and sorted according to its different degrees of goodness, it must be boiled in clear lye. From the time it begins to boil, they keep perpetually stirring it with a strong reed, pouring from time to time so much fresh lye in as is necessary to dense the evaporation, and to supply what hath been already lost by it; this boiling must be continued till the matter is grown so tender, that being but slightly touched with the finger, it will dissolve and separate into flocks and fibres. Their lye is made of any sort of ashes, in the following manner: two pieces of wood are laid across over a tub, and covered with straw, on which they lay wet ashes, and then pour boiling hot water upon it, which, as it runs through the straw into a tub underneath, is imbued with the saline particles of the ashes, and makes what they call lye.

After boiling the bark as above described, follows the washing of it,



it, which is of no small consequence in paper-making, and must be managed with great judgment and attention; if it hath not been washed long enough, the paper will be strong indeed, and of a good body, but coarse, and of little value; and if, on the contrary, the washing has been too long continued, it will afford a whiter paper, but such as will not bear ink. This part of paper-making, therefore, must be managed with the greatest care and judgment, so as to keep to a middle degree, and avoid either extreme. They wash it in a river, putting the bark into a sort of sieve, which will let the water run thro', and stirring it continually with the hands and arm, till it comes to be diluted into a delicate soft pulp, or mucilage. For the finer sort of paper the washing must be repeated; but the bark must be put into a piece of linen, instead of a sieve, because the longer the washing is continued, the more the bark is divided, and would come at last to be so thin and minute, that it would run out at the holes of the sieve, and be lost; and at the same time also, what hard knots or flocks, and other heterogeneous useless particles remain, must be carefully picked out, and put up with a coarser sort of bark for worse paper. The bark, having been sufficiently washed, is put upon a thick, smooth, wooden table, in order to its being beaten with sticks of the hard *kusuoki* wood, which is commonly done by two or three people, until it is wrought fine enough, and becomes withal so thin, as to resemble a pulp of soaked paper, which being put into water, will dissolve and disperse like meal. The bark being thus prepared, is

put into a narrow tub, with the fat slimy infusion of rice, and the infusion of the *oreni* root, which is likewise very slimy and mucilaginous. These three things being put together must be stirred with a thin clean reed, till they are thoroughly mixed and wrought into an uniform liquid substance of a good consistence: this succeeds best in a narrow tub, but afterwards the mixture is put into a larger one, which is not unlike those made use of in our paper-mills; out of this tub the leaves are taken off one by one, on proper patterns made of bulrushes, instead of brass-wire, called *Mys*. Nothing remains now but a proper management in drying of them; in order to this they are laid up in heaps, upon a table covered with a double matt, and a small piece of reed is put between every leaf, which standing out a little way serves, in time, to lift them up conveniently, and take them off singly. Every heap is covered with a small plank or board, of the same shape and size with the paper, on which are laid weights, first, indeed, small ones, lest the leaves, being then wet and tender, should be pressed together into one lump, but, by degrees, more and heavier, to press and squeeze out all the water. The next day the weights are taken off, the leaves are lifted up one by one, by the help of the small stick above mentioned, and with the palm of the hand, clapped to long rough planks made for this purpose, which they will easily stick to, because of the little humidity still remaining. After this manner they are exposed to the sun, and when quite dry, taken off, laid up in heaps, pared round, and so kept for use or sale.

I took



I took notice that the infusion of rice, with a gentle friction, is necessary for this operation, because of its white colour, and a certain clammy fatness, which at once gives the paper a good consistence, and pleasing whiteness. The simple infusion of rice-flour will not do it, because it wants that clamminess, which, however, is a very necessary quality. The infusion I speak of is made in an unglazed earthen pot, wherein the rice-grains are soaked in water, and the pots afterwards shaken gently at first, but stronger by degrees; at last, fresh cold water is poured upon it, and the whole percolated through a piece of linen. The remainder must go under the same operation again, fresh water being put to it, and this repeated so long as there is any clamminess remaining in the rice. The Japanese rice is by much the best for this purpose, as being the whitest and fattest sort growing in Asia.

The infusion of the *orenî* root is made after the following manner: the root pounded, or cut small, is put into fresh water, which in one night's time turns mucilaginous, and becomes fit for use, after it has been strained through a piece of linen. The different seasons of the year require a different quantity of water to be mixed with the root. They say the whole art depends entirely upon this. In the summer, when the heat of the air dissolves the mucus, and makes it more fluid, a greater quantity is required, and less in proportion in the winter, and in cold weather; too much of this infusion mixed with the other ingredients, will make the paper thinner in proportion; too little, on the contrary, will make it too

thick, therefore a middle quantity is required to make a good paper, and of an equal thickness; however, upon taking out a few leaves, they can easily see whether they have put too much or too little of it. Instead of the *orenî* root, which sometimes, at the beginning of the summer, grows very scarce, the paper-makers make use of a creeping shrub called *sane kadsura*, the leaves of which yield a mucilage in great plenty, though not altogether so good for this purpose as the *orenî* root. I have also mentioned the *juncus sativus*, which is cultivated in Japan with great care and industry. It grows tall, thin, and strong; the Japanese make sails of it, and very fine matts to cover their floors.

It hath been observed above, that when the leaves are fresh taken off from their patterns, they are laid up in heaps, on a table covered with two matts. These two matts must be of a different fabric; one which lies lowermost is coarser, but the other, which lies uppermost, is thinner, made of thin, slender, bull-rushes, which must not be twisted too close one to another, but so as to let the water run through with ease, and very thin, not to leave any impressions upon the paper.

A coarser sort of paper, proper to wrap up goods, and for several other uses, is made of the bark of the *kadse kadsura* shrub, after the method above described. The Japanese paper is very tight and strong, and will bear being twisted into ropes. A thick strong sort of paper is sold at Sirai (one of the greatest towns of Japan, and the capital of the province of that name) which is very neatly painted and folded up, so much in a piece as is wanted.



wanted for a suit ; it looks so like filken or woollen stuff, that it might be mistaken easily for them. A thin neat sort of paper, which hath a yellowish cast, is made in China and Tonquin, of cotton and bamboos : at Siam, the Siamites make their paper of the bark of the *Pliok-klo* tree, of which they have two sorts, one black and the other white, both very coarse, rude, and simple, as they themselves are. They fold it up into books, much after the same manner fans are folded, and write on both sides, not, indeed, with a pencil, in imitation of those more polite nations who live further east, but with a rude stylus, made of clay.—Thus far the description of the way of making paper in the east, which the late learned Becmannus was so desirous to know, and so earnestly entreated travellers to inquire into ; being, however, mistaken in supposing that it was made of cotton, whereas it evidently appears by this account, that all the nations beyond the Ganges make it of the bark of trees and shrubs. The other Asiatic nations on this side the Ganges, the black inhabitants of the most southernmost parts excepted, make their paper of old rags of cotton stuff ; and their method differs nothing from ours in Europe, except that it is more simple, and the instruments they make use of are grosser.

*An Account of an Experiment lately made in France, to know if silk-worms would live there, and work to advantage, in the open air. From the Memoires de Trevoux for September 1762.*

**T**O know if silk-worms were as sensible of the injuries of the weather, as the author of the *Spectacle of Nature*, or *Nature Displayed*, imagines they are (*tom. i.*) about twelve hundred of these insects, just past their first moulting, were placed, the fifteenth of April, 1761, on some espalier mulberry-trees, breast high. Here they remained, exposed to all the rigour of the season, which having been cold in the beginning, and afterwards very stormy, left scarce any hopes of their doing well. Neither wind or rain, however, obliged them to take shelter under the rails of the espalier, or the leaves of the tree. They endured every spurt of all this bad weather on the same spot where it surprised them, just remaining motionless as long as it lasted : the storm past, they began to move again very briskly, devouring the leaves though wet with the rain, without any seeming concern. Neither cold, moisture, heat, or thunder, made that impression upon them which there was reason to expect they would. Not one of them was attacked with any of these disorders, during which they are called *fat worms*, *lean worms*, *yellow worms*, &c. They always continued exceedingly white. Their moulting, indeed, was later and longer than it generally is, when they are kept within doors, but free from any bad consequences.

The



The greatest part of them perished for want of food, or rather want of instinct to go in quest of it. Several died at the foot of the espalier, when the wind and hail had beat them from off the leaves. But it would be an easy matter to provide against the first of these inconveniences, by removing them from one part of the tree to another; an assistance which few could require above thrice, during their whole lives. The second inconvenience would, indeed, require more attendance, which, after all, might be of no use, as probably they receive some hurt in their fall. It did not appear that the birds, though very numerous in the place where this experiment was tried, destroyed many of them.

These twelve hundred worms yielded five hundred and fifty cocoons, weighing two pounds and a half, Lyons weight, of fourteen ounces to the pound; and these cocoons produced above three ounces of the finest silk ever obtained in France: but one of the cocoons was faulty, and not one of them double; so that the operations requisite to get the silk from them was not attended with any waste, this method therefore, notwithstanding the loss of worms with which it was attended, appeared, on calculation, more advantageous, in regard both to the quantity and quality of the silk obtained by it, than that usually followed, of feeding them within doors.

*The use of Furze in fencing the banks of rivers. In a letter to the late Dr. Stephen Hales; and by him communicated to the Royal Society. (This seems worthy of being confirmed by further experiments.)*

Rev. Sir,

I Had occasion to inform you before, that on observing a little sand placed in the midst of a river, where the stream was pretty rapid, I inquired into the cause, and found a furze bush lodged there, which had detained the sand, in spite of the current. It was easily concluded from hence, that furze might be profitably used in fencing the banks of rivers at a very cheap rate, and thereby preventing many acres of rich soil from being changed into barren gravel. Several years after, I prevailed on some gentlemen of my acquaintance to try the experiment; which was so cheaply done, and followed with such remarkable success, that numbers soon followed their example; so that it is now almost universally practised here; and, hitherto, has never been once known to fail in answering the design. In pursuing the scheme, I found, upon trial, that locks and dam-heads might be raised, at one-tenth of the ordinary expence, by the help of furze, as a very thin perpendicular wall of stone and lime, or one of deal-boards, two inches thick, is the principal part of the expence. Close to this wall, on the other side, is a mound of furze, intermixed with gravel, and along the top of the wall a strong beam, equal with the highest part



part of the mound. It is plain, this wall cannot be hurt by the weight of the water, or force of the current, as it is defended by the contiguous mound, which is six or seven yards broad; nor can the pressure of the mud and gravel make it give way, as their weight is suspended by the interweavings of the furze: if, therefore, the beam on the top of the wall can be made to keep its place, the whole is firm.

It is well known, that they make their sea-dykes in Holland with faggots of any sort of brush-wood; and it must appear to any one, who examines the net-work formed by the crossings of the branchings and prickles of furze, that it is far more effectual for this purpose, both as it detains the collected earth, and is far more cheaply procured than faggots.

I hope it will be easily observed, from what has been said of locks and dam-heads, that a great deal of expensive stone-work in building harbours may be avoided, by the help of furze mounds.

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*A new method of tanning leather.—  
From the history of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, for the year 1756.*

**T**O make the hides of oxen, cows, and calves, fit for the uses to which they are destined, they first usually receive a preparation

called tanning: they are macerated in water, for dissolving any corruptible matter that may adhere to them, and being depilated with quick lime, are thrown into heaps, with a dust made of the bark of young oak, and in some places of young pine which has been ground or pounded: this dust is called the tan. The design of the last operation is for taking from the hides and skins all the matter before dissolved by water, which might have occasioned the corrupting of the leather. M. Albert Gesner, first physician of the duke of Wirtemberg, having fancied that the dust of heath, dried in an oven, and afterwards pulverised, might be a good substitute to that of oak-bark, had several successful experiments made with it; and he sent to the Academy some pieces of leather prepared by this method, which appeared very good. The only inconveniency he found in the use of heath instead of oak-bark, was the length required for the operation; but there is great reason to hope that Mr. Gesner's researches will furnish him with means for abridging the operation, the principal cause of the dearness of tanned leather, and for perfecting in all respects this invention, which presents some very evident views of utility, 1<sup>st</sup>, in lowering the price of tanned leathers, by the substitution of heath, which is very common, and has scarce any value, to bark, which is often paid for at a dear rate: 2<sup>dly</sup>, in sparing woods and forests, whereof the trees are often cut down too young, or stripped to their great prejudice.

*Method*



*Method of discovering adulterations by lead, in wines, butter, &c.*

**M.** Gaubius, physician to the Prince Stadtholder, and no less famed for his tender philanthropy than his medical abilities, has published a method for discovering the pernicious adulteration of some wines, by the mixture of a umbrineous matter.

The great vogue to which the Rhenish and Moselle wines are risen, has too often induced the dealers in those wines to soften the natural tartness of them, and render them more agreeable to the palate, by mixing lead with them: a cruel practice, which cannot be too carefully guarded against! as lead, whatever be the vehicle which conveys it into the stomach and entrails, excites disorders, the consequences of which are always very cruciating, and often fatal. An opinion had prevailed, that spirit of salt, and rectified oil of vitriol, afforded a sure detection of such villainy: but M. Gaubius having, by repeated experience, found those methods to have no such effect, or, at least, to be very fallible, has substituted another, which may be depended on, and is indeed made use of in some offices in Germany, as a test of the genuineness and salubrity of Rhenish wines. This is the sympathetic ink, by others called *liquor vini probatorius*; the composition of which is thus:

Pulverise an ounce of orpiment and two ounces of quick-lime; and having well mixed them, put them in a glass retort, with twelve ounces of very pure rain-water: your retort must be well stopp'd, and kept in moderate heat for twenty-four

hours, shaking it briskly every two hours; then the whole being settled and cooled, gently decant the liquor into a bottle, which must likewise be closely stopp'd.

Instead of this digestive process, the effect will be the same, if the compound be boiled for half an hour, but not beyond.

In order to be assured that you are right in your operation, drop a little of the liquor in some *vinegar of lead*: if it be good, the vinegar will immediately become turbid and blackish. This liquor being very volatile, the vessel in which it is kept must be opened as seldom as possible; and, after being kept some time, it is only trying it in the manner above mentioned, to know whether it still preserves its efficacy.

The trial of this detecting liquor, in Rhenish and Moselle wine, is in the following manner: Take half a glass of either of the said wines, and pour on it some drops of *sympathetic ink*; if the wine be neat, there will only arise a tenuious whitish cloud; but if it produces a red or blackish tinge, such wine may be concluded to have a mixture of lead, more or less, according to the deepness of the adventitious colour. Let it be observed, that, of all the several substances used in sophisticating wine, it is only lead on which this effect is produced.

It sometimes happens that butter contracts a very noxious quality, by having been kept too long in leaden vessels: when any such thing is apprehended, the same liquor will clear up the matter. Having dropped a little on the butter, let it be well beaten in a glass mortar: if the butter be impregnated with any plumbeous



plumbeous particles, it will soon turn of a dingy brown; otherwise it will keep its colour.

*Method of clarifying train-oil\*.*

**D**URING the course of the experiments made to ascertain the efficacy of Mr. Dossy's method, a very ingenious gentleman carried home some of the oil employed in that gentleman's experiments. Resolving to try what effect each ingredient used by Mr. Dossy might have on vicious oil, when used singly, he began with washing it frequently with water. This succeeded far beyond his expectations; for the oil was brought to so great a degree of sweetness, that many doubted whether it was part of that which he had taken home with him. The experiment was repeated at the request of the society, but at an improper season, *viz.* in November, when the cold had rendered the oil so thick, that water could not act upon it with the same efficacy as in the month of July, when the first experiment was made.

This gentleman contrived an instrument very proper for the purpose, *viz.* a barrel-churn, which might contain about six gallons. The churn may be made of any size. There were in it four rows of narrow split deals, from the centre to the circumference, each piece set at obtuse angles to the other, in order to give different directions to the oil and water as the churn turned round, thereby to mix them more intimately. By this means

the water acted with great force on every substance mixed with the oil, which was soluble in water; or, if not easily soluble in water, it adhered to them, and rendered them heavier than the oil. Thus every other animal substance subsided, and left the oil pure and sweet.

In order to perform this experiment, the churn is turned swiftly round for a few minutes. It then remains at rest till the oil and water separate; which, in summer, generally is in fifteen or twenty minutes. When the water is drawn off, fresh water is again added to the oil; which is repeatedly washed in the same manner, till the water comes off pretty clear and sweet. The whole is drawn off, after the last washing, into an open vessel, in which it remains till the water and oil separate. After they have stood two or three days, there is found betwixt the oil and the water a gelatinous substance, which mixes difficultly with either the oil or the water. If the oil and water are put into a glass vessel, this substance will appear white, and distinct from both.

Pure oil is found to remain longer sweet, or free from putrefaction, than any other animal substance. The putrid smell may, therefore, be supposed to proceed from some other juices mixed with it in boiling the blubber. We know that all other animal juices are soluble in water, and that water cannot alter the nature or quality of oil. Hence water seems much more proper for the purpose of edulcorating vicious oil, than any mixture which has a fixed

\* In our last volume we gave (page 142.) some receipts for edulcorating train-oil, by Mr. Dossy, approved by the society for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce.



kali in it, because the latter is known to adhere to, or dissolve in, and thereby impair its qualities of oil; as, on trial, the manufacturers found the oil edulcorated with such mixture.

It may be said, that washing oil with water is no new invention. I grant it: but the frequent and long shaking of the oil and water together is new, and indeed effectual, as every person may inform himself, by making the experiment on some oil and water in a glass.

On this principle, a thought, which may be of use, occurred to an ingenious gentleman, most deservedly esteemed in the learned world, who has the peculiar talent of instantly tracing every valuable purpose to which any useful experiment may be applied. He reasoned thus:

When the blubber is boiled, some other animal juices, probably of the gelatinous kind, are so intimately united with the oil, that they remain an uniform substance. As every other animal juice is more liable to corruption than pure oil, and as the other juices had contracted some degree of putrefaction from the blubber, there still remains in them a tendency to putrefaction, which is easily excited, especially by any degree of warmth, so as to give the oil the vicious quality. The gentleman proposed, that, to prevent this, the oil, as soon as settled, so as to become clear after boiling, be washed as above with water, which will then more readily unite itself with every other substance mixed with the oil, so as to carry them off entirely. Whether

any degree of warmth will add to the efficacy of the water, experiment must determine. If any disagreeable smell still remains in the oil, it may probably be entirely carried off, if the oil was ventilated with Dr. Hales's ventilator for sweetening stinking water: and if any particles of water remained in the oil, the ventilation would probably carry them off. The oil thus washed will, it may be presumed, keep long sweet, and longer fit for manufacturers and burning.

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*Method of making fish-glue. Extracted from some letters relative to the islands of Cape Breton and St. John's, written since the commencement of the present war.*

THERE have been instances of a glue made of *requiens*\*; and it is presumed it might be extracted from all sorts of rough-skinned fish, as well as from porpoise, scuttlefish, sea-monsters, and other fish without scales. As the method of preparing it is very little known, I shall make you acquainted with it; and this I can affirm, that if ever you come to use it here, you will find it will answer your expectation. And, indeed, if they were to apply themselves hard to make this kind of glue, France might soon dispense with that which at present she is obliged to import from Holland and the Levant. Though the subject at first sight seems to be but of small importance, yet it will appear in a different light to those, who know of what consequence it is to a kingdom not to be obliged for necessities to any other country whatever.

\* Probably sharks.

They



They take the skins of the above-mentioned fishes, with their fins, tails, heads, cartilages, in short, the whole body of the fish, except the flesh and the fat or oil. All these they boil in water, taking care to preserve it from the smoke, or from any thing that might discolour the liquor. When it is boiled down, and the water has extracted all the substance of the fishy parts, they let it stand to grow cool, and then strain the liquor either through a sieve or a piece of linen. Then they boil this liquor over again with the same precaution, till the drops that fall grow hard and consistent as they cool. When they can judge from thence that the glue is made, they let it cool a little; but not so as to hinder it from running on the tables of stone or slate upon which they pour it. For want of such conveniency, several other things may be contrived to receive it, taking care, however, to put paper over it, and to raise the edges of the paper, because the glue ought to spread itself, and rise without fastening to any other substance. As soon as it is become consistent, it is twisted round like paste, and stringed, in order to hang up in rows in the shade: and when they are obliged to make it upon paper, it is not taken off; but they either twist the paper along with the glue, or else they do not twist it at all.

The glue made in this manner is more or less perfect, according as they take more or less care to clarify it, and make it keep its colour. It entirely dissolves in water, without leaving the least mark behind it.

*Processes for making the best and finest sort of Prussian Blue with Quicklime. — From the history of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris for the year 1756.*

#### P R O C E S S I.

**T**AKE 3lb. of ox's blood, dried and reduced into a kind of small scales; an equal quantity of quick-lime newly baked, 2lb. of red tartar, and 1lb. 8oz. of salt petre; pulverise the whole grossly and put it into a crucible placed in the midst of a great furnace, and give it a gradual fire. After four hours of a good fire, when the matter is reduced into a kind of paste which emits no more smoke, and is equally red, throw it by spoonfuls into two pails of boiling water, and, having filtrated the lixivium mix it with a solution of 6lb. of allum, and 1lb. 8oz. of green vitriol. This operation will yield but 7oz. of fecula; but its beauty will make sufficient amends for this small quantity, as it will surpass in this respect all the blues of Prussia which are prepared by other methods. It has also as good an effect as the finest ultramarine; and has besides, the advantage of resisting the impression of the air.

#### P R O C E S S II.

Take 3lb. of dried ox's blood, an equal quantity of quick-lime, 2lb. of red tartar, and 2lb. of nitre, all of them calcined and lixiviated as in the foregoing process; pour the lixivium into a solution of 4lb. of allum and 1lb. of green vitriol. This operation will yield more of the blue fecula than the other, but the colour will be less beautiful.

P R C



## PROCESS III.

Take 3 lb. of dried ox's blood, 4 lb. 8 oz. of quick-lime, 2 lb. of red tartar, 1 lb. 8 oz. of saltpetre. Calcine and lixivate as in the foregoing operations, and proceed in the same manner. This is the operation that will be productive of the most beautiful blue; but it yields but 8 oz. and somewhat upwards of four drams.

## PROCESS IV.

Take 3 lb. of dried ox's blood, 6 lb. of quick-lime, 2 lb. of red tartar, and 1 lb. 8 oz. of nitre. Calcine and lixivate as in the foregoing processes; pour the lixivium still warm into a solution of 4 lb. of allum, and 1 lb. of green vitriol: a blue fecula, as beautiful and fine as that of the first process, will be precipitated, but the quantity will be much greater; for this way will yield twenty-six ounces.

*On a durable Gold Colou, communicated to Silver by Dew, reduced into the consistence of an extract. — From the Ephemerides of the Curious.*

THE author says, that chance occasioned this observation. Being busy in making several experiments on dew, which he had kept for half a year in a tub, that it might acquire the state of putrefaction he desired, and having set a certain quantity of the liquor to vaporate, he took up a silver spoon at hand, to know if it had the necessary consistence; which finding too liquid, he poured it back immediately into the vessel; but was greatly surpris'd, when casting his eyes on the spoon, he perceived a brilliancy, and a very fine gold co-

lour on the part which had been dipped into the liquor; and which, when the spoon was cool, could not be got off, by either rubbing it with the hands, or with a linen cloth. In hopes of still increasing the intenseness of the colour, and of making it more durable, he dipped again, during a few minutes, the spoon into the same hot liquor, of the consistence of a mucilage; and, by this second immersion, this gold colour changed into a beautiful purple. Being afterwards willing to try the permanency of the colour, he had the spoon served every day at table, and a whole year passed before its colour was defaced. This tincture, the author adds, is much preferable to that of Glauber, and other chemists, from sulphureous, antimonial, and vitriolic solutions, which afford but a weak copper colour, that disappears in a short time.

*An account of the method pursued some years ago to extirpate the grubs of Oak-webs, or Cock-chafers, in the county of Norfolk, where these insects eat away the roots of grass and corn to such a degree, as to destroy the produce of large tracts of land. Extracted from several letters inserted in the Philosophical Transactions for the year 1748.*

THESE insects have been more or less about Norwich for twenty years past. They are the *erucæ* of the *scarabæus vulgaris major* of Mr. Ray.

In different parts of England it is called the brown tree beetle, the chafer, the chock-chafer, the jack-horner, the jeffry-cock, the May-bug, and in Norfolk the Dor. By the Dutch they are named *baum-kaefer*,



*kaefer*, *roub-kaefer*, *koren-worm*, or corn-worm, because they destroy the roots of corn; and in Zealand, *molenaers* or *millers*, as Goedartius says, chap. lxxviii. because they bite the leaves of several sorts of trees into particles, as small as if they were ground. In England I have likewise heard them called millers; but supposed to be from a meally powder, wherewith their wings are covered. The French call them *hanetons*.

This insect has two pair of wings, one filmy, and the other scaly; the first pair fold together under the latter, and remain quite hid, unless when spread out for flight. The *elytræ*, or case wings, are of a reddish light-brown colour, and seem sprinkled with a white powder that may easily be wiped off; the legs and pointed tail are whitish, the rest of the body brown, except at each joint on the sides of the belly, where there is an indented line of white.

It is probable the females make holes in the ground with their sharp tails, and there deposit their young: but whether at first they are small *erucæ*, or eggs from which such *erucæ* are hatched, I cannot say: it is certain these *erucæ* are extremely mischievous, by devouring the roots of almost every thing where they come, and in some grounds they are found in such numbers as are scarcely credible.

“I have seen,” says Mr. Arderon, “whole closes of fine flourishing grass, in summer-time, become withered, dry, and as brittle as hay in a few weeks, by this vermin’s eating of the roots\* ; so that many yards of this withered turf might be rolled up in one piece.”

When one of them fixes upon a turnip, he eats only the middle small root, which soon causes it to wither and die, and then moves on to the next. In like manner they destroy the roots of wheat, rye, &c. and almost every other useful vegetable in their way. What makes this pest the more deplorable, is the long time of their continuance in their *erucæ*, or most mischievous state, which, according to Goedartius, is four years at least: but Mouffet writes, that in Normandy they are observed to be most numerous every third year, which is therefore called *l’an des hanetons*. And it is not improbable, that, in the open fields, where they are well fed, they may come to their perfect state a year sooner than those did, which Goedartius almost starved in glass jars.

Mr. Arderon says, neither the severest frosts of our climate, nor the being immersed in water, will destroy the *erucæ*; some having been exposed for many days to the keenest frosts, and others covered with water for as long a time, which notwithstanding were found to revive, and become vigorous as ever.

Crows and hogs devour them greedily; but their numbers are too great to be diminished thereby. The most effectual way, though very laborious, is to beat the chaffers off the trees in the day-time with long poles, and then sweep them together and burn them. On a farm at Heathal, five miles S.W. from Norwich, of 80 l. per ann. belonging to St. Helen’s hospital in that city, in the occupation of farmer Ebdon, they were so numerous

\* Some affirm, that they do not eat the roots, but only loosen the earth from them.



last year, that he and his servants affirmed they gathered eighty bushels of them, the *erucæ* of which had so spoiled the produce of his farm, that that city, in compassion of his misfortune, allowed him 25 l.

The following is a copy of the farmer's letter.

“The destructive calamity which, for near 20 years, has attended us in divers parts of this county, by the cankers, occasions my sending this, with a view of doing good to the public, as I have been a great sufferer by these vermin, and endeavoured many ways to destroy them, which proved ineffectual.

Some people have fed themselves with hopes that excessive wet weather will destroy them; others, that a severe winter will do it: but they are greatly mistaken. I once, in digging a piece of firm ground, found some of them at least six feet deep: I have thrown foot on my land, and used many ways to destroy them in the ground, but to no purpose.

The only expedient I ever found out, is, when they become flies, and are on the trees, which are mostly oaks; elms, and maples, to make packsheets or tilters to throw them upon, and by destroying them in this manner, when in the fly, you prevent their doing further mischief by lodging in the ground.

These cankers become flies every fourth years. In 1736 I prepared packsheets, and gathered into them at least seventy bushels from the trees in my own premises; four years after I had not 40s. damage done; but my neighbours, not gathering them as I did, suffered greatly. In 1740, when they were flies again, I was more industrious,

and gathered eighty bushels. In 1744 I was indisposed at the time of flying, and gathered none; for want of which I suffered above 100l. damage the second year after they flew, by their getting into my ground.

I advise all farmers, &c. perplexed with these vermin, to observe that this is the time [June] of their flight, being their fourth year, and forthwith to gather them in the manner abovesaid, by which they may not only in a great measure prevent any future mischief from those insects, but also in time totally destroy them.

JAMES EBDEN.”

In the day-time few of the beetles fly about, but conceal themselves under the leaves of oaks, sycamores, limes, &c. and may be shaken off; here they seem asleep till near sunset, when they take wing and fly about the hedges, as thick as swarms of bees; at which time they frequently dash themselves against people's faces with great violence, and occasioned the proverb, *As blind as a beetle*.

It is recorded, that on Feb. 27, 1574, there fell such a multitude of these insects into the river Severn, that they stopped and clogged the wheels of the water-mills; their coming so early in the year was no less extraordinary than their multitudes; for the larger species seldom appear till the month of May; and a smaller sort, which come out in July and August, are seldom seen after the evenings grow cold.

We are told, in the *Transactions* of the Dublin society, that the country-people in one part of that kingdom suffered so greatly by the devastation made by these insects,





that they set fire to a wood some miles in length, which parted two adjacent counties, to prevent their spreading further.

The young of some animals being destined for the food of others, the abundance or flourishing of one sort is the destruction of another.—Thus these grubs, which are said to be the devourers of the eggs of other insects, are eaten up by the rook; insomuch that Mr. Arderon, author of most of the preceding remarks, attributes the increase of the grubs to the destruction of the woods and rookeries about that city.—It seems, therefore, a great error in some farmers, who envy gentlemen their rooks, and wish ill to them on that account; and they may be convinced of it, by the unanimous sentence of a jury of husbandmen, convoked by a gentleman in the county of Suffolk, when those vermin were making ravage in that county, to sit in judgment on his rooks, who would have destroyed them, had they not been honourably acquitted.

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*On restoring to life persons drowned, or in any other manner suffocated.*  
—From Feijoo, a learned Spanish author. (See our 2d vol. p. 420.)

A Method has been lately found out to recover such persons as have been drowned, or in any other manner suffocated, provided they are not totally dead; which they may not be for many hours after the accident has happened. In the first case they suspend them with their head downward near a fire, till such time as the body begins to warm, and throw out water by the *asperia*

*arteria*. They then foment the whole breast and seat of the heart with spirits of wine, with *elixir vitæ*, or bread dipped in strong wines; this must be frequently repeated. By such methods, if they are not quite dead, motion is again restored to the heart, which receives, by degrees, the blood that it afterwards repels to the arteries, till at length life entirely returns, As to those who having been hanged have still some remains of life, they are easily recovered by blowing air into them through the *asperia arteria*; for the lungs being by this means inflated, the blood has a free communication from the right to the left ventricle of the heart; which last, as well as the blood, recovers that motion which the noose of the rope had stopped. To promote this motion in the blood, and dissolve that part of it which may have begun to coagulate in the right ventricle and pulmonary vessels, great assistance may be received by making use (as circumstances permit) of the *elixir magnanimitatis*, *elixir proprietatis*, *elixir vitæ*, spirits of *sal ammoniac*, those called *theatrical*, *julep vital*, with saffron, *oleum cinnamoni*, and such like compositions. But as to those instances, where persons have lived after they had suffered suffocation upwards of two hours, as Cardan affirms of a person whose *asperia arteria* was ossified; such having not undergone a total stoppage in the vessels that admit air, have consequently still preserved the proper motion of the heart and blood.

In a letter wrote to Feijoo, he is acquainted that the life of a blind fisherman was saved, after he had been drowned an hour and a half, by following the directions given above. He himself likewise related



lated the recovery of a girl in the city of Estella, after she had been drowned an hour, through the charitable assistance of a gentleman who esteemed his works, and had the above-mentioned directions present in his mind. But he added this circumstance thereto, which was, that, besides the application to the fire, and inverse suspension of the body, he introduced air therein through the *asperia arteria*. This addition Feijoo does not entirely condemn, but would have it put in practice only when the other methods do not meet with timely success, taking then great care that the introduced air passes thro' the *asperia arteria* in order to proceed to the lungs; and that it does not enter the *œsophagus*, which would be very prejudicial, the mistake being easy, as the orifices of the two canals are very near.

The following recovery of a man suffocated by the exhalation of lighted coal in a mine, is a strong argument in favour of what has been said above. His eyes were fixed, his mouth open, his body cold, and every way motionless, and was concluded to be quite dead. A surgeon imagining that by this extraordinary method he might restore him to life, applied his mouth to that of the supposed dead body; and stopping the nostrils of it, blew with such strength that he filled his breast; and continuing this method perceived six or seven strong beatings of the heart. The chest recovered its elasticity, and the pulse became sensible. A vein being thereupon opened, the blood at first ran drop by drop; but in a quarter of an hour very freely; the patient's body was then well rubbed; he recovered his senses an

hour afterwards, and returned home in perfect health.

*The possibility and even easiness of recovering persons in the above circumstances, is further confirmed by the following recent instance, extracted from the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris.*

A Young fellow about one-and-twenty, a waterman at Passy in France, fell into the river about ten o'clock in the morning of the 24th of July 1757; as he was then near the shore, he received a blow upon his head in the fall, which stunned him, and the tide immediately carried him into the middle of the stream, where he was stopped by a great stone in about seven or eight feet water. The people that saw the accident immediately called out for help; but it was half an hour before he was taken out, being dragged to shore with a boat-hook without the least signs of life: he was carried into a neighbouring house, and supposed to be dead; but a physician happening to come by, blew up a great quantity of tobacco-smoke by the *anus*, with a straw, and blew also the same smoke plentifully into his mouth and nostrils: the man very soon gave signs of life, very slight indeed, but sufficient to encourage the good Samaritan to proceed; he caused a vein to be opened both in his arm and his foot, and in order to restore the vital heat, wrapped him in the skin of a sheep that was flayed upon the spot for that purpose: in a short time the patient recovered so far as to be able to speak; and the marquis of Courtivron, who has attested this fact, saw him six days afterwards



wards in perfect health; though a little weak from the loss of blood.

Instances of drowned persons recovered are by no means so rare as is generally imagined; and they would be much more common if proper methods were used for the purpose. The French academy, by whom this fact is related, observe, that many persons have recovered who have lain many hours in the water; and that as persons immersed in water die only because the circulation is stopped, the blood being prevented from returning from the right to the left ventricle of the heart, by the water's having stopped the respiration, nothing more is necessary to recover such

persons than to put the heart again into motion, and gradually and equally to warm the body in every part. To put the heart in motion, it is adviseable to force irritating and spirituous remedies up the nostrils, and to blow, with some degree of force, the smoke of tobacco into the lungs by the mouth, and into the abdomen by the *anus*; the body may be equally and gradually warmed by rubbing it with warm flannels, and placing it in a warm bed, and changing the coverings as often as they grow cold, for others taken from the fire, and by many other expedients of the like kind, which will naturally occur in different places and situations.



# ANTIQUITIES.

*AT a time that so many voyages are made to the remotest parts of the globe to gratify the cravings of avarice or ambition, and so few, even to places near home, from any laudable views of extending the bounds of virtue and learning, it is no small satisfaction to us to be able to present our readers with the following relation of a voyage undertaken upon very different principles. It is impossible not to be struck with the importance of many of the discoveries contained in it, and much more with the courage, patience, and capacity of the discoverer, who, in so small a period, and in such circumstances, could learn so many languages, utterly unconnected with those already known in Europe, and copy and translate so many books written in them. No character can be more respectable than that of a true virtuoso, who braves every danger and difficulty in order to promote useful knowledge, and to increase the materials of speculation in the learned world. It is true that many things contained in the books already brought over, by Mr. Perron, appear at first view little better than a heap of idle tales, calculated to amuse a barbarous people; but there are mixed with those visionary ideas, objects very deserving of attention; and even things trivial in themselves become worthy of regard, when they tend to illustrate the manners of so considerable a people as the ancient Persians, or when they furnish something towards the history of the human mind in general.*

*A brief account of a voyage to India, undertaken by M. Anquetil du Perron, to discover and translate the works attributed to Zoroaster. Translated from the original, drawn up by M. Perron himself, and read last May before the Royal Academy of Sciences.*

**T**HE religion and history of the Parsses are very interesting objects of themselves, but they merit the attention of the learned still more by the connection which this people have had with the Hebrews, the Greeks, the Indians, and perhaps with the Chinese; but if we content ourselves with what the ancients have told us of them, our knowledge will be very superficial; for a few passages scattered here and there in their writings, most of them manifestly dictated by prejudice, can convey but a very imperfect idea of their history and manners.

These reflections engaged the learned Dr. Hyde, about the end of the last century, to attempt a deeper investigation of a subject, which, till then, had been but slightly touched: he therefore applied himself, with great diligence, to read the works of Arabian and Persian writers, from which, and from the relations of travellers, and a great number of letters, which he received from persons who were settled in India, he compiled his celebrated work on the religion of the Parsses.

This work, which abounds with Oriental learning, may be considered



dered as the only one that contains any thing curious and particular concerning the Parsses, though the principal sources which Hyde exhausted are not of the first antiquity: he cites in particular the *Pharhangh Djehanguir*, a celebrated dictionary, which, he says, had been digested about 200 years before his time by Ebn Fakhruddin Angjou, a Mahometan: he also cites many passages from *Virafnama* and *Sadder*, works posterior to Zoroaster, of which he had seen only translations in modern Persic. He was, however, possessed of two works in *Zend*\*, the *Jzeschné* and the *Neaesché*, and it was reasonable to expect that he would have translated these rather than *Sadder*, or at least if he understood *Zend*, he ought to have supported what he has advanced contrary to opinions generally received by the authority of these original pieces.

The Parsses have been little known, except by those enquiries of Dr. Hyde; and as he has contented himself with the mere mention of the *Zendavesta*, a general name for the works attributed to Zoroaster, without translating it, his work must be considered as nothing more than an essay. The best way would certainly have been to have consulted the Parsses themselves, concerning their own religion, which was by no means impracticable; a very numerous body of them has been established more than 900 years in Guzarate, to which place they came fugitives from Kirman, A. D. 767, on account of the Mahometan persecutions; and where the genius for commerce and industry, which

is their known characteristic, has procured them very considerable settlements. They are called in India, *Parssis*, or *Parsses*; and by the name *Parsses*, I shall henceforward distinguish the remains of Zoroaster's disciples.

Two English gentlemen brought some Persic manuscripts into Europe, which have never been printed; and these were the only attempts which have been lately made to acquire and understand the works attributed to Zoroaster; the rest of Europe have been content to rest implicitly in what has been done by Dr. Hyde, without once conceiving a design to learn languages, of which the learned themselves scarce know the names. This general negligence, with respect to so interesting a subject, I always considered with wonder and regret; and, at length, resolved upon a voyage to India myself.

In 1754, I happened to see a fragment of the *Vendidad Sade*, which had been sent from England to M. Fourmont, and I immediately resolved to enrich my country with that singular work. I formed a design of translating it, and of going with that view to learn the ancient Persic in Guzarate or Kirman; an undertaking which would necessarily enlarge the ideas I had already conceived, concerning the origin of languages, and the several changes to which they are subject, and probably throw a light upon Oriental antiquity, which was unknown to the Greeks and Romans.

\* *Zend* is generally used to signify the language in which the works attributed to Zoroaster are written; though strictly it means only the characters of that language.



I determined also to obtain a knowledge of the religion of the Parffes, from the Parffes themselves; and knowing that the four *Vedes*, sacred books of the Indians, were written in the ancient Samskretam, a dead language, supposed to be the common stock of which all the Indian languages are branches; and that there were books in the king's library which nobody understood; I was led to prefer India to Kirman, as I might there learn the ancient Persian, and the ancient Samskretam together.

When I got to Port l'Orient, I heard that the king had granted me a pension, and I embarked for the East-Indies, on the 24th of February 1755, with a resolution of bringing back the laws of Zoroaster and the Bramins.

I arrived at Pondicherry on the 10th of August in the same year.

The coast of Malabar is a museum of natural curiosities. The Gattes, a chain of mountains which divides the peninsula of India into two parts from north to south, are on this coast but a little way from the sea, and afford a fine field for botanical inquiries. The Indian customs continue here in their original simplicity, the country having always been subject to princes attached to the ancient religion; the Tamoula, or Malabrian language, approaches nearer to the Samskretam than that on the coast of Coromandel.

After visiting the Christians of St. Thomas, I went to Cochin, where I obtained an exact copy of an inscription in the ancient Samskretam, on two copper-plates, being a confirmation of several privileges granted to the Jews of Cochin about 1200 years ago, by Charan Perumal, em-

peror of the Malabar coast, a translation of it in Rabbinical Hebrew, and a copy of a map of the environs of Cochin, with the names of the places in the characters peculiar to the Rabbins. I likewise obtained a copy in modern Samskretam, and a French translation of some privileges granted by the same emperor to the Christians of St. Thomas. There is a Samskretam of different ages, and I was desirous of having examples of it thro' all its variations, that I might fix the language in which all the books which are held sacred in that part of Asia which reaches from Persia to China, are written.

On the 14th of February, 1758, I set out from Mahe for Goa, in order to proceed to Surat; and in all my routs I took care to keep specimens of the money of all the states I passed through, so that I have examples of every coin that is current from the Cape Comorin to Delhi: I passed the Gattes the 27th of March the same year, about ten in the morning; and when I entered the country of the Maratas, I thought myself in the midst of the simplicity and happiness of the golden age, where nature was yet unchanged, and vice and misery were unknown. The people were chearful, vigorous, and in high health, and unbounded hospitality was an universal virtue; every door was open, and friends, neighbours, and strangers, were alike welcome to whatever they found.

When I came within about seven leagues of Aurengabad, I went to see the celebrated pagodas of Iloura: these temples are hollowed in the living rock, and contain in basse-relief all the Indian mythology: but I did not find in them either



either the ancient inscriptions, or the schools of the Bramins, which the accounts of travellers had given me reason to expect.

I was in my journey from this place extremely enfeebled by a *dy-sentery*, and was just sinking under it when I discovered the walls of Surat, where I arrived on the 28th of April, 1758. This city has been the centre of my studies, and I shall give a brief account of the particular objects that detained me there three years.

I shall first indulge myself in a few words concerning the hierarchy of the Parsses. I shall often have occasion to mention the Destours and the Mobeds, and it is therefore necessary to explain the terms. The ministers of the religion of the Parsses are divided into five classes : Erbeds, Mobeds, Destours, Destour Mobeds, and Destouran Destours, or Destours of Destours. An Erbed is he who has submitted to the purification directed by the law, who has read, during four days without interval, the *Jzeschne*, and the *Vendidad*, and who is instructed in the ceremonies of the worship established by Zoroaster. If the Erbed, after this kind of ordination, continues to read publicly the *Zend* works, which constitute the liturgy, and to perform the ministerial functions, he becomes a Mobed, though he does not understand the *Zenda-vesta*; but if he contents himself with studying the law, the *Zend*, and the Pehlvi, without exercising the ministerial functions, he is called a Destour. The Destour Mobed is he who unites the qualifications of the Mobed and Destour; and the Destouran Destour is the principal Destour of a city or province; he decides cases of conscience, and de-

termines points of law, and the Parsses pay him a tythe of their revenues.

When I arrived at Surat, I found the Parsses divided into two sects, which opposed each other with the most furious zeal; one of these sects was called the Ancient Believers; the other the Reformers; and the schism commenced on the following occasion :

About five-and-thirty years ago, there came from Kirman, a Destour Mobed of great abilities, whose name was Djamasp, and who was sent to compose some differences that had arisen among the Parsses concerning the *penom*, a piece of linen about nine inches square, which the Parsses, at certain times, placed upon the middle of their nose, so that it hung down and covered their mouth : some contended that this linen should be placed upon the noses of dying persons, and others that it should not. Djamasp decided the dispute in favour of those who maintained that the linen should not be applied to the dying, such application not being customary at Kirman. If this Destour had not put an end to this ridiculous dispute, it would have drenched the country in blood; but he did not stop here : he examined the copy of the *Vendidad* that was in use among the Parsses of Guzarate, and he found the Pehlvi translation too long, and, in many places, very corrupt : he found the people in general also grossly ignorant; and, to remedy these inconveniencies, he established proper persons, his disciples, at Surat, Nangary, and Parotche, to whom he had taught the *Zend* and the Pehlvi; but being at length wearied with the perverse and vexatious opposition



sition that was fomented against him, he returned to Kirman.

The books which he left in India were an exact copy of the *Vendidad*, both in Zend and Pehlvi; the *Feroueschi* in Zend, the *Vadier* and the *Nerenguestan*. The two are purely ceremonial, and in a mixed language of Zend and Persian. Darab, the disciple whom Djabasp had left at Surat, and who was a consummate master of the Zend, the Pehlvi, and the Persian, employed himself to correct the Pehlvi translation of the *Vendidad*, and the corrupt parts of the Zend text; and began to explain to the young Persian divines the writings of Zoroaster, which the Mobeds read every day without understanding them.

It is easy to conceive that an ignorant people, who, for more than eight centuries, had practised a thousand ceremonies, of which they knew neither the origin nor the meaning, would be the dupes of innumerable impositions; and Darab discovered that this had been the case; that ceremonial purifications had been multiplied almost without number, and the Zend text almost buried under frivolous Pehlvi commentaries; these abuses he made an attempt to correct, by exposing the absurdity of them; but he found a very formidable adversary in Macherdji, the chief of the Ancient Believers, and the son of a Destour; and this breach between them was made still wider by a dispute concerning the first day of the year, which Kaoufs, the relation of Darab's, well versed in the astronomy of Ulughbeigh, insisted was advanced a whole month.

I took advantage of these broils

to obtain the books I still wanted from both parties, and from Darab instructions in the Zend and Pehlvi languages, and assistance in translating the *Vendidad* into modern Persian, so that no difficulties now remained but those that were essential to the kind of study which I had commenced, and the inconveniencies inseparable from a siege, the English being at this time carrying on an attack against the fortresses of Surat. My close application to study frequently impaired my health; but, at length, I completed a translation of the works attributed to Zoroaster, and some other manuscripts to which they have relation. The modern Persian served me as an intermediate language, because Darab, for fear of being understood by the domestics, would not disclose the mysteries of his religion in the vulgar language. I also took the trouble of writing the Zend and the Pehlvi, in European characters, and by a frequent comparison of what Darab told me at one time, with what he told me on the same subject at another, I assured myself I was not imposed upon. By these means, after a sickness of three months, I was able to renew my studies, and was fortified against the fear of forgetting them, which procured me a tranquillity of mind that hastened my cure.

After having enabled myself to form a just and exact idea of the religion of the Parsees, and been present in their temples, which they call *derimers*, at their worshipping of fire, I was desirous to complete the second part of my plan; having proposed, when I quitted France, to make myself master of the religious institutions of all Asia.

The article of the Parsees was finished,



finished, and though I was much weakened by continual labour, yet I felt myself still in a condition to attempt the *Samskretam*. I therefore endeavoured to procure the four *Vedes* at Surat, at Brampour, and at Amadabad; these works, as the Bramins suppose, were composed by Kreschnou, 4000 years ago; they are called the *Samveda*, the *Rid-iouveda*, the *Atharnaveda*, and the *Raghovveda*; the *Samveda* is the most scarce of all.

I took care, as soon as I arrived in India, to settle a correspondence in a great variety of places, particularly at Ceylon and Cochin, with the Dutch; and at Bombay and Tatta upon the Linde, with the English: and Mr. Spencer, commissary of the marine at Bombay, had the politeness to send to Dehli, to a wakil; or agent of the company, an account of the books which I wanted; particularly recommending a perfect translation of the four *Vedes*, made about 200 years ago, by Abulfazel, minister of Akbar.

While my friends were thus busied in my behalf, I caused copies to be made of the three *Samskretam* dictionaries, which were held in the highest estimation in India: two of them are dictionaries of the Bramins, called *Amerkofsch*, and *Viakkeren*, and the third is a dictionary of the Sciouras, called *Nammala*. These copies were no sooner finished, than, to avoid the fury of the black troops, I found myself under a necessity of quitting Surat: I therefore took this opportunity to visit the famous Pagodas of Kennery and Elephantia. Those of Elephantia are most known, because they are in an island not far from Bombay.

In my way I visited Soualy, Sadjam, Daman, and Naucary, the principal settlements of the Parsses, where the fire is kept up called *Behram*, for which they have a peculiar veneration. I conversed with the principal Dettours at all these places, and had the satisfaction to find that they all honoured the parts and learning of Darab, tho' they did not equally approve of his conduct, which they thought rather steady than prudent.

On the 28th of November, 1760, I arrived at the island of Salsette, and immediately furnished myself with provisions for ten days, the time I intended to pass in the pagodas of Kennery, which are situated in the middle of the island. These pagodas, like those of Iloura, are great temples, hollowed out of the rock; the walls are without plaister and at present very much out of repair. I was obliged to set fire to some bushes that stopped up the entrance; and having with some difficulty got in, I examined the whole place with great attention, nor did the most obscure caverns escape me. I found at Kennery twenty inscriptions, cut upon stone, in ancient characters, with which the most learned Bramins were utterly unacquainted; one in modern *Samskretam*, and another still later, in characters something resembling those which Hyde, *p. 551. plate 15.* of his book, on the religion of the Parsses, says, he believes to have been used among the Mogul Tartars, who possessed themselves of China. If it had not been for the misfortunes of the French in this part of the world, I should not have thought of gratifying my curiosity in these dreary caverns so soon: it is well, however, that it was not delayed;



laid; for part of these inscriptions was already obliterated by me, and the rest is on the point of being so. Of all that I found I made copies with the utmost exactness; and the ten days which I had allotted to this undertaking, being expired, I proceeded to the pagodas of Elephantia, which are in the island of Gilipoury, and are also hollowed out of the living rock.

In these pagodas, I found no inscriptions; I therefore took their proportions, and the dimensions of the columns and the bases, as I had done at Iloura and Kennery, and set out on my return to Surat.

My health was extremely injured, but I made shift to get to the foot of the Gattes, in quest of the seeds and offsets of Thec and Campa. This effort quite exhausted me, and, besides, threw me into a fever so violent, that, after a journey of eight days, I was brought into Surat in a state of the most deplorable insensibility.

The journey to Benares was now given over, and I was confined to my bed by a complication of disorders, when news was brought me of the loss of all our settlements.

I had specimens of the Samskretam of the greatest antiquity in the inscriptions of Kennery, and in the first pages of the extracts of the *Vedas*; of about 1200 years old, in the grant of privileges to the Jews of Cochin; and of 300 years old, in translations of some of the works of Zoroaster. Among my manuscripts, I had also the three most celebrated Samskretam dictionaries, a very good dictionary, French and Malabrian, duplicates of the works of Zoroaster, and a part of the Pehlvi translation; seven mo-

dern Persian dictionaries, many other Persian, Indian, and Arabian manuscripts, and a general map of the peninsula of India, made at Malabar by the Bramins. The danger to which my little library was continually exposed, and the bad state of my health, determined me to return to Europe, deferring the translation of the *Vedas*, and the explanation of the antiquities of India, to some more favourable opportunity.

I have only a few words to add concerning the works of Zoroaster, and the languages in which they were written, and into which they have been translated. By the works of Zoroaster, I mean those Zend writings, which the Parsies attribute to their legislator, and for which they have the same veneration which the Jews have for their Hebrew text. I do not pretend to affirm, that they are really the works of Zoroaster; but I would have every one judge for himself, when he sees the opinion of the Parsies, supported by an unbroken tradition from Zoroaster to Jezdedjerd, and adopted by the Mahometans, their declared enemies.

The law which was either framed or regulated by Zoroaster, was divided, as we are told by the modern authors, into one-and-twenty *nosks* or parts. Seven treat of the creation and history of the world, seven of morality, of civil and religious duties, and seven of physic and astronomy.

It is a tradition universally received among the Parsies, that Alexander the Great condemned these one-and-twenty volumes to the flames, after having caused them to be translated into Greek. Those which escaped are the *Vendidad*, the



the *Jeschne*, the *Visspered*, the *Jeschts*, and the *Neaeschts* in Zend; some Pehlvi translations of Zend originals, which are not extant, as the *Boundchesh* and the *Bahman Jesh*, and the Pehlvi translation of the Zend originals which escaped the flames, except one part of the *Jeschts*.

The Parsses have also a great number of prayers, which they call *Nerengs*; and which, in general, are written in modern Persic, with Zend characters, which they affect to use in all writings that treat of religion, though composed in modern Persic.

The manuscripts Zend, Pehlvi, and Persic, which I have mentioned above, are those which I have brought with me, and have translated and deposited in the king's library; some of them are also translated in Samkretam, and modern Indian, with an interlineary Persic version, which will greatly facilitate the study of those languages to persons who have already made the *Zendavesta* familiar.

As all these works pass in the country whence they came for originals, and are very respectable monuments of antiquity, I have taken the pains to collate two or three copies with each other, and have carefully marked the variations. I have also done the same thing with respect to the little Persic pieces, which speak of Zoroaster; and of the *Barzournama*, a poem of one hundred and twenty thousand verses: which contains a part of the history of Roustoun, Sforab, his son, and Barzour, the son of Sforab: the copy which I have of that work was made from the only copy which exists in India.

The writings of Zoroaster, which

still remain, speak of the creation of the universe, of the terrestrial paradise, of the dispersion of mankind, and the cause of the respect paid by the Parsses to fire, which they call *Athro Ehoremesdaopothre*, son of God. They contain also an account of the origin of evil, moral and natural; eulogiums on all the angels that were appointed to the government of the universe; many historical facts which are more fully related in other works, written in modern Persic: they also frequently mention Djemchid, Zohak, Feridoun, Guerschasp, and some other kings of the first dynasty; and exhibit chronologies of the kings of Iran, and the Pahlevans, or heroes of Sisslan and Zaboulestān: lastly, they contain predictions, with respect to the latter times; several particulars relating to the end of the world, and the resurrection; some excellent moral precepts, and a very extensive ceremonial code.

Great lights may be derived from these works by men of true genius and learning, who are well skilled in the ancient languages, by comparing them with other manuscripts which may probably be still found in Kirman; and very important discoveries may be made concerning the origin of mankind, and the histories of those ages which were near the general deluge.

As to the style of Zoroaster, it appears to me to resemble that of the ancient sages of the East. We find in his writings frequent repetitions, little connection, and an authoritative tone, which characterizes divinity or enthusiasm. The name of God in Zend is, *Meniossepenešte*; and in Pehlvi, *Madonnadafzouni*, words which signify a being absorbed in excellence.

The



The text of the one-and-twenty books of the Parssien legislator, is called *Avesta*, that is, the world: it is a dead language, totally different both from the Pehlvi and the Persian; but the most learned Descartians could never give me any satisfactory account of its origin. Being thoroughly persuaded of the divine mission of Zoroaster, they suppose that he received the books of his law from God himself, after having passed ten years at the foot of his throne; but if I might be permitted to hazard my own conjectures, I would say, that, in my opinion, he composed his works in some mountain, where he concealed himself with some able priests, associated with him in the same design. The hardness of the language called *Avesta*, suits well with mountaineers; whom nature cuts off from the society of other men; the subjects of the *Jessings*, and the *Jessomsings*, *Rajas* of the mountains which separate Persia from Adostan, speak an Indian language; much more hard than that of the inhabitants of the plains.

Zend is the name of the characters of the *Avesta*, though it is generally put for the language itself, in which the works of Zoroaster were written, as I have before remarked: the character is neat, and has an air of antiquity, that is discovered at the first view: the first languages, and their alphabets, resemble each other by their simplicity, of which whoever glances his eye over the Zend and Samskrit characters, will be convinced at a moment,

The Pehlvi was, I believe, the

true language of the Parsses, tho' it is now a dead language, existing only in the translations of the works of Zoroaster, which have survived the ravages of time\*.

The Parsses maintain, that the Pehlvi owes its original to Kaïomorts, the first king of their first dynasty: the characters, which were originally well marked, and resembled those which they call *Zends*, have lost their first neatness in the polishing they have received since, while the scrupulous veneration which has been always paid to the *Avesta*, has preserved their Zend letters in their first purity.

The Pahzend is a language almost extinct; a few words of it only being preserved in the Pehlvi translations. As my subject is altogether new, and the language foreign, it may not perhaps be amiss, to say a few words on the difference between the *Avesta*, the Pehlvi, and the Pahzend languages.

The *Avesta*, as I have already observed, is that of the works of Zoroaster, and, before the time of that legislator, was entirely unknown to the Parsses; and I am of opinion that it was brought by him from the mountains.

The Pehlvi is the language which was spoken by the Parsses in the time of Zoroaster. The translations which are now extant in that language, are supposed to have been made during his life, or at least soon after his death.

The Pahzend is a dialect or a corruption of the *Avesta*. Zoroaster left his third idiom to his Descendants, and recommended the use of it to distinguish them from the peo-

\* The *Avesta* is to the Pehlvi translation, what the Hebrew text is to the Septuagint translation of it.



ple: it is to the Avesta, nearly what the Syriac is to the Hebrew; two examples will serve to shew the difference of the two languages. *Mreod* in Avesta, signifies *he has said*, and in Pahzend, it is *Meri*: the name *Ormusch* is Pahzend, and it comes from the Avesta, *Ehoremesdo*: the Pahzend has not a peculiar alphabet, but adopts that of the Zend and the Pehlvi indifferently.

The bounds of a relation so succinct and compendious, will not permit me to be more particular: but besides the objects of disinterested curiosity which the works of Zoroaster may contain, the knowledge of the Avesta and Pehlvi languages will, without doubt, appear to be of some utility, from the relation which they bear to those languages which we know. The style of these languages, which are of sufficient antiquity, may perhaps lead us to the sense of many of the passages of the sacred writings of the same date; and Europe will be able to judge, whether the works which the Parsses attribute to Zoroaster, are sufficient to secure to him a continuance of that reputation, which he has acquired by laws that have subsisted 2500 years.

*The following is Mr. Perron's account of the MSS. attributed to Zoroaster, and of the other works relating to the religion of the Parsses, which he has deposited in the king of France's library.*

**I** Do not pretend that any of these MSS. are originals, written by Zoroaster himself, but only copies of different degrees of antiquity, written, like most other MSS. upon paper made of linen or cotton,

covered with a varnish, on which the slightest stroke is visible.

These MSS. may be divided into three classes: 1st, Zend works, of which Zoroaster is supposed to have been the author, and which contain what may be called the breviary and ritual of the Parsses; these are preserved with the greatest care, and are recited publicly by the priests at certain times prescribed by the law, and also by the private Parsses, as a meritorious act, though they do not understand one word of what they utter. The 2d class contains Pehlvi works, some of which are translations of originals attributed to Zoroaster; and the third class consists of Indian and Persic versions of Zend originals, and some MSS. written since the time of Zoroaster, which serve as commentaries upon the Zend text.

The works of Zoroaster are all written in a wild unconnected manner; but the reader will not wonder at this, when he recollects the genius of Eastern writers, and considers Zoroaster, not as a philosopher writing in the quiet of silent recollection, but as a legislator, who believed himself to be inspired. Of these works, the following is a summary.

I. *Vendidad Sade*, a folio of 560 pages. The word *Vendidad*, literally translated, signifies *separated from the devil*, i. e. contrary to the maxims of the devil, or the object of his hatred: *Sade*, signifies *pure and without mixture*; and is a name given to those Zend works which are not accompanied with the Pehlvi translation.

This volume is called by the general name, *Vendidad*, tho', besides what is the *Vendidad*, in a strict sense, it contains two other tracts of Zoroaster,



er, called the *Jzefchne*, and the *ffpered*; because the priest, who reads the *Vendidad*, is also obliged to read those two other works at the same time, which are divided into proper lessons for that purpose.

The *Vendidad* itself is the twentieth treatise of Zoroaster, and consists of a dialogue between Zoroaster and Ormusd, the deity, who answers several questions which are put to him by Zoroaster. In this book, Ormusd is called the pure being, who recompences, absorbed in excellence, the creator and righteous Judge of the world, which subsists by his power.

The work is divided into XXII chapters, which they call *Fargards*, and all which conclude with a prayer, which they call *Eschem Vozu*, pure and excellent: these are the first words of the prayer in the original language, which is thus translated: "He who does good, and all those who are pure, shall go to the mansions of abundance which are prepared for them." The two first chapters, and the five last, contain a relation of the historical facts upon which the Parsses found their faith: the rest of the work consists of their morals, policy, and legal ceremonies.

In the first chapter, Ormusd acquaints Zoroaster, that he created sixteen cities, which were equally celebrated for their beauty, and for the wealth of their inhabitants; and that Ahriman (the devil) his rival, and antagonist, produced all the guilt and misery that had plagued the world. These cities were called Anvedj, Goam, Moerem, Bakh-

dim, Nefsaem, Haroioum, Veeke-retem, Orouanm, Kheneantem, Herekhetim, Hetomentem, Ragh-anm, Tchekrem, Verenem, Haph-tehando, and Rengheiao, each of which was the capital of an empire of the same name. *Iranvedj*, (i. e.) the pure *Iram*, the first and most considerable, was situate on the side of the Aderbedjam; and *Haph-tehando*, (i. e.) the *Seven Indies*, consisted of seven kingdoms, forming one empire, among which they reckoned *Caschmite*.

In the second chapter, *Djemchid*, called in Zend *Jemo*, the son of *Vivenganm*, and fourth king of the first dynasty of the Parsses, is taken up into heaven, where he received, from the hand of Ormusd, a poignard of gold, with which he cleft the earth, and produced the country called *Vermaneschne*, and the breed of men and animals. This delightful country, over which death had no dominion, was at length desolated by winter. The plains and tops of the mountains were covered with a burning snow, which rendered them totally desolate and barren. Djemchid, said Ormusd, speaking to Zoroaster, was the first who beheld the Supreme Being face to face, and he produced all these marvellous effects by virtue of my word, which was put into his mouth\*.

At the end of this chapter, Ormusd relates to Zoroaster the origin of the world: It is I, says he, who have created all that is; I produced the first light that shines with its own radiance, from which the light of the sun, the moon, and the stars, is originally derived; the year was

\* The poignard of gold given by Ormusd to Djemchid, was no other than the divine word, called in the Persian language, *Afchter tex*, i. e. a two-edged word; and it is well known to be represented in scripture by the same emblem.



one uninterrupted day, and there was a winter of forty \*; and of a strong man were born twins, a male and a female, who united as man and wife: the different species of animals also appeared which inhabit the earth.

The third chapter speaks of works that are agreeable to the earth, or rather to the angel who governs it; as agriculture, breeding cattle, removing out of the way the bodies of the dead, and succouring the poor.

“A good husbandman, said Ormusd, is as great in my sight, as he who should produce a thousand men, who recite a thousand Jzechenes.”

The fourth chapter commands to render to the rich what has been borrowed: It treats also of different species of the crimes called *Meherderoudjs*, because they come from *Deroudj*, the devil, opposed to *Meher*, the angel who gives fertility to cultivated ground. They commit *Meherderoudj*, when they break their word, and when they violate contracts; when they refuse to pay couriers their hire, to reward the animals that assist in cultivating the ground, to pay the preceptors of youth, and the labouring peasants, and neglect to water a piece of ground when they have promised to do it.

The fifth chapter treats of dead bodies, and of the place to which they are to be carried, and the ceremonies to be used on that occasion; of legal purifications, and of women delivered before their time. In this chapter Ormusd extols the purity of the *Vendidad*, and touches on the three rivers, Pherat, Ponti, and Varkas.

The sixth chapter treats of the impurity which death communicates to the earth, the water, and vessels of every kind.

The seventh chapter is a continuation of the same subject: it treats also more particularly of the impurity of women after miscarriage, of the dignity of the medical profession, of the merit of him who has cured many sick, promising, that he shall be rewarded with a long and happy life: he is enjoined to try the efficacy of his remedies, first upon those that worship the *Dev*, which are spirits of genii created by Ahriman, before he gives them to the Parsses; and it is declared, that if he neglects this precaution, and his remedies prove fatal, or hurtful to the patient, he is worthy of death. Zoroaster then fixes the fees which the different classes among the Parsses are to give to the physician.

He begins with the *Athorne* Priest; and a physician who has cured one of these ministers of the law, must content himself with the prayers which he shall offer for him to the angel *Dahman*, who is appointed to receive the souls of the saints from the angel *Sferosch*, and conduct them to heaven.

The subject of the eighth chapter is the manner of carrying the dead to *Dakme*, the burying-place; the ceremony of the presenting a dog to the dead, to drive away the devil; the prayers which are to be made for the deceased; the guilt which is contracted by those who defile themselves, by approaching or touching a dead body, and the purification which they must undergo.

The Parsses distinguish fire by different names, drawn from the va-

\* It does not appear from the original, whether this forty is days or years.



ous uses to which it is applied ; as the culinary fire, the bagnio fire, and the founder's fire : In this chapter, Zoroaster recommends the carrying some of all these fires, and every other kind, to Dadgah, the place of justice ; and assigns the place which contains the sacred fire, and that which is to be appropriated to prayer. This chapter also contains the *Jeta Abou Verio*, which is the *Efchem Vohou*, is a prayer that the Parsses have almost continually in their mouths : this prayer takes its name from the three first words :

“ God commands the chiefs of the law to perform pure and holy works. The angel *Bahman* watches over those who have a pure heart, to do good, and apply themselves to the study of the law : he gives admonition to princes, that they may succour and comfort the poor.”

Ormuzd declares, that to please him it is necessary to be pure in thought, word, and deed : and that it is a sin worthy of death, for a man to seduce the daughter or wife of his neighbour, or to commit perjury : Separate, says Zoroaster, from your communion, and cut to pieces him, who having sinned refuses to submit to punishment ; the robber, him who torments the innocent, the magician\*, and him who refuses to pay his debts.

The ninth chapter relates to the *estour-Mobed*, who gives the *Baschnom*, that is, who purifies those who are defiled ; it specifies the qualities requisite to this minister, and treats of the place, the instruments, and the ceremonies proper to these purifications : Zoroaster speaks also, in this chapter, of moral

and natural evils : These evils, says he, owe their origin, and their progress, to the crimes committed by mankind, and the little care they take to purify themselves ; and, in consequence of this general proposition, he declares, in the 18th chapter, that fornication and adultery dry up rivers, and render the earth sterile.

The tenth chapter treats of the prayers which drive away devils : those impure spirits preside over the particular crimes and evils to which their names have relation ; he that excites men to *Khaschem*, rage, is called *Khaschem* ; he that raises violent storms of *Vad*, wind, is called *Vato* ; and so of others.

The eleventh chapter contains a particular account of the methods to be used in purifications ; with respect to which the *Honover*, or word of God, is of the greatest efficacy.

The twelfth chapter treats of the prayer, which the children or kindred of the dead are obliged to say, or cause to be said, on their account.

The thirteenth speaks of the different dogs whose approach drives away the devil, who prowls about upon the earth after midnight ; of the manner in which they are to be fed, and of the crime committed by striking them.

The fourteenth chapter is upon the same subject. He who has killed a dog, must, in order to expiate his crime, give to the three classes of the Parsses, the priests, the soldiers, and the labourers, the instruments of their professions ; if he is not able to be at this expence, he must dig canals to conduct the water

\* By a magician, the Parsses mean one who has commerce directly or indirectly with the evil principle.



of rivers through the neighbouring pastures, and inclose the pastures themselves with a good fence; or he must marry his daughter or his sister to a man of exemplary sanctity.

The fifteenth chapter speaks of five sins which merit the punishment of hell; the 1st is railing against or contradicting a good man, who is instructing or admonishing sinners; the 2d is making the teeth of a dog, who drives away the devil, drop out, by giving him something to eat burning hot: the 3d is striking or terrifying a bitch that is with puppy, so as to cause abortion; the 4th and 5th are, to have commerce with a woman during the catamenia, or while she gives suck.

The sixteenth chapter relates to the purification of the women.

The seventeenth prescribes what is to be done to the hair and the nails when they are cut. The party is directed to dig a hole in the ground about half a foot deep, and place a stone at the bottom of it, and to put the clippings of the hair and the parings of the nails upon that stone, repeating the prayers directed by the law.

In the eighteenth chapter, Zoroaster warns the Parsses not to believe the *Destour*, who carries the Penom, a piece of linen, which the Parsses place upon their noses when they pray, and who performs the functions of priest without having the *Kosti*, which is the girdle of the Parsses; such *Destour*, says Zoroaster, is an impostor, who teaches the law of the devil, though he assumes the character of a minister of God.

This chapter relates, that in the beginning, Ahriman resisted Ormusd, and refused to receive his

law. Zoroaster then celebrates the cock, who, next to the angel *Sferosch*, is the guardian of the world, and secures mankind against the snares of the devil.

The nineteenth chapter contains an account of the war between Ormusd and Ahriman, and of the defeat of Ahriman by the *Honover*, or word of God. Ormusd declares that, at the end of the world, the works of Ahriman will be destroyed by the three prophets Oschederhami, Oschedermah, and Ssossiosch, who shall arise from seed preserved in the source of the river Kanste, a small stream, which the Pehlvi Cosmogony places in Ssistam, and which is supposed to water Raghanm, the 12th city which was in the beginning created by Ormusd.

In this chapter something is also said of endless duration, of the soul of God, which is always employed with the word, of several necessary purifications, particularly one with the urine of an ox, and of some implements which are necessary in reading the *Avesta*, particularly the *Barssso*, a bundle of small twigs tied together, the bell and the salver. Zoroaster then expatiates on what shall happen at the resurrection; after this great event, the righteous and the wicked shall pass over a bridge that separates earth from heaven, under protection of the dog, who was created as the common guardian of cattle. This chapter concludes with the names of the devils.

The twentieth chapter speaks of the third *Poeridekesch*, that is, the third prince of the first dynasty, the righteous and holy prince, who

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lished the evil produced by the evil: to this prince\* Ormusd gave the tree of health, and the *Hom*.

In the twenty-first chapter, Ormusd directs Zoroaster to render the worship of prayer and praise to the Supreme Being, and to the rain of which the angel Taschter is the distributor, who subsists under the form of an ox.

The rain is drawn from the rivers Euphrates and Varkas; and, in conjunction with the sun, "who, like a proud courser, springs from the summit of the mountain Albordj," renders the earth fruitful.

The twenty-second chapter contains the mission of Zoroaster. Ormusd sends him with the angel Merioffengul into Irman, which, in the end, is called *Erimenae*†. "Go," says he, to Irman, that place which I have created pure and splendid, and which the infernal serpent has spoiled and infected, that serpent which has absorbed in guilt, and pregnant with death. Do thou, who hast approached me on the holy mountain, here I have answered the questions which thou hast propounded to me, carry to Irman my law. I will give thee a thousand oxen, as far as the foot of the mountain Sokande, upon which men passed over the Euphrates in the beginning of time: thou shalt possess every good thing in abundance, exterminate devils and magicians, and put an end to the evils which they have produced.

This is the reward which I decree to recompense the holy dispositions of the inhabitants of Irman."

The second work, contained in the *Vendidad Sade*, is the *Jzechne*, which the Parsses in general consider as a complete treatise. The word *Jzechne* signifies Blessing, accompanied with praise, which is the general form of the prayers used by the Parsses. The *Neaesch* expresses the humility of the person who recites it; the *Jesch* contains a pompous eulogium of the being to whom it is addressed: the *Jesch* is offered up with more solemnity, and is thought to be more efficacious: water which is consecrated to certain ceremonies is also called *Jeschtee* water, and it is supposed to have a particular virtue which gives it an influence even over the soul. If the prayer includes a petition, it is called an *Afergan*.

This *Jzechne* consists of seventy-two chapters, which are called *Ha*. *Ha* is a contraction of *Hatam*, the second word of the expression *Jenjube Hatam*, *so let it be*. A form of words equivalent to our Amen, with which every chapter of the *Jzechne* is concluded.

The work is divided into two parts; the first, which contains 27 chapters, relates to the Supreme Being, his word, and his creatures: the other part, which contains 47 chapters, consists of prayers, addressed to Ormusd and his angels;

\* This prince is Djemchid, mentioned above, who is sometimes called the third king of the first dynasty, because Kaiomorts is not always reckoned one.

† Probably Armenia: and the high mountain, where Zoroaster pretended to have conversed with the Supreme Being, seems to be Caucasus, called in that country Albordj. It is probable, that he composed his works upon this mountain: and the language, called *Avesta*, might be the ancient Armenian, to which the ignorance and superstition of the Parsses gave a divine origin.



and in these the necessities of mankind are particularly mentioned.

This work is in general more a liturgy than any other, and mention is frequently made in it of the apparatus necessary for the minister of the law, when he reads the *Avesta*. This minister is called the *Djouti*, a name signifying one who reads with rapidity; his assistant is called the *Rasspi*, (i. e.) one who prepares the fire: the principal particulars of the apparatus are these:

The *Ateschdan*, or chafing-dish, which contains the sacred fire; the *Barssom*, a bundle of small twigs bound together; the *Avan*, or bell; the hammer of the bell; the *Mabrou*, or andirons, which support the chafing-dish; the cups, the salvers, a ring surrounded with hair, all these are of metal; some pieces of the tree called *Hom*, and of a pomegranate tree; little round loaves called *Darouns*, some milk, some dressed meats, some common, and some consecrated water, and some juice of the *Hom*. Some pieces of the *Hom* are piled upon the *Avan*, which, in figure, somewhat resembles a chalice, and the juice that exudes they call the water of life; the virtues of this apparatus, and the ceremonies practised in the use of it, are particularised in the *Jzechne*; but Zoroaster always took care to add, that he who read the *Avesta* ought to be pure in thought, word, and deed.

Zoroaster also recommended the *Keschbi*, which are marriages between cousin-germans; he bestows great encomiums upon subordination, and declares, that every state or class ought to have a chief; these states are priests, soldiers, labourers, and handicraftsmen. He adds, that the women would do well to place

at their head, a person of their own sex, comely and fruitful. He often repeats his injunctions to take care of brute animals, and says a word or two of the *pure asfs*.

This animal the Pehlvi Cosmogony calls the *three-footed asf*, and places him in the middle of the Euphrates: he has, says the author of this work, six eyes, nine mouths, two ears, and a horn of gold; his body is white, he is fed with celestial food, and thousands of men and animals may pass between his legs: it is he who purifies the water of the Euphrates, and waters the seven divisions of the earth; when he makes his voice to be heard, the fishes created by Ormusd conceive, and the productions of Ahriman cast their young.

Much is also said in the *Jzechne* of the Honover, or Word of God, which is said to have existed before all creatures.

The 9th, 10th, and 11th chapters relate wholly to a man called *Hon Ised*: this celebrated Desfleur is represented as a holy king, with eyes of gold very piercing; his dwelling is on the mountain Albordj: it is he who blesses the waters and the cattle, and who teaches the right way to those who do good; the palace in which he resides on mountain Albordj is supported on a hundred columns, his bed and his apparel shine with the splendor of holiness: he promulgated the law upon the mountains; he brought the *Kestis*, the girdle of the Parsies, and the *Sadera*, a kind of shirt worn by the sect, from heaven. His employment upon the mountains is to read the *Avesta*. He destroyed the two-footed serpent, and created the bird which gathers up the seeds that fall from the tree *Hom*, and then scatters

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ters them upon the earth ; when five pious and holy persons are in one place, I am there, says Hom, in the midst of them.

This Hom bound Afrassiah, king of Touran, to a wall of brass: when Vivenganm prayed for a child, he gave him Djemchid ; he gave also Feridoun, the conqueror of Zoak, to Atvian. The hero Guerschasp, who slew the serpent, was the fruit of prayers, which Saman his father addressed to Hom; and Poroschasp, the father of Zoroaster, owed that illustrious offspring to his protection.

Such is the portrait which the *Jzechne* has drawn of Hom: his surname in Zend is *Zacreguoe*, *Zereguone*, *Zerietche*, *Zerrin*, each of which words signifies of a golden colour: this property, which characterises the tree *Hom*, that is planted in the middle of the Euphrates, agrees also with the man *Hom Ised*, who presides over that tree ; and the names by which it is above expressed, have probably given occasion to some authors to suppose that there was another Zoroaster before the legislator ; for the name *Zoroaster*, being more recent and familiar, may have been substituted for that of *Zereguone*, or *Zerrin*, with which it has as much affinity as with *Zeretoschtre*, *Zertoscht*, and *Zerdust*, which are the Zend and Pehlvi names of Zoroaster.

This Hom Ised, or *Zereguone*, has left no writings. He was, however, a celebrated sage king of the mountains, and his throne was upon Albordj ; Zoroaster, indeed, attributes to him many actions, which have rendered it doubtful at what time he lived. These facts happened, some under Djemchid, some

under Feridoun, and others under Guerschasp, Kekosiro, and even Gustasp. By the Zend text, however, it appears, that Hom *Zereguone* gave laws to the people of the mountains in the time of Djemchid, with whom, therefore, he must have been contemporary: the other actions, which have been attributed to him, were performed by other princes, who invoked him by virtue of his power delegated to them, and, in that sense, may be said to be performed by him: and the historian frequently represents Hom, as performing himself the miracles which were wrought by his influence,

The *Jzechne* also contains the eulogy of the sun, of fire, and of water; of the moon, and the five Gahs; the Gahs are the five days which the Parsses add to the 360 days of the year, because their law consists of 12 months, each of which has 30 days.

The *Jzechne* concludes with the eulogy of Serosch, the angel of the terrestrial world, who watches over it for its preservation, and with a summary of the law to this effect: “ Read the *Honover*, which is pure and victorious, which shall burn, like stubble and dry wood, all who are impure in thought, word, or deed; and regard, with religious veneration, all that Ormusd has done, all that he does, and all that he shall do.” This summary is agreeable to the precept of Ormusd, “ Adore all that I have created, for it is the same as if ye adored me.” To fulfil this command of the Supreme Being, Zoroaster, in the beginning of the *Jzechne*, sings the praise of the *Pœriodekeschans*, and Keanians, the first and second dynasties



nafties of the kings of the Parffes, of the places which afford pasture and shelter to cattle, of light from the first created ox, from which mankind proceeded, and of the soul of Kaiomorts, the first king of the first dynasty.

On this occasion, it may be remarked, that, in the works of Zoroaster, he never speaks of any but the two first dynasties of the Parffes, that of the Peschdadians, and the Keanians, which proves that they were composed under the latter of the two.

The third work, contained in the *Vendidad Sade*, is the *Viffpered*; if this treatise should be thought incomplete, it may be taken as part of the *Bagantassi*, the fifteenth work of Zoroaster, which contains an eulogium on the creatures created by God.

*Viffpered* signifies *knowledge of all*. This work consists of twenty-seven small chapters, which are called *Carde*, portions.

Tchangregatcha, a celebrated Bramin of the Indies, hearing the fame of Zoroaster, went to see him, and Zoroaster pronounced before him the *Viffpered*, which begins by the eulogy of that Bramin. The Parffes suppose every class of animals to have a particular chief, to whom the *Pehlvi* Cosmogony gives the title of *Destour*, or Doctor; and Zoroaster, as a testimony of Tchangregatcha's merit, set him over the *Destours* of the animals of the earth and waters.

The *Viffpered* afterwards speaks of six feasts of five days each, called *Gabanbars*, which were established to commemorate the six periods of time in which the world was creat-

ed: it contains also several offices of praise, addressed to all that has been created or exists, whether animate or inanimate; among the inanimate things, which are thus addressed, is the *Sfetout Jesch*, the first work of Zoroaster, which treats of the nature of God, and of the angels, and the *Jzeschne*; praise is also offered to angels, to animals, to *Hadokht*, the twenty-first treatise of Zoroaster, to the ox from which the first man proceeded, to the river Varkass, to the *Honover* or word, and to the *Eschemvohou*; this prayer, pronounced in the hearing of those who are so near death as to be speechless, is said to afford them great advantages: the tree, called Hom, is also celebrated in the *Viffpered*, in which the Djouti, and the Rasspi, are represented as performing religious ceremonies round the fire; and Zoroaster addresses himself to the sword of the Lord, to the club or mace with which the angel Meher strikes the devil, who would desolate the world, and to the bridge which separates heaven from earth.

Holiness is particularly recommended to priests, and marriages between cousin-germans to the rest of the faithful.

Lastly, the *Viffpered* gives the names of the seven empires, or parts of the world, Ezezbio, Sfeuebio, Frededafschbio, Videdafschbio, Voroberefbio, Vorodjerefbio, and Keneretche. The *Pehlvi* Cosmogony places Ezezbio to the W. Sfeuebio to the E. Frededafschbio and Videdafschbio to the S. Vorodjerefbio to the N. and Keneretche, which includes Iram, in the centre of the earth\*.

\* The situation of Voroberefbio we are not told.



Several small fragments taken from the Zend pieces, which will be particularly mentioned in the sequel, are also sometimes found in the *Vendidad Sade*, besides the three works already mentioned: the copy here referred to, was made in the year of Jesdejerd 1083, and in the year of our lord 1713 \*. At the end of the volume appears the following paragraph, written in modern Persic, with Zend characters.

At Gah Avan, on the happy day Zamiad, of the blessed month Meher, in the year 1083, of Jesdejerd, king of kings, a prince mighty in power, the copy of this book called Djedjewdad, was completed with a satisfaction that ascended in praise to the Supreme Being, by the slave of the law Darab Erbed, an inhabitant of Naucary, and the son of Roustoun, who was the son of Daval; let him who shall read or recite this book, offer up a prayer for me in this world, that in the next my soul may be happy; according to this word, the pure spirits of paradise have eternal joy.

II. The *Vendidad* in Zend, and Pehlvic mixed with *Pabzend*, collected with the copies of Bikh, the *Destour Mobed* of Surat, and that of Darab his adversary, and corresponding exactly with all the *Vendidads* of Surat. This work is a folio of 488 pages.

When the Parsses fled from the persecution of the descendants of Omar into India, they carried the books of the law with them, but the

distresses and confusions of war, and the connections which they formed with the Indians, produced insensibly such a neglect of the Pehlvic, that the translations of it into that language being lost 450 years ago, nothing remained of the *Vendidad* but the six first chapters, translated from the Pehlvic into Samskretam; but, at this time, one-and-twenty chapters of the *Vendidad Zend*, with a Pehlvic translation, were brought from Sistán to India, by the *Destour* Ardeschir, from which two copies were immediately made, and from these all the copies now in use at Guzarate have been transcribed: the copy now brought into France was made in 1757.

III. The *Jzeschne Zend* and *Samskretam* and *Jeschts Sades*; a folio of 616 pages.

The *Samskretam* translation of the *Jzeschne* from the *Pehlvic*, contains only the first 66 chapters, and for these the world is indebted to the care of the Mobeds, Neriosengue the son of Daval, and Ormusdiar the son of Raymar, who about 300 years ago translated from the *Pehlvic* into *Samskretam* all that is now to be found in that language.

The *Jeschts Sades* is a volume which contains 18 *Jeschts*, and many Persic and Zend works in Zend characters.

The *Jeschts* are pompous praises of Ormusd, and the 15 angels, whose names are Ardihescht, Khor-dad, Avan, Khorchid, Mar, Tir, Gosch, Meher, Sferosch, Rasche-raft, Farvardin, Behram, Aschtad, Hom, and Venant.

\* There is a copy in the Bodleian library at Oxford, which was made anno dom. 1680, and brought over in 1723, by Richard Cobbe.



Zoroaster, in the *Ormuzd Jeshct*, demands of Ormuzd, “What is that sublime and delectable word which gives victory and diffuses light; which to man is the guide of life, which disappoints the efforts of the malignant spirit, and which gives health at once to the body and the soul?” “That word, answers Ormuzd, is my name; I am called the god who loves to be consulted, the father of men and flocks, the powerful, the pure, the celestial, the feed of all that is good, the author and preserver of all that is pure, the sovereign intelligence, and he who communicates it; knowledge, and he who gives it; excellence, and he from whom it flows: the prince of holiness, the fountain of felicity, he in whom there is no evil, the strong who is not wearied, he who numbers and weighs all things, the giver of health, the righteous judge, the being who neither is deceived, nor deceives, finally the god who recompenses. This is my name, have it continually in thy mouth, and thou shalt have nothing to fear, either from the bow or the *Tchakar*, neither from the javelin nor the poignard, from the sword or the mace.” At this answer of Ormuzd, Zoroaster prostrated himself before him, and said; “I adore the intelligence of God, which contains the word, his understanding which meditates it, and his tongue which pronounces it without ceasing.”

The *Farvardin Jeshct* is a work of 31 chapters; the angel Farvardin, to whom it is addressed, presides over the Ferouers, or first principles of all that exists, whether spiritual or corporal; and Zoroaster, in this *Jeshct*, renders homage to all the

Ferouers: he speaks, on this occasion, of the kings and great men who lived at Gustasp, and characterizes them by some striking particular; and many of the facts which appear most extraordinary in the *Pehlvi* Cosmogony, are confirmed by some words scattered here and there in the *Farvardin Jeshct*.

Of the other works contained in the *Jeshct Sades*, the following are the chief.

1. The five *Neaesch*, which are devotional pieces, in the form of praise, addressed to the angel of the sun, to Meher, to the moon, to the water, and to the fire; the *Neaesch*, which is in Zend, is only an extract of the *Jeshct* to the same angel.

Zoroaster, in the *Neaesch* to the sun, pays to that planet only the worship of praise. He first humbles himself before Ormuzd, and renounces all the sins he may have committed in thought, word, and deed; he then addresses himself to several angels; to Meher, the companion of the angel who presides over the sun, whose splendor is superior to that of all other celestial spirits; to heaven the work of the Almighty, to endless duration, and to time: he then proceeds to the eulogy of the sun. “I adore the sun, says Zoroaster, who never dies, who comes on shining with light like a vigorous horse. When he causes his influence to be felt, when he waxes hot, when he appears with an hundred, with a thousand celestial spirits who accompany him, he diffuses light through all nature; he scatters it like rain, and deals it with profusion to the earth which God has created; he is a fountain of abundance to the world of purity: when



when he arises he purifies the earth and the waters, the mountains and the valleys, the rivers and the lakes."

Zoroaster then proceeds to the praise of Meher, who presides over farms and villages: he strikes the devil with his eternal mace; he has a thousand eyes, and a thousand ears; he is continually busied about the law and the good of mankind; and he never sleeps.

The name of *Meher* in Zend is *Methrem*, of which is formed *Mithra*, supposed by the ancients to be the sun, because he is often mentioned in praises addressed to that planet, but at most, he only seconds the sun in his functions; and the importance of his ministry to mankind has produced that particular regard which the Parsses have always expressed for him.

In the *Neaesch* of fire, Zoroaster, after having invoked Ormusd, addresses himself to fire as the object of worship, by the name of the son of God or the created of God.

2. The four *Patets*. The first is called *Mahresspand*, and the second *Patet Moktat*, which are read on behalf of the dead; the third is recited by the living for themselves; the fourth is called *Patet irani*, because it is most used \*.

A *Patet* is a confession of sin, accompanied with repentance and shame for having committed it. The sinner in the presence of fire, or of the Destour, pronounces five times the prayer called *Jetha abou verio*; then addressing himself to God and the angels, he says, "I repent with confusion of all the crimes I have

committed in thought, word, and deed; I renounce them, I promise to be pure in thought, word, and deed. May God have mercy upon me, and receive my body and soul in this world, and that which is to come!" The penitent then proceeds to a particular mention of his sins, which are of twenty-five different species.

These confessions are modern Persic, mixed with Pehlvic. They are thought to have been composed in Pehlvic by Aderhad Mahresspand, the thirtieth descendant from Zoroaster, a celebrated Destour, and restorer of the law under the reign of Sapour, the successor of Ardeshir Babekan, who lived in the third century of the Christian era.

3. The *Afergans*. These are prayers in Zend, consisting of several passages of the *Avesta* brought together, and are supposed to be of a later time than that of Zoroaster. These prayers, which are mixed with thanksgiving, are addressed to the *Gabanbars*, the *Gabtbas*, names of the last five days of the year, to the angel Dahman, and to the angel Rapitan, who presides over the second part of the day, called *Gab Rapitan*.

The *Gabanbars* are festivals of five days each, which were instituted in memory of the creation of the world, or at least of its being reduced into order, which, according to the Parsses, was a work that continued three hundred and sixty-five days. Of these *Gabanbars* there are six in every year.

*Mediozerem* the first *Gabanbar*,

\* The name of the third is not mentioned.



is celebrated in honour of the creation of the heavens, which lasted five-and-forty days.

*Medioschem*, the second *Gabanbar*, was appointed in commemoration of the waters, which were created in sixty days.

*Peteschem*, the third, refers to the creation of the earth in 75 days.

*Eiatremeche*, the fourth, to the creation of the trees in 30 days.

*Mediarsie*, the fifth, to the creation of animals in 80 days; and *Hamespetemedé*, the sixth, to the creation of man in 75 days.

4. The *Afrans*, which are free translations of the *Afergans* into modern Persic.

5. The prayers which are addressed to the five *Gabs*, over which five different angels preside. The *Parsses* divide the day into five parts, which they call *Gabs*, times; the first is *Gab Avan*, which begins at sun-rising and ends at noon; the second *Gab Rapitan*, lasts from noon to three o'clock; *Gab Ofiren* the third, lasts from three o'clock to sun-set; *Gab Ewefferoutren* the 4th, lasts from sun-set to midnight; and *Gab Oschen* the 5th, from midnight to sun-rising. These prayers to the *Gabs* are in Zend.

6. The *Neka*. The *Neka* is the benediction given by the *Mobed* to the faithful, and is written in *Pehlvi*, mixed with the modern Persian. Doctor Hyde had a copy of this work, which he calls *Zend Avesta*, though the passage which he cites from it is in modern Persic.

7. The *Nerongs*. These are little forms of prayer which the *Parsses* are obliged to recite on the most common occasions, when they begin a piece of work, or when they

set out on a journey. They may be compared to our collects, and are in modern Persic.

The MS. of which I have now given an account, is very ancient, and without a date. I saw a copy of it at Dr. Hunt's, professor of Arabic at Oxford, which was brought into England by Mr. Fraser, who obtained it of Bekh, the *Destour Mobed* of Surat. Dr. Hunt had also copies of the *Zend Neaeschs* and the *Neka* in Zend characters, which were made in the year 1672, and had been in the collection of Dr. Hyde.

IV. *Sfirouse* in Zend and *Pehlvi*; *Neaeschs*, *Ormuzd Jeschts*, and some other pieces, Zend and *Pehlvi*; *Abouhenim*, Zend and Persic; and *Ravaet*, translated out of Persic into Indou: this is a folio of 394 pages.

The first of these pieces is in praise of the angels who preside over the 30 days of the month. *Sfirouse* signifies 30 days. There are two tracts of this name, the great and the little *Sfirouse*; but the little one is only an abridgment of the other.

In the *Sfirouse*, fire is called the light of the *Keanians*: this element, according to the pure theology of the *Parsses*, contained in the writings of Zoroaster himself, is nothing more than a sensible emanation of that fountain of uncreated light, which, in the beginning, contained the prototype of all beings.

With respect to the *Neaeschs*, the reader may consult the article of the *Jeschts Sades*; and, on the *Abouhenim*, he may consult the account of the *Jzeschne*. The 9th, 10th, and 11th chapters of which are distinguished by



by the name of *Abouhenim*, because the 9th chapter begins with that Zend word, which signifies a *little bell*.

The *Ravaet* is a collection of answers from the Destours of Kirman, to the letters of Tchengatcha, a celebrated Parſſe, who lived in India about 300 years ago, and who consulted them upon many points of the law, which time had rendered doubtful and obscure. In imitation of Tchengatcha, the Destours of India have ever since written to those of Iran, when any doubt has risen concerning the law, and the answers have been collected into what they call *Ravaets*. *Ravaet* signifies *custom*.

V. The *Vendidad* Zend and Pehlvi mixed with *Pabzend*, revised and corrected by the Destour Darab; the *Viſſpered* Zend and Pehlvi; the *Sferosch Jeshcht*, *Hadokht* Zend, Pehlvi and Samskretam, and the *Sfirouse* Zend and Persic. This is a quarto of 628 pages.

This copy of the *Vendidad* is not incumbered with the ridiculous commentaries of ignorant transcribers. The Destour Djamaſſp, a man much celebrated for his learning, coming into India about five-and-thirty years ago to put an end to the factions and divisions which have been already mentioned, Darab studied the Zend and Pehlvi under him; and to Darab the world is indebted for this book, which is the most correct copy of the most considerable work of the Parſſic legislator.

An account of the *Viſſpered* and the *Sfirouse* has been already given; the *Sferosch Jeshcht* *Hadokht* is extracted from the twenty-first work of Zoroaster, which is called *Hadokht*, and is a prayer to the angel

*Sferosch*, who, according to the Parſſes, is king of the terrestrial world, and presides over all the living. A second *Sferosch Jeshcht* occurs at the end of the *Jzeschne*.

VI. *Jzeschne Sade*, a quarto of 390 pages. This volume contains the *Jzeschne* without the *Vendidad*, and the ceremonies used in this part of the liturgy are explained in Indian, written with modern Samskretam characters. Of this MS. which is very ancient and without date, Dr. Hunt had two copies, in both which the ceremonies were wanting.

VII. A collection of tracts and extracts in Zend and Pehlvi, containing 322 pages in quarto. This MS. is valuable, as well for the pieces it contains, as for its scarcity. The Destour Djamaſſp declared, he had not seen one in Asia for 30 years; and this copy was thought to be the only one in India. It contains five-and-twenty pieces, some in Zend, and others in Pehlvi, the names of which occur in many modern compositions. The principal are some parts of the *Jzeschne* translated into Pehlvi, a small Zend and Pehlvi vocabulary, the *Babam Jeshcht*, the *Virasnama*, and the *Boundchesch*.

The *Babam Jeshcht* exhibits, in the form of a prophecy, a brief history of the empire and religion of the Parſſes, from the time of Gustasp to the end of the world. Zoroaster sees in a dream a tree spring out of the ground, and put forth four branches, one of gold, another of silver, a third of brass, and a fourth of iron; he sees these branches also interwoven with others. He also drinks some drops of a water which he received from Ormusd,



Ormuzd, and is filled with divine intelligence during seven days and seven nights, and sees a tree which bears seven fruits, each of a different metal. Of these visions there are particular explanations, which seem to me to have been made in the fourth dynasty of the Persian kings, or perhaps later; nor does the work itself appear to be genuine.

The *Virafnama* is the history of the mission of Viraf. The law of Zoroaster being obscured by doubt and uncertainty under Ardescher Babekan, chief of the fourth dynasty, Viraf, the only one out of 40,000 Mobeds who was found sufficiently pure to consult the Supreme Being, was appointed to execute that important commission. This new prophet, after having seven times emptied the cup of Gustasp, which had been seven times filled with wine, went to sleep, and while he slept he saw visions, of which he gave an account when he awaked, with an exactness that is not the characteristic of inspiration.

This book is divided into two parts; the first contains a description of the different places which shall be inhabited by the blessed, and the pleasures with which they shall be surrounded: the second represents the horrors of hell, and the punishment of the damned.

*Boundchesch* is the name of the Cosmogony of the Parsses: the word signifies *to give the root, or existence*. The original of this work was in Zend, and is attributed to Zoroaster. As to the Pehlvi version, it has been altered by the transcribers, as appears by its want-

ing the two last dynasties of the Persian kings: and it is common for the Parsses, whether transcribers or translators, to insert in Pehlvi translations, modern names which are not in the Zend, in order to give a prophetic air to their legislator. The criticism of a Destrour does not examine with the most severe penetration what is favourable to his religion.

In the *Boundchesch*, endless duration or eternity is made the first principle of Ormuzd, who inhabits the first light, and of Ahriman, who dwells in primæval darkness. The subsequent part of the work gives an account of the mixed operations of these two beings as secondary principles; of the creation of the pure world by Ormuzd, and of the impure world by Ahriman. Ahriman immediately interrupted the order of the universe, raised an army against Ormuzd; and having maintained a fight against him during fourscore and ten days, was at length vanquished by Honover the divine word: then Ormuzd created the Ox that was killed by Ahriman, and from this Ox proceeded the first man, called *Gaiomard*, or *Kaiomorts*. Before the creation of the first Ox, Ormuzd produced a drop called *the water of health*. He also produced another drop called *the water of life*, before he formed the first man; he put this drop upon the body of Kaiomorts, which was beautiful and white, and which, by virtue of this drop, appeared like the body of a youth of 15 years old.

After the death of Kaiomorts, there sprung up from his seed, which was shed upon the ground, a tree,



ee, the fruit of which contained the natural parts of both sexes united: from this fruit proceeded a couple, male and female; the man was called *Meschia*, and the woman *Meschine* \*. Ahriman, who had got upon the earth in the form of a serpent, seduced this couple from their allegiance to Ormusd, by persuading them that he was himself the sole author of all that existed: the man and woman, both believing him, became criminal, and this sin will perpetuate itself till the resurrection. Then *Meschia* and *Meschine* covered themselves with blackestments, and at length eat of a fruit which the devil presented them.

Some time after there were born, of *Meschia* and *Meschine*, two couple, male and female, from which proceeded seven other couple, also male and female: they became parents in about fifty years, and in about one hundred years died.

One of these seven couples was *Giamack* and his wife *Veschak*, who had twins, a male named *Frevak*, and a female named *Trevakei*: from this couple proceeded fifteen others, which produced fifteen nations, and multiplied considerably. Nine of these colonies passed the *Euphrates* upon the back of the ox *Stareffcok*, and established themselves in the six *Keschvars* (*i. e.*) the six parts of the world: the remaining six colonies continued in the *Kounnerets*.

Among the chiefs of these six colonies are reckoned,

1st, *Taze*, and his wife *Taza*, from whom the desert of the *Taxians*, now Arabia, derived its name.

2d, *Ofching* and *Gondje* his wife, from whom proceeded the *Iranians*, (*i. e.*) the Persians.

3d, *Mazendran* †, whose descendants have inhabited *Sfour*, *Avir*, *Tour*, *Tchinesstan*, *Dai*, and *Statad*: thus the posterity of *Frevak* peopled the seven parts of the world.

The rest of this Cosmogony is very much extended, and treats of many subjects. It contains many particulars concerning rivers, mountains, trees, and animals, which, as well as the trees, proceeded from the first ox: it treats also of the several species of fire. There is one fire which is always in the presence of Ormusd, and another which resides in animated beings: by which it appears, that the *Parsses* consider fire as an emanation of the principle of life and action which resides in the Supreme Being.

In the beginning of the *Boundchesh*, mention is made of a rain of forty days. This work also contains an account of the events which shall precede and follow the resurrection. At this great catastrophe, “the mother shall be separated from the father, the sister from the brother, and the friend from the friend; the just shall weep over the damned, and the damned shall weep over themselves; for a righteous father may have a son worthy of hell: of two sisters, one shall be pure, and the other corrupt; and each shall receive according to their

\* This account of the origin of mankind seems to contradict the account given above, where the creation of man is represented as the last work of the creation, and as taking up seventy-five days.

† His wife is not mentioned.



works. When *Goultcher* (*the comet*) finding itself in its revolution below the moon, shall fall upon the earth, the earth shall be disordered, and tremble as the lamb trembles before the wolf; the heat shall then cause the mountains to flow like a river: all men shall pass through that burning lake, and be purified; the righteous shall feel but a gentle warmth; the wicked shall suffer by the heat, but shall at length be purified and happy.

The *Boundchesch* concludes with the genealogy of Zoroaster, and the succession of the kings of Iran.

VIII. Four *Neaeschs*, several *Affergans*, and some other prayers in Zend and Indian, mixed with Samskretam, 4to. 518 pages.

IX. *Neaeschs*, in Zend and Indian, with an interlineary version in modern Persic, 8vo. 424 pages.

X. *Minokbered*, Persian and Samskretam, 8vo. 434 pages. The *Minokbered*, a word that signifies the Divine Spirit, is a kind of dialogue, the persons of which are not certainly known. Some think that they are the Divine Being and Zoroaster: its purport is to shew the utility of the law, and the necessity of fulfilling it, notwithstanding the objections of unbelievers. It is thought to have been originally written in Pehlvi; but no copy of it in that language is now extant: besides this translation of it into Samskretam, there is a perfect version both in prose and verse: the prose translation is in the old *Ravaet*, of which I shall give an account in a subsequent article: the poetical version was made about an hundred years since by Ormusdor, Destour of Naucary, and is to be found in the *Ravaet* that was brought into England by Mr. Frazer.

There are two *Minokbereds*: the larger, which contains sixty-four questions; and the smaller, which contains only four. This volume ends with a *Patet*, Persian and Samskretam, in which there is a Samskretam version of the *Jetha Abouverio* and the *Eschemvohou*.

XI. *Darbounfade*, 12mo. 238 pages. This work is part of the Persic literature, and consists of several chapters of the *Jzeckne*.

XII. The *Ravaet* in Persic, folio of 834 pages. This volume is a collection of several *Ravaets* made at Bombay by seven Parsi Destours. The first contains several determinations relating to ceremonies; the names of one-and-twenty treatises of Zoroaster; the plans of the places where the Parsis perform their purifications, and of their burying place: it contains also the *Kolassedin*, or Essentials of the Law, a treatise in verse and prose, of ceremonies, morals, the shape of the consecrated bread, and the nature of oaths. To these are added the *Sogand-nama*, a treatise on oaths, in which the Parsis are forbidden to swear, even in favour of the truth. The second part contains the conclusion of the *Minokbered* in verse; a poem which speaks of *Guerschassp*, the first of the Pehlvi; of *Themourèts*, the king of the dynasty of the Peshdadians; and of Djemchid, his successor; the Zend and Pehlvi characters; an explication of the *Jetha Abouverio*, and the *Eschemvohou*, with verses upon the *Kosti*, which is the girdle of the Parsis; the repentance of Djemchid in hell; the *Patets*; extracts from the *Sadder* and *Nezengs*. *Sadder* signifies *hundred doors*, and this tract is an abridgment of Persic divinity, speculative, practical, and ceremonial:



it is called *hundred doors*, because the hundred chapters, of which it consists, are so many doors into heaven: it is only part of the *Zendavesta*, and is thought to have been originally Pehlvi; some pieces of *Zerdust Bebram*, and, among others, some questions put to Zoroaster by Djamassp, minister of king Gustassp; the *Neaeschs* of Fire, Water, and the Moon; and the *Ormusd Jescbt*, in Zend and Persic; the *Afergans*, the *Sadder*; the *Niraz-nama-nazam*, or history of *Viraf*, in verse, there are three copies of this in Dr. Hunt's collection: the *Sadder Bonadchesch*, it is called *Sadder*, because it contains one hundred chapters; and *Bonadchesch*, because it treats of the origin of things: *Djamassp-nazam*; this is the result of a conference between king Gustassp and Djamassp, his minister, concerning events prior and subsequent to the law; it is not the work of Djamassp, tho' it bears his name.

XIII. A collection of Persian works, 4to. 446 pages. It contains the *Zerdust-nama Nazem*, or history of Zoroaster in verse, his birth, his mission, his miracles, and predictions: Dr. Hunt had a copy of this; the *Virap-nama Nazem*; the *Tchengregratch-nama Nazem*, or history of Tchengregratch in verse, the Bramin to whom the *Visspered* is addressed: This Bramin having learnt in India, that Zoroaster was propagating a new doctrine in Persia, which was adopted by Gustassp, Djamassp his minister, and his court, wrote to the king, the minister, and Zoroaster, and this work contains the letters that passed between them: the *Neaesch* of the Sun, in Zend and Persic, with Persic characters; the *Eulma eslam*, a theolo-

gical conference between a celebrated Destsour and the Mahometan Mullahs; this contains all the secrets of the Persic religion, and makes eternity the first principle of Ormusd, of fire, water, and the devil; answers of the Destsours of Kirman to the Destsours Darab and Kaous, concerning the first day of the year; *Sadder Nazem*, (*i. e.*) the *Sadder* in verse; the history of the flight of the Parsies into India in verse; and the *Djamasspi Nazem*.

XIV. *Virafnama*, in Indian.

XV. The old *Ravaet*: this includes part of No. XII. and all the Persic liturgy.

XVI. *Vadjerguerd*; this word signifies "that which is explained." It consists of prayers that accompany certain ceremonies, particularly the cutting of twigs for the Barssom.

XVII. A small Pehlvi Persic dictionary.

XVIII. *Cbekand Goumani*; this word signifies, "doubt broken and destroyed." The author asserts, that evil comes not from God; but that the source of the devil's malignity is in himself.

M. Perron has brought many books, besides those above enumerated, from India; and he hopes that the knowledge of the antient Persic, being facilitated by so great a collection, will open a spacious field of new discoveries to the learned, and clear the way to a perfect acquaintance with the Vedes, and the antiquities of India. M. Perron, as a proof of his acquaintance with the ancient Persic, has explained a passage in that language that occurs in Aristophanes, which has hitherto puzzled commentators.



Some account of a controversy, now subsisting among the learned, concerning a supposed antique Bust at Turin.

LAST year there appeared at Rome a small piece entitled, *De inscriptione quadam Ægyptiaca Taurini inventa, & characteribus, Ægyptiis olim et Sinibus communibus, exarata, idolo cuidam antiquo in regia universitate servato, epistola—Per Turbervillum Needham.* In this letter Mr. Needham, an Englishman, informs the reader, that in the king's museum, at Turin, is a bust of black marble, commonly supposed to be an antique of the goddess Isis; the face and breast of which are covered with uncommon characters. It came into his head that each of these characters, like those of the Chinese, had a particular signification. He owns he took this idea from the memoirs of M. de Guignes\*. Upon this he had an exact copy taken both of the bust and the inscription: and had some thoughts of sending it to China; but meeting with a native of Peking, who belonged to the Vatican library, he shewed it to him. The Chinese at first knew nothing of it (*nihil prorsus aspectu primo intellexit*) because he was acquainted only with the modern Chinese characters. But in a Chinese dictionary, in twenty-six volumes, printed in the time of Kang-hi, he found the ancient Chinese characters set down; and of the conformity of these characters with those on the bust, Mr. Needham says, that father Jacquier and Mr. Wilcocks were witnesses as well as himself. At first they made out 12 of the characters, and some days after, all the rest. The inscription, as they interpret it, is as

follows: *Frons tam lata est, oculi sunt cærulei, alba est facies, unum (sive primum) persona magna hæc est, figura ejus longitudine palmas magnas marmoreas cum dimidia habebat novem ejusdem generis, coloris nigri, nimis (aut valde) pulchra prius erat, præsentī tempore tanquam dea veneratur SHISOU-CHI.*

Mr. Needham thinks, that the authenticity of this Egyptian monument cannot be questioned, because, 1. The marble is Egyptian; 2. The form of it and the characters are Egyptian; 3. It has been 30 years at Turin.

In the conclusion, Mr. Needham triumphs in his having overturned the high antiquity of the Chinese, by proving that they received hieroglyphics from the Egyptians.

This letter of Mr. Needham's has been followed by two others, written on the same subject to the earl of Macclesfield, president of the Royal Society, by Edward Wortley Montague, Esq; F. R. S.

In the first of these letters, dated Turin, April 17, 1762, this gentleman acquaints lord Macclesfield, that he went with several learned men to take off the inscription of the bust, called an antique of Isis; that on comparing the bust with Mr. Needham's plate, none of them could find the least resemblance; and that the characters, of which he himself took the impression from the bust, also differ very much from those in Mr. Needham's plate. With regard to the marble, two eminent lapidaries, after a narrow examination, affirmed it was from a quarry in the neighbourhood of Turin. It is so bituminous, that when heated, it yielded a strong smell of sulphur:

\* See Annual Register, Vol. III. p. 150.



to that it cannot fairly be reckoned marble.

Mr. Needham, who was at Turin when this letter was wrote, mentioned his suspicion, that the characters on the bust had been changed or altered, since they had been copied by his order. Mr. Montague, therefore, had them carefully examined, the day before he wrote this letter, by two of the best statuaries at Turin, in presence of several persons of learning and distinction; and the artists declared positively, that they never had been altered or changed in the least since they were first made; nor could any of the gentlemen present discover any ground for Mr. Needham's suspicion.

Mr. Needham also threw out, that this statue might not be the same which the person he employed copied, but another substituted in the room of it. But, Mr. Montague says, none of the gentlemen who were present at either of these examinations of it, and who must have known it for many years, hinted any thing like it.

To excuse the dissimilitude of the bust of his drawing, Mr. Needham came and told Mr. Montague, that he ordered the person, who copied it for him, not to be anxious about the likeness of the bust, it being sufficient for him that it was the bust of a woman. This is the substance of the first letter.

From Mr. Montague's second letter, dated Rome, Oct. 2, 1762, it appears that the abbé Bartoli, one of the professors of the university of Turin, and antiquarian to the king, who took a design, about eight or nine years ago, of the bust and inscription in question, had published a letter or letters,

against Mr. Needham; to which the latter replied, and in his reply every where joined Mr. Montague with M. Bartoli, though he knew that Mr. Montague had never entered into M. Bartoli's arguments. Mr. Needham, in answer to what Mr. M. had objected of the bituminous nature of the stone, says, that all stones, if hard enough, when rubbed with iron, will yield an odour of sulphur; this he had said at the time of the experiment; upon which Mr. M. in Mr. Needham's presence, rubbed the stone with a piece of wood, which had nearly the same effect; but this circumstance Mr. Needham suppresses.

Mr. Needham further alledged, that the stone would be found to be as much Egyptian as the two lions at the Dioclesian baths, and the two sphinxes, and several other undoubted Egyptian statues of the villa Borgheisa. But cardinal Albani (who is particularly eminent for that kind of learning) being shewn a small piece of the bust, gave his opinion in writing, to the following effect:

"I protest, that I cannot find in the plate of the bust at Turin, either the conformation of the features proper to Egyptian heads, or the stile of their sculptors, both the one and the other being absolutely different in the above-mentioned, from any undoubted monuments and statues of that nation; and, according to a design sent me of it, I cannot find out the bust in question to be Egyptian. I have the characters as they are, which appear to me to be magical, and of that figure which one finds on some gems, and which are known by the name of Abraxas; but the stone of the bust of which the gentleman



(Mr. Montague) shewed me a small piece, is a sort of Bigio, which is soft, and of a nature different from the stone of which the lions of the Fontana Felice, and the sphinx of the villa Borghesa, are made, brought without foundation by Mr. Needham as monuments made of a stone similar to that of the bust; the stone of these Egyptian monuments is extremely hard, and it is with difficulty it yields to the best tempered tools."

With regard to the figure, abbé Winkleman, than whom no one has greater skill in antique statues, particularly Egyptian, gives his opinion as follows:

"There are two epochas in the Egyptian art, and two different styles. The first will come down probably to the conquest of the Greeks, and the statues made to that time do not differ in their style one from the other; and, according to what Plato says of them, those which were made in his time were in every thing like those which were supposed to have been made thousands of years before. The second epocha of the Egyptian art, is the style, when the sculptors of that nation (freed from the rigorous laws of the antient government, which obliged them in their statues to follow exactly the forms antiently established) began to adopt the manner of the Greeks under the Grecian government in Egypt. And this is plainly seen in many figures as well in the features, as principally in the drapery; that is to say, the Grecian manner mixed with the antient Egyptian.

There is a third sort of figures, generally called Egyptian, which are nothing but imitations of the antient Egyptian manner. These

were made by order of Adrian, and were all found in his city, Tivoli; these are distinguished from the rest by the stone, which is a Bigio Morato. The bust of Turin cannot be placed in any one of these three classes of figures. For my part, I esteem it a modern imposture."

Mr. Needham farther insinuates, that the variation between his plate and the characters on the bust, doth not affect their essence. In answer to this, Mr. Montague, acknowledging his ignorance, as well of the Chinese, as of the antient Egyptian language, for his own part only remarks, that as both the Chinese and the antient Egyptian are from the east; the *length* and *position* of lines may possibly be equally essential to constitute and determine the characters of both these languages, as to form the letters in the other Orientals; and in that case, the variation between Mr. Needham's plate and the characters on the bust, however small it may appear in some, would be of the utmost consequence, and essential to the determination of the character. But Mr. Montague doth not rest the point here: having shewn both Bartoli's letter and Needham's answer, to Monsignore Assemani, who is allowed far the greatest man we have in Oriental learning, that gentleman gave his opinion in these words:

"Having compared the characters engraved upon the known bust, which is in the Royal Museum at Turin, as well the copy printed by Mr. Needham, as that by M. Bartoli, antiquarian to his majesty the king of Sardinia, and not confining myself to give testimony touching the difference between the copy and the original which appears to the eye,



ye, I shall speak only as to the force and value of the characters. I say, then, in the first place, that they do not correspond in the least with the hieroglyphics or Egyptian writing, which is engraved on obelisks, sphinxes, or Egyptian statues. And, secondly, I do affirm they cannot be said to be the same with the Chinese characters; and that not only because one discovers plainly the difference between the ancient Egyptian and the Chinese, as any one may comprehend by comparing the Egyptian inscriptions of the obelisks and statues with the characters which the Chinese have printed in lexicons and other volumes, a great quantity of which are preserved in the Vatican library, and that of the *Propaganda*; but because the affirmative of the ancient and modern Chinese characters is purely ideal, and because that conformity is equally without foundation, and purely ideal, which is supposed between Mr. Needham's printed copy of the modern Chinese characters taken from the Chinese lexicon in the Vatican, and those engraved upon the above-mentioned bust at Turin. Besides that, allowing, for a moment, though not granting, that the characters on the bust are in some measure like those in the Chinese lexicon; one cannot, however, prove that they have the same value which the Chinese put upon them in the lexicon. It remains then, that the above-mentioned characters of the bust of Turin are modern astronomical signs, representing generally either the seven planets, or the twelve signs of the Zodiac; the which signs, as also the astrological, magical, chemical, and medicinal, are designed from various MSS. by Mons. Du

Cange, in the end of his *Gloss. med. & infin. Græcitas*, and by Montfaucon, in his *Palæographia Græca*, p. 285. 289. 376. where he treats of the *Chryptographia Græca*, and of magical signs, the which are equally found, but differently formed, by the Africans, Egyptians, and modern Orientals, as well on medals and stones as in manuscripts."

Thus far Mr. Montague's letters. We shall only add, that the antiquarians in France, unwilling to suppose that Mr. Needham intended to impose on the learned world, imagine that his Chinese at Rome affixed a sense of his own to the characters, and that his translation is a mere invention. M. de Guignes carefully examined two Chinese dictionaries, without finding any resemblance in them to Mr. Needham's plate. These dictionaries are in six volumes. The first is entitled *Choue-ven*; the second *Tehouen tou loui*, both in the highest esteem in China, and intended only to explain the sound and signification of the ancient characters. The first, which was compiled in the first century of the Christian æra, is considered in China as a book of the highest authenticity. It was composed by a celebrated philosopher called *Hiu-chi*, who lived about the time of the revival of learning in China, and applied himself to the decyphering of the ancient characters, which were at that time eagerly sought for. The French antiquarians rightly observe, that Mr. Needham, in order to make out his point, ought to have proved first, that the characters on the bust were undoubted Egyptian; and, next, to have shewn in his place, that they were conformable to those of the ancient Chinese.



We must desire our readers to suspend their judgment in regard to this controversy, till further evidence shall appear. We are informed that several material papers have been published abroad on the subject, which have not yet come to our hands.

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*The rise of Chivalry, and the origin of Jests and Tournaments.——Extracted from letters on Chivalry and Romance.*

Chivalry, properly so called, and under the idea of a distinct military order, conferred in the way of investiture, and accompanied with the solemnity of an oath and other ceremonies, as described in the old historians and romancers, seems to have sprung immediately out of the *Feudal Constitution*.

The first and most sensible effect of this constitution, was the erection of a great number of petty tyrannies. For the power given by it to the barons over their numerous vassals was so great, that they all were, in truth, a sort of absolute sovereigns, at least with regard to one another. Hence, their mutual aims and interests often interfering, the feudal state was, in a good degree, a state of war; and their castles were so many fortresses, as well as palaces.

In this state of things all imaginable encouragement was to be given to the use of arms. And this condition of the times gave rise to that military institution, which we know by the name of *Chivalry*.

Further, military discipline was not to be relaxed even in the intervals of peace. Hence the origin of

*Jests and Tournaments*, those images of war. Chivalry was the natural, and even sober effect of the feudal policy.

*The characteristics and genius of Chivalry.*

This conjecture of the rise of chivalry, from the circumstances of the feudal government, accounts for the several characteristics of this singular profession.

1. The passion for arms; the spirit of enterprise; the honour of knighthood; the rewards of valour. Ambition, interest, glory, all concurred, under such circumstances, to produce these effects. When this turn was given to the thoughts and passions of men, use and fashion would do the rest; and carry them to all the excesses of military fanaticism.

One of the strangest circumstances in the old romances, and which looks most like a mere extravagance of the imagination, is that of the *woman-warriors*; yet in this representation they did but copy from the manners of the times.

2. Their romantic ideas of justice; their passion for adventures; their eagerness to run to the succour of the distressed; and the pride they took in redressing wrongs, and removing grievances. The feudal state being a state of almost perpetual violence, rapine, and plunder, it was unavoidable that numbers of the tenants or followers of one baron should be carried away by the followers of another: and the interest each had to protect his own, would of course introduce the point of honour in attempting, by all means, not only to retaliate on the enemy, but to rescue



rescue the captive sufferers out of the hands of their oppressors.

It would be meritorious, in the highest degree, to fly to their assistance, when they knew where they were to be come at; or to seek them out with diligence, when they did not. This last service they called *Going in quest of adventures*. Which, at first, no doubt, was confined to those of their own party, but afterwards, by the habit of acting on this principle, would be extended much farther. So that, in process of time, we find the knights-errant, as they were now properly styled, wandering the world over in search of occasions on which to exercise their generous and disinterested valour.

3. The courtesy, affability, and gallantry, for which these adventurers were so famous, are but the natural effects and consequences of their situation.

For the castles of the barons were, as I said, the courts of these little sovereigns, as well as their fortresses: the resort of their vassals thither, in honour of their chiefs, and for their own proper security, would make that civility and politeness, which is seen in courts and insensibly prevails there, a predominant part in the character of these assemblies.

Further, the free commerce of the ladies, in those knots and circles of the Great, would operate so far on the sturdiest knights as to give birth to the attentions of gallantry.

4. It only remains to account for that character of religion, which was so deeply imprinted on the minds of all knights, and was essential to their institution.

Two reasons are assigned for this singularity.

First, the superstition of the times, which was so great, that no institution of a public nature could have found credit, that was not consecrated by churchmen, and closely interwoven with religion.

Secondly, the condition of the Christian world; which had but just recovered a breathing-time from the brutal ravages of the Saracen armies. The remembrance of what they had lately suffered from these enemies of the faith, made it natural, and even necessary, to engage a new military order on the side of religion.

And here by the way, the reason appears why the Spaniards, of all the Europeans, were furthest gone in every characteristic madness of true chivalry. Their fanaticism in every way was especially inflamed and kept alive by the memory and neighbourhood of their infidel invaders.

Such was the state of things in the western world, when the crusades to the Holy Land were set on foot. Whence we see how well prepared the minds of men were for engaging in that enterprise.

*The resemblance between the heroic and Gothic manners.*

There is a remarkable correspondence between the manners of the old heroic times, as painted by their great romancer, Homer, and those which are represented to us in the books of modern knight-errantry. A fact, of which no good account can be given but by the assistance of another, not less certain, That the political state of Greece, in the earlier periods of its story, was similar



lar in many respects to that of Europe, as broken by the feudal system into an infinite number of petty independent governments.

Some obvious circumstances of agreement between the heroic and Gothic manners, may be worth putting down.

1. The military enthusiasm of the barons is but of a piece with the fanaticism of the heroes. Hence the same particularity of description in the account of battles, wounds, deaths, in the Greek poet, as in the Gothic romancers. Hence that minute curiosity in the display of their dresses, arms, accoutrements. The minds of all men, being occupied with warlike images and ideas, were much gratified by these details, which appear cold and uninteresting to modern readers.

We hear much of knights-errant encountering giants, and quelling savages, in books of chivalry.

These giants were oppressive feudal lords, and every lord was to be met with, like the giant, in his strong hold, or castle. Their dependents of a lower form, who imitated the violence of their superiors, and had not their castles, but their lurking-places, were the savages of romance. The greater lord was called a giant, for his power; the less, a savage, for his brutality.

Another terror of the Gothic ages was, monsters, dragons, and serpents. These stories were received in those days for several reasons: 1. From the vulgar belief of enchantments: 2. From their being reported on the faith of eastern tradition, by the adventurers into the Holy Land: 3. In still later times, from the strange things told and believed, on the discovery of the new world.

In all these respects, Greek antiquity resembles the Gothic. For what are Homer's Lætrigons and Cyclops, but bands of lawless savages, with each of them a giant of enormous size at their head? And what are the Grecian Bacchus, Hercules, and Theseus, but knights-errant, the exact counterparts of Sir Launcelot and Amadis de Gaule?

3. The oppressions, which it was the glory of the knights to avenge, were frequently carried on, as we are told, *by the charms and enchantments of women.*

These *charms*, we may suppose, are often metaphorical; as expressing only the blandishments of the sex. Sometimes they are taken to be real; the ignorance of those ages acquiescing in such conceits.

And are not these stories matched by those of Calypso and Circe, the inchantresses of the Greek poet?

4. Robbery and piracy were honourable in both; so far were they from reflecting any discredit on the ancient or modern *redressers of wrongs.*

What account can be given of this, but that, in the feudal times, and in the early days of Greece, when government was weak, and unable to redress the frequent injuries of petty sovereigns, it would be glorious for private adventurers to undertake this work; and if they could accomplish it in no other way, to pay them in kind, by downright plunder and rapine?

Bastardy was in credit with both. They were extremely watchful over the chastity of their own women; but such as they could seize upon in the enemy's quarter, were lawful prize. Or, if at any time they transgressed in this sort at home, the fault was covered by an ingenious



ious fiction. The offspring was reputed divine. Their greatest heroes were the fruit of goddesses approached by mortals; just as we hear of the doughtiest knights being born of fairies.

6. With the greatest fierceness and savageness of character, the utmost generosity, hospitality, and courtesy, was imputed to the heroic ages. Achilles was at once the most relentless, vindictive, implacable, and the friendliest of men.

We have the very same representation in the Gothic romances. As in those lawless times, dangers and distresses of all sorts abounded, there would be the same demand for compassion, gentleness, and generous attachments to the unfortunate, those especially of their own clan, as of resentment, rage, and animosity, against their enemies.

7. Again, the martial games, celebrated in ancient Greece, on great and solemn occasions, had the same origin, and the same purpose, as the tournaments of the Gothic warriors.

8. Lastly, the passion for adventures, so natural in their situation, would be as naturally attended with the love of praise and glory.

Hence the same encouragement, in the old Greek and Gothic times, to panegyrists and poets.

I am aware, that, in the affair of religion and gallantry, the resemblance between the hero and the knight is not so striking.

But the religious character of the knight was an accident of the times, and no proper effect of his civil condition.

And that his devotion for the sex should so far surpass that of the hero, is a fresh confirmation of my system.

For the consideration had of the females in the feudal constitution will, of itself, account for this deference. It made them capable of succeeding to fiefs as well as the men. And does not one see, on the instant, what respect and dependence this privilege would draw upon them?

It was of mighty consequence who should obtain the grace of a rich heiress. And though, in the strict feudal times, she was supposed to be in the power and disposal of her superior lord, yet this rigid state of things did not last long. Hence we find some distressed damsel was the spring and mover of every knight's adventure. She was to be rescued by his arms, or won by the fame and admiration of his prowess. The plain meaning of all which was this: that, as in those turbulent feudal times a protector was necessary to the weakness of the sex, so the courteous and valorous knight was to approve himself fully qualified for that office.

It may be observed that the two poems of Homer were intended to expose the mischiefs and inconveniencies arising from the political state of old Greece: the *Iliad*, the dissensions that naturally spring up among independent chiefs; and the *Odyssey*, the insolence of their greater subjects, more especially when unrestrained by the presence of their sovereign.

And can any thing more exactly resemble the condition of the feudal times, when on occasion of any great enterprise, as that of the crusades, the designs of the confederate Christian states were perpetually frustrated, or interrupted at least, by the dissensions of their leaders; and their affairs at home



as perpetually distressed and disordered by the rebellious usurpations of their greater vassals?

Jerusalem was to the European, what Troy had been to the Grecian princes.

*Description of an ancient Grecian Bass-relief, representing the Grotto of Eleusis. By J. Bartoli, Antiquary to his Sardinian Majesty.*

**T**HIS bass-relief represents a grotto, over the entrance of which is an old man with a long beard between two rams, that have each a lion by them. Underneath the lion, on the right hand, is the face of another old man, with a longer beard than the former. In the inner part of the grotto, upon a little elevation, is the figure of a woman, clothed in a long robe that reaches to her feet, and over that is a shorter vest girded with a belt. She holds in each hand a sort of staff, the length of which is equal to the height of the figure. The ground of the grotto, on the left hand, presents the figure of another woman, habited in the same manner; but with a bushel on her head, from which a veil seems to flow, that spreading over her back, reaches down to the middle of her leg. On her right hand a dog sits at her feet; and on the same side is a young man, whose head, legs, and feet are bare. He carries a little vase or cruet in his right-hand, and with his left holds up the skirts of his garment, which is short. He seems to be just entering the grotto, followed by a dog.

Many learned men have supposed this antique to represent the cave of Trophonius; but M. Bartoli, who

has long made the works of Virgil his particular study, thinks, with Atterbury and many others, that in his *Æneid* the poet has copied living originals, which he has shadowed under fictitious names; and indeed Særvius, in the 752d verse of the sixth book, says, “We find in antiquity, that this poem was not called the *Æneid*, but the *Actions of the Roman people*.” Nothing then can be more useful or more interesting than to trace in this poem those passages that are applicable to *Rome* and *Augustus*. According to the opinion of Warburton, the poet, in the 6th book of his *Æneid*, had no other design than to give a description of the initiation of his hero into the Eleusinian mysteries; and that, in the person of *Æneas*, he proposed to give the pattern of a perfect law-giver. M. Bartoli is still more particular, and endeavours to prove, that the initiation of *Augustus* himself into those great mysteries, was the action celebrated in that book. Dion Cassius, *lib. 51.* declares, that this prince, after the battle of Actium, passing through Athens in his return to Rome, was initiated in the mysteries of the two goddesses, *Ceres* and *Proserpine*. On this head, the testimony of Suetonius (in the life of *Augustus*, *chap. 9.*) is plain and express.

In the description of the Eleusinian mysteries, under the emblem of a descent to hell, M. Bartoli observes, that the poet speaks of three different caves: that of the Sibyl in the hollow of a rock, that which led to hell, and that which served for the habitation of *Cerberus*.—This, according to Bartoli, is a proof that the mysteries of *Ceres* and *Proserpine* were celebrated in a cave; or, at least, agreeable to the

—remark



remark of Servius, in a place that had the resemblance of one: and, indeed, nothing is more frequent in authors, than the mention of caves or grottoes of Ceres; and nothing was more common in ancient temples than subterraneous places. But it may be asked, what is the meaning of the three caves, of which Virgil speaks? Doubtless they are designed to illustrate the three different parts of the initiation. The first only regards the little mysteries, the greater were reserved for the second and third. The first cave was destined to ablutions and preparatory ceremonies. In the second, those who were initiated acquired the title of *Mystes*. In the third, that of *Epoptes*. For a long time there was an interval required between the different parts, and many years were necessary to complete the initiation. But afterwards it was found necessary to abate the severity of these rules: many princes were admitted immediately from the little to the great mysteries, and doubtless Augustus was one of that number. If Æneas is accompanied when he goes to the first cavern, if he parts from his companions at the second, in order to pass into the third, this is to shew that the first part of the initiation was less sacred than the two others; in regard to which, secrecy was enjoined on pain of death.

It is well known that Ceres, Proserpine, and Triptolemus, had a great share in the Eleusinian mysteries: consequently a sculptor, who designed to represent these in marble, could not have imagined any thing better than a cave, with these three personages. The figure in the further part of the cavern is Proserpine, represented at the point of

time when she is leaving hell, and returning to her mother, to be six months with her: this point of time is indicated by Virgil in the words, *adventante Dea*, and by Claudian in these, *Ecce procul Hecate exoritur*, Proserpine comes from hell, from a place of darkness, *stygiis emissæ tenebris*. She has occasion for light, and Bartoli assures us, that what she bears in her hands are two torches. Perhaps the sculptor designed likewise to allude to the torches which Ceres made use of to seek her daughter with; a circumstance always preserved in the Eleusinian rites, the fifth day of the festival being consecrated to the torches. Here Bartoli proves, that the ancients gave torches to Ceres and Proserpine.

The second figure that appears in the grotto is Ceres. The poets relate, that the goddess, having found her daughter in hell, was determined to remain with her.

There had she stay'd; but pitying  
Jove prepares  
A mild degree to mitigate her cares:  
Six moons must Proserpine in hell  
remain,  
Six moons in heav'n relieve a mother's pain.  
Then Ceres cheers her looks, dispels  
her woes,  
Again with golden ears she wreaths  
her brows,  
Again glad harvest gilds the country  
o'er,  
And scarce the barns receive the  
welcome store.

Ovid. Fast.

These gifts of Ceres are represented by the bushel on the head of the figure: her attitude, her habit, all the ensigns that the sculptor has given her, according to M. Bartoli, strongly



strongly characterise this goddess; and he laments, that, her hands being broken, we are deprived of further proofs.

In his opinion, the young man on the right hand of Ceres is Triptolemus, whom that goddess instructed in agriculture; and the little vase he holds in his hand is the symbol of the Eleusinian mysteries, which he had received from Ceres, and of which he was the institutor.

Athenæus (*lib. 2.*) describes this vase to be of baked earth, and in the form of a top with which children play: he says, that it was used the last day of the mysteries, to which it gave its name.

M. Bartoli believes the face of the old man, with a long beard, on the right hand of the grotto, to be only a masque. It is certain, that masques were made use of in the celebration of these mysteries; and perhaps Virgil alludes to this, in those words that relate to the Sibyl:

She warn'd him that those fleeting  
figures were

Forms without bodies——

It is needless to say, that masques were appropriated to Bacchus, and that one day of these mysteries was set apart to that god. The sculptor would indicate by this figure, that, under the veil of these rites, the persons initiated were instructed in physics, theology, politics, and particularly morality. They were taught the falshood of polytheism, the unity of God, the doctrine of rewards and punishments after this life, the origin of civil society, and of the laws: and St. Augustine (*lib. 8. de civit. Dei*) reproached the pagans, that, while they taught the truth only to a few, and to those in secret, they gave public lessons of

impiety. It remains now to know, what personage the sculptor designed to represent by the masque, whether Silenus, Celeus the father of Triptolemus, or Æsculapius. M. Bartoli conjectures it to be Musæus, who was particularly zealous in these mysteries; and, indeed, he is the first person to whom the Sibyl in Virgil addresses her discourse.

In the last place, the old man, seated above the grotto, appears to M. Bartoli to be Orpheus, the master of Musæus. We may easily imagine, that this person, who was said to be the first that instructed mankind in religious ceremonies, must have a great part in the Eleusinian mysteries. He is seated, the attitude in which he is commonly represented: but he appears entirely inactive, and without his lyre, among several animals; and this, according to M. Bartoli, shews the understanding of the artist. The two rams by him seem, with earnest looks, to implore his assistance, as if they were apprehensive that the lions would resume their natural ferocity, unless he continued to soften them by the harmony of his music. Claudian gives us the same idea in the preface to his second book:

When Orpheus strikes no more the  
sounding wire,  
But stops the song, and lays aside  
the lyre, [appears;  
Each savage beast with wonted rage  
The lion's jaws the tim'rous heifer  
fears;  
She views his rising wrath with  
looks dismay'd,  
And begs, with plaintive cries, the  
lyrist's aid.

The sculptor, by this emblem, shews the necessity of a frequent re-collection



collection of the wise instructions received in the feasts of Eleusis; and teaches us, that the best regulated society should always guard against idleness and vices capable of introducing corruption, and especially against the doctrine of those false sophists, who, by overturning established maxims, would only revive barbarity. M. Bartoli concludes his dissertation with some observations upon the two dogs, of which we have spoken.

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*A Dissertation on the Antiquity of Glass in Windows. In a Letter to the Rev. Tho. Birch, D. D. Secret. R. S. By the Rev. John Nixon, M. A. F. R. S. From the Philosophical Transactions for the Year 1758, Vol. L. Part II. Read before the Royal Society. March 2, 1758.*

I Had the honour last winter to lay before the Royal Society a few observations upon some of the curiosities found at Herculaneum, &c.<sup>a</sup> Among other articles, I just mentioned a piece of a plate of white glass; and now beg leave to inquire into the uses, to which such plates might be applied in the early age, to which this fragment undoubtedly belongs.

And here a person, who forms his

ideas of ancient customs by what he sees practised in later times, may be ready to offer several conjectures; in some of which he will, probably, be mistaken; as in others he may be justified by the genuine evidences of antiquity.

And, first, it is obvious to imagine that such plates might serve for *specula*, or looking-glasses. And, indeed, that *specula* were anciently made, not only of metals, and some stones, as the<sup>b</sup> phengites, &c. but also of glass, may, I think, be collected from Pliny, who, having mentioned the city of Sidon as formerly famous for glass-houses, adds immediately afterwards, *Siquidem etiam specula excogitaverit*<sup>c</sup>. But then it is to be observed, that before the application of quicksilver in the construction of these glasses (which, I presume, is of no great antiquity), the reflection of images by such *specula* must have been effected by their being besmeared behind, or tinged through with some dark colour, especially black, which would obstruct the refraction of the rays of light<sup>d</sup>. Upon these hypotheses (supposing the tincture to be given after fusion) the *lamina* before us may be allowed to be capable of answering the purpose here assigned.

It may further be suggested, that plates of this kind might be in-

<sup>a</sup> In a paper read Feb. 24, 1757. See Art. xiii. p. 88.

<sup>b</sup> Porticum, in quibus spatium consueverat (Domitianus) parietes phengite lapide distinxit, e cujus splendore per imagines quicquid a tergo fieret, provideret. *Sueton. Domit. c. 14.*

<sup>c</sup> Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxvi. c. 26. § 66.

<sup>d</sup> Pliny mentions a kind of glass or jet called *obsidianum*:—*nigerrimi coloris, aliquando et translucidi, crassiore visu, atque in speculis parietum pro imagine umbras reddente.* Nat. Hist. lib. xxxvi. c. 26. § 67.

And that the practice of staining glass was known in his time, appears from what he says concerning the *obsidianum* mentioned above:—*Fit et genere tinctura—totum rubeus vitrum, atque non translucidum.* Ibid.



tended to be wrought into lenses, or convex glasses, either for burning, or magnifying objects placed in their focus. But this designation cannot be supported by proper vouchers from antiquity. On the contrary, we are informed, that the ancients used either *specula*<sup>e</sup> of metal, or balls<sup>f</sup> of glass for the former of these purposes; as it is well known that glass was not applied to the latter, in optical uses, till the beginning of the XIIIth century<sup>g</sup>.

However, we may with greater probability propose another use, for which the ancients might employ such plates of glass, as are now under consideration, *viz.* the adorning the walls of their apartments by way of wainscot. This I take to be the meaning of the *vitrea camera* mentioned by Pliny<sup>h</sup>; who intimates, that this fashion took its rise from glass being used by M. Scaurus<sup>i</sup> for embellishing the scene of that magnificent theatre, which he erected for exhibiting shows to the Roman people in his ædileship<sup>k</sup>. And we may collect from the same

author<sup>l</sup> (what is further confirmed by his contemporary<sup>m</sup> Seneca) that this kind of ornament had been admitted, in his time, into chambers in houses, baths, &c. Whether the plates used for this purpose were stained with various colours (as mentioned above), or had tints of divers kinds applied to the back part of them, I shall not pretend to determine: but in either way they would have a very agreeable effect.

The last destination, which the obvious congruity of the thing itself, countenanced by the practice of many ages past, as well as of the present time, would induce one to ascribe to such plates of glass, is that of windows for houses, baths, porticos, &c. But I am sensible that whoever should be hardy enough to advance such an hypothesis would be censured as an innovator, in opposing the general opinion of the connoisseurs in antiquity. These gentlemen are almost unanimous in asserting, that whenever we meet with mention made of *specularia* in ancient writers (espe-

<sup>e</sup> Panciroll. Rer. Mem. p. 288.

<sup>f</sup> These glass balls had sometimes water within them; *Cum addita aqua vitrea pilæ sole adverso in tantum excandescant, ut vestes exurant.* Plin. lib. xxxvi. c. 22. § 45.

*Invenio medicos, quæ sunt urenda corporum, non aliter utile id fieri putare, quam crystallinâ pilâ adversis positâ solis radiis.* Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxvii. c. 6. § 10.

<sup>g</sup> Vid. Mon. Renaudot Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscript. tom. I.

<sup>k</sup> Vid. infra, not. l.

<sup>i</sup> *Theatrum Scauri*—*scena ei triplex in altitudinem DCCLX columnarum.*—*Ima pars scenæ e marmore fuit: media e vitro: summa e tabulis inauratis.* Nat. Hist. lib. xxxvi. c. 15.

<sup>k</sup> A. U. 687. Hard. not. Plin. lib. xxxvi. c. 8.

<sup>l</sup> *Agrippa in thermis quas Romæ fecit, figlinum opus incausto pinxit, in reliquis albaria adornavit non dubiè vitreas factururus cameras, si prius inventum id fuisset, aut a parietibus scenæ—Scauri parvenisset in cameras.* Lib. xxxvi. c. 25. § 64.

<sup>m</sup> Seneca, exposing the luxury of the Romans with regard to their baths, says, *Pauper sibi videtur ac sordidus, nisi parietes magnis ac pretiosis orbibus refulserint—nisi vitro absconditur camera.*—Ep. 86.



ally those of, or near to, the age which we must refer this fragment), we are to understand by that term nothing but fences made of *minæ*, either of a certain stone called from its transparent quality *lapis specularis*<sup>n</sup>, brought first from Hispania Citerior, and afterwards found in Cyprus, Cappadocia, Sicily, and Africa; or of another stone of the same name, *viz.* the phengites. These, tho' expressly distinguished from each other by Pliny<sup>o</sup>, are yet reckoned by some moderns<sup>p</sup> as one and the same thing; and thought to have been nothing but a kind of white transparent talc, of which (according to Mons.<sup>q</sup> Valois) there is found a great quantity in Muscovy at this day.

Now, that this *lapis specularis*, or phengites, was really used for windows by the ancient Romans in their houses, &c. cannot be denied; since, according to the opinion of the learned<sup>r</sup> in antiquity) this usage is mentioned by Seneca<sup>s</sup> among other improvements in luxury introduced in his time. But whether it was used exclusive of other materials (particularly glass), may, I think,

admit a doubt. Salmasius is of opinion<sup>t</sup>, that nothing can be determined upon this point from the word *specular* itself, which seems to be a general term, equally applicable to windows of all kinds, whether consisting of the *lapis specularis*, or any other transparent substance.

And as (according to this learned writer) there is nothing in the term *specular* itself, which hinders it from being extended to windows made of other materials besides those above mentioned; so others imagine, that there are some intimations, in ancient authors, which require, that it should actually be so extended. Thus Mr. Castells, the ingenious illustrator of the villas of the ancients, thinks<sup>u</sup>, “that if this had not been the case, Palladius would not have given directions to his husbandman to make *specularia* in the *olearium*<sup>w</sup>, or store-room where the olives were preserved. For it appears (says this author) from Pliny's describing a temple<sup>x</sup> built of the *lapis specularis*, or phengites, as the greatest rarity in his time, and the mention Plutarch makes of a room in Domitian's palace lined

<sup>n</sup> Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxvi. c. 22. § 45.

<sup>o</sup> Nat. Hist. lib. xxxvi. c. 22. § 45.

<sup>p</sup> Vid. Salmasius, in a passage to be produced hereafter.

<sup>q</sup> Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscript. tom. I.

<sup>r</sup> Montfauc. Antiq. vol. III. part. i. lib. iii. c. 4. Lipsius in loc. &c.

<sup>s</sup> *Quædam nostrâ demum prodisse memoriâ scimus; ut speculariorum usum, per-  
cente testâ, clarum transmittentium lumen.* Senec. ep. 90.

<sup>t</sup> *Quod fenestris obducebatur ad translucendum, ac lucem admittendum specular  
veteres Latini vocârunt. Idque ex speculâri lapide, qui est φεγγιτης aut ex vitro  
ebat, aut aliâ translucidâ materiâ. Nam specular dictum, non quod ex spe-  
culâri lapide factum esset, sed quod visum transmitteret, ac per id speculâri liceret.*  
Malm. Exerc. Plin. in Solin. tom. II. 771.

<sup>u</sup> Villas of the Anc. illustrated, p. iv.

<sup>w</sup> One of Pliny's cautions of preserving apples is—*Austros specularibus arcere.*  
Nat. Hist. lib. xv. c. 16.

Martial further informs us, that the Romans used to screen their orchards of  
choice fruit-trees with *specularia*. Lib. viii. epig. 14.

<sup>x</sup> I suppose he means that of Fortuna Seia. Lib. xxxvi. c. 22.



with it, that it was not common enough for husbandmen to purchase;” *viz.* in such quantities as were required for the purposes mentioned above.

I shall not take upon me to decide upon the weight of this argument of Mr. Castells; but only observe, that if any one should be induced by it to think, that the use of glass for windows may be of much greater antiquity than is commonly allowed, or even as old as the fragment, which occasions these remarks, he may find other probable reasons to corroborate his opinion. As, first, that there seems to have been a natural and obvious transition from the practice of using glass plates for the ornamenting the walls of apartments, to that of introducing light into those apartments, (as we find the *lapis specularis* was in fact employed at the same time for both those purposes; and consequently it seems reasonable to suppose, that the latter of these applications could not be long in point of time after the former. But it appears from the authorities produced above, that the former of these usages did actually subsist in the age <sup>y</sup> of Pliny; and therefore before the destruction of Hercula-

neum, where he lost his life <sup>z</sup>. From whence we may draw no improvable conclusion, that the latter destination of plates of glass (*viz.* for window-fences) did likewise precede the same event.

Give me leave to add further that this presumptive argument in favour of the antiquity of window-made of plates of glass, receives an additional force from the close relation, which must be allowed to subsist between them, and those composed of the *lapis specularis*. The former must be looked upon as an improvement upon the other, as they answered all the purposes of convenience, and at the same time were more beautiful; and being the manufacture <sup>a</sup> of Italy, might probably be purchased at a less expence. Upon all which accounts it seems reasonable to conclude, that one of these inventions would naturally be introductory to the other; and consequently, that as window-lights of the *lapis specularis* began to be used within the memory of Seneca, who died <sup>b</sup> under Nero, about *anno Christi* 68 (*Helvic.*), the original of those of glass may have fair pretensions to a place within the period assigned in the foregoing paragraph, *viz.* some years before the destruc-

<sup>y</sup> Salmassius, speaking of the custom of adorning chambers with glass, says—*Quod proximè ætatem suam incepisse fieri narrat Plinius. Quum M. Scaurus—* Ex. Plin. tom. II. p. 854.

I do not find this expressly asserted by Pliny: but it might have been so in fact. This fashion indeed was not begun till after Agrippa had built his *thermæ*: but if we suppose that to have been even so late as his third consulship, *viz.* *ante Christ.* 27. (*Helvicus*), when he erected the Pantheon (or at least its portico), near adjoining to those *thermæ*, there would have been sufficient room, from that period to the birth of Pliny (*viz.* *anno Christi* 24), for the introduction of this usage.

<sup>z</sup> Plin. Ep. V. l. III.

<sup>a</sup> Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxvi. c. 26. § 66.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. supra.



tion <sup>c</sup> of Herculaneum, in whose ruins the plate before us was buried.

To conclude: I need not observe to you, that all the evidence here produced to prove the usage of glass windows to have been coeval with the fragment we are now considering, is of the conjectural kind only: for, I must confess, I have not been able to trace it up by any positive authority higher than about 200 years short of the epocha last mentioned, *viz.* to the latter end of the third century <sup>d</sup>, when it is expressly mentioned by Lactantius in these words:—*Manifestius est, mentem esse, quæ per oculos ea, quæ sunt opposita, transpiciat, quasi per fenestras lucente vitro aut speculâri lapide obductas.* —De opificio Dei, cap. v.

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To the foregoing observations, Mr. Nixon has since added the following, extracted from the same useful and entertaining collection. Vol. LII. part I. for the year 1761.

**I**N a paper, which I had the honour to present to this learned Society about <sup>a</sup> two year ago, I offered my thoughts upon some plates of white glass found in the ruins of Hercu-

laneum. I now beg leave to add some more observations, with a view partly to explain and support what I then delivered, and partly to communicate such new informations, as I have since received, relating to the same subject.

I observed <sup>b</sup>, upon the authorities produced by Mons. Renaudot <sup>c</sup>, that glass plates were not applied for magnifying objects in optical experiments, till the beginning of the thirteenth century; but, upon reviewing his dissertation, I find he sinks the antiquity of that usage a century lower than this. That learned writer adds further, “that with regard to the question, whether the ancients made their astronomical observations without telescopes, the affirmative is looked upon as certain; because, if this invention had ever been known before, there is all imaginable reason to believe, that the utility which would result from it, not only in astronomy, but for several other purposes, would have prevented its being afterwards lost.” Mons. Renaudot declines entering into this controversy; but observes, that Mabillon mentions a manuscript he saw in an abbey in the diocese of Freisingen, wherein Ptolemy was represented observing

<sup>c</sup> Anno Christi 80.

<sup>d</sup> In order to justify my placing the testimony of this father so high, I would observe, that St. Jerome (*De Scriptor. Eccles.*) says, that Lactantius — *extremâ senectute magister Cæsaris Crispî filii Constantini in Gallia fuit.* He must probably have exercised this charge between *anno Christi* 309, when Constantine began to reign, and 320. If he was then of a great age, he might have composed the treatise, out of which this authority is produced, and which was one of the earliest of his works that are extant (*vid. Sparkii Præf. ad Lactant.*) forty years before, *viz.* about *anno Christi* 280; which brings us up to 200 years after the overthrow of Herculaneum, as above.

<sup>a</sup> See the foregoing Paper.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid.

<sup>c</sup> Mem de l'Acad. des Inscript. Vol. I. Vol. V.



the stars with a <sup>d</sup> tube, like our modern perspective glasses. This manuscript is said to have been written in the beginning of the thirteenth century; which date (says Mons. Renaudot) is the more remarkable, because plain spectacles, which should seem likely, in the nature of things, to have been invented first, do not appear to have been known till a hundred years after. Then, having produced the evidences, which prove, that this latter discovery was made about the time above mentioned, he concludes with saying, “that we have nothing of this nature with regard to telescopes.”

The reason of my enlarging upon this article is a passage I have lately met in that learned antiquary, Mr. Rowland, which may seem to contradict the observation produced above. This <sup>e</sup> author alledges the authority of Hecataeus (*apud Diod. Sic. tom. i. p. 159. Ed. Wessell.*) for saying that the Hyperborei, who inhabited an island in the northern ocean, opposite to the Celtæ, “could (as if they had the use of telescopes) shew the moon very near them, and discover therein mountains, and heaps of rocks, which that instrument only can discover.” That we may distinguish how far Hecataeus is concerned

in this passage, it will be proper to give a literal translation of it from the original; viz. “They say further, that the moon viewed from this island, appears to be but a very little distance from the earth, and to have certain protuberances like land, visible on her surface.” Now, it may be observed, in the first place, that this phænomenon if real, may perhaps be explained by the refraction of the moon’s rays in passing through the atmosphere of the earth, which, in an island situated very far north, might be continually charged with an extraordinary quantity of vapours. Secondly, as Hecataeus mentions this upon hearsay only, and subjoins some other circumstances in the same chapter relating to this island, which are entirely of a fabulous cast, we may justly question the truth of the fact: and consequently shall not be obliged to maintain the necessary existence of telescopes at those times, in order to account for it.

As it appears <sup>h</sup>, that neither the lapis specularis, nor glass, was used for windows before Seneca’s time, and it cannot be supposed, that the Romans, a people of so refined taste in other instances, would suffer their apartments to be exposed to the free entrance of winds, &c.

<sup>d</sup> Mabillon does not mention, that the tube had glasses; neither indeed was that circumstance easily discoverable. Perhaps such tubes were then used only to preserve and direct the sight, or to render it more distinct, by singling out the particular object looked at, and shutting out all the rays, reflected from others, whose proximity might have rendered the image less precise.

<sup>e</sup> *Mona Antiqua*, p. 76.

<sup>f</sup> Φασὶ δὲ καὶ Σελήνην ἐκ ταύτης τῆς λήσῃ φαίνεσθαι παντέλῳς ὀλίγον ἀνέχουσαν τῆς γῆς, καὶ τινὰς Εξοφὰς γεωδεῖς ἔχουσαν φανεράς.

<sup>g</sup> Vide Wesselum, not. in loc.

<sup>h</sup> See the foregoing paper.



it may be reasonably asked, What supplied the place of those materials before? To satisfy this inquiry it is to be observed, that several other materials are mentioned by ancient writers, as serving the purpose before us; such as thin hides or <sup>i</sup> skins, like our parchment, mentioned by Philopenus. Pliny likewise informs us, that the horns of the urus being cut into thin laminæ were <sup>k</sup> transparent, and supplied, in some measure, the use of our lanterns; and we may probably conclude, from the analogy of things, that they served for window-lights also; especially, as we meet with windows made of horn (*corneum specular*) in Tertullian, who wrote within less than two hundred years after Pliny.

To these, we may add the vela, made of <sup>l</sup> hair-cloth, or pieces of hides <sup>m</sup>, which Pitiscus (upon the authority of Ulpian) says, were in use before the invention of windows of the lapis specularis, or <sup>n</sup> glass. Ulpian, indeed, in the passage Pitiscus refers to, only mentions them as subsisting together with the <sup>o</sup> latter: but it seems obvious to conclude, that the vela, being an invention less perfect and commodious, were prior in time to the specularia, which are to be regarded as a subse-

quent improvement of the former. Notwithstanding this, the vela still continued in use, even after the introduction of window-fences of stone or glass, and served as canopies, or <sup>p</sup> umbrellas, to keep the sun from places exposed to the open air; as the others secured the inner parts of the house from cold, &c.

I took notice <sup>q</sup> of the natural connection there seemed to subsist between the using of plates of glass for adorning the inside of apartments in ancient times, and the employing them for introducing light into those apartments. This observation has been supported by a letter I received from my learned correspondent, abbate Venuti, at Rome, dated December 30, 1759, wherein he informs me, that he had lately read, in some anecdotes of cardinal Maximi, “That as they were digging among the ruins on mount Cælius, in the last century, they found a room belonging to an antique dwelling-house that had all its sides within ornamented with plates of glass, some of them tinged with various colours, others of their own natural hue, which was dusky, occasioned by the thickness of the mass, of which they consisted <sup>r</sup>. There were likewise, in the same apartment, window-frames

com-

i. Apud Salm. Exerc. Plin. T. ii. p. 1095. Ed. Par.

k Plin. Nat. Hist. L. xi. c. 37. In laminas facta translucent, atque etiam lumen inclusum latius fundunt. Apud Salmat. Plin. Ex. T. i. p. 260.

l Vela cilicia. Ulpian apud Le Antichita di Ercolano esposte, p. 268.

m Fabretti. Ibid. p. 256. The makers of these vela, Συνομοειδοί. Act. 18. 3. ibid.

n Pitiscus, Tit. Specular.

o Specularia et vela, quæ frigoris causâ & imbrium in domo sunt. Ibid.

p Specularia vela, quæ frigoris, vel umbræ causâ, in domo sunt. Ulpian apud Le Antich. See these vela exhibited, Tavol. vi. & 49. ibid.

q See the foregoing paper.

r Nam cum laminæ crassioris essent molis, colorem opacum nigrantemque reddebant,



composed of marble, and glazed with laminæ of glass." But as the abbate did not take upon himself to ascertain the real age of this building, I shall not pretend to lay any greater stress upon this discovery, than I did on the observation, for the sake of which I produced it, for proving the point I had then in view, viz. that the usage of glass for windows was (probably) nearly of the same antiquity with that of adorning houses with it.

I informed the Society<sup>s</sup>, that I had not been able to trace up the construction of windows with plates of glass, such as these found at Herculaneum, higher than two hundred years short of the overthrow of that city: but, some time after, a passage in Baronius was suggested to me, which seemed to carry the antiquity of this practice much higher, even to the 42d year of the Christian æra. It was a quotation<sup>t</sup> from Philo Judæus, wherein he gives an account of C. Caligula's reception of the Jewish deputies. "When (says he) we had entered upon our harangue, the emperor perceiving, that some things of no small weight

were urged, and that others no less strong were likely to be alledged, he broke off the audience, and hurried away, with great precipitation into a spacious hall: there walking<sup>u</sup> about, he commanded the windows to be shut on every side, consisting of white glass, resembling plates of the lapis specularis, which admit the light, but exclude the wind and the sun."

This authority, indeed, if genuine, would have fully answered my purpose; but, upon consulting the text of Philo, I was fully convinced that the cardinal's translation of the latter part of this passage, which alone affects the present inquiry, was directly contrary to the original; which imports, that the windows in the imperial apartment consisted of laminæ of stone, almost as transparent as glass<sup>x</sup>.

I cannot leave this passage, without taking notice of that conclusion of it, viz. "That the windows of the lapis specularis admitted the light, but excluded the violent heat of the sun." This seems to prove that the specularia in Martial were made of the same materials, if the

debant. Venuti. This would be the effect of the ancient glass, if it was of coarser composition than ours; and that it was so in fact, a very eminent critic both in sacred and profane literature, thinks, may be collected from St. Paul's words, 1 Cor. xiii. 22. "Now we see but through a glass darkly."

<sup>s</sup> See foregoing paper.

<sup>t</sup> Baron. Annal. Eccles. T. i. A. C. 42. p. 335. Col. Agrip. 1621.

<sup>u</sup> Obambulansque jussit claudi fenestras vitro candido simili lapidibus specularibus, quibus lux admittitur, ventus & sol excluditur. This version of Baronius is the same verbatim with that in the editions of Geneva 1613. Lut. Par. 1640. and Francf. 1691.

<sup>x</sup> Προσάττει τὰς ἐν κύκλῳ θυρίδας ἀναληφθῆναι τοῖς ὕαλω λευκῇ διαφανέσι παραπλήσιαις λίθοις, οἱ τὸ μὲν φῶς ἐκ ἐμπιδίζουσιν, ἀνεμὸν δὲ εἰργασί καὶ τὸν ἀπ' ἡλίου φλογμὸν. E. Lut. 1640. & Franc. 1691. Since the writing of this, Dr. Birch has informed me, that Dr. Mangey has translated this passage agreeably to my idea, viz. Lapidibus haud minus pellucidis quam vitro candido.

readin



reading, adopted by Salmasius, &c. is to be followed; viz.

*Specularia puras*

*Admittunt luces, et sine sole diem.*

L. viii. Epig. 14.

But other copies have it

*Specularia puros*

*Admittunt soles, et sine fæce diem y.*

This reading is espoused by Collesus, the Dauphin editor, who further explains (*puros*) by (*nitidos*); and yet, in his notes, tells us, that these specularia were of stone or talc; which they could not have been, consistently with Philo's account, but must have been of glass; and consequently we should have an evidence in Martial for the usage of glass in windows, as early as the first century: for that poet lived in Rome from A. C. 71 to 100.

But perhaps these (seemingly) contradictory readings of the passage may be reconciled, as to their sense, by interpreting *puras* (*luces*) in the one, and (*puros soles*) in the other, to mean the mild light and warmth of the sun, which remained after the greater part of its rays had been either reflected by the exterior surface, or absorbed within the interior pores of the stone; or, as Milton expresses it,

The sun shorn of his beams.

Upon this hypothesis *sine fæce* will signify the exclusion, not of the rain, dust, &c. as it is explained by the commentators, who follow this reading; but that of the gross body of the sun's rays; and so will coincide with *sine sole diem*, in the other copies.

As I quoted <sup>a</sup> Lactantius (*De*

*Officio Dei*, c. viii.) to prove the use of glass in windows in his time, viz. the third century, I hold myself obliged to take notice of the censure, which Cortius and Longolius pass upon this father, and which is as far from being candid, as the authorities they appeal to are from proving it true. These gentlemen, in their notes on Pliny (L. ii. Ep. 17.), boldly pronounce the father mistaken (*peccavit Lactantius*) with regard to the passage I produced from him: and they support this charge, by referring to Lipsius on Seneca de Prov. C. iv. & Epist. 90. and to Pliny, Hist. Nat. L. xxxvi. c. 26. Now, whoever consults Lipsius on the places here referred to by these editors, will find nothing therein, but observations relating to the lapis specularis, viz. the reason of its name; the countries where it was found; its use in window-fences, for dining-rooms, bed-chambers, baths, porticos, and even in orchards and gardens. This is what nobody ever denied, and what even Lactantius himself intimates, in the <sup>a</sup> passage before us. How, therefore, this can affect the father's testimony, relating to the use of glass in windows, exceeds my imagination to conceive. And as for Pliny, I suppose it will readily be allowed me, that no writer, how respectable soever his authority may be, can possibly prove another, who lived two hundred years after him, mistaken, when he alludes to the practice of his own times.

As I hope the evidence is now undeniable, which I produced in

y Ed. Ingost. 1602. Pitiscus Specular, &c.

<sup>z</sup> See foregoing paper.

<sup>a</sup> Manifestius est mentem esse, quæ ea, quæ sunt opposita, transpiciat, quasi per fenestras lucente viro, aut lapide speculâri obductas.



my dissertation, to prove the use of glass in windows to have been as early as the third century, (not to mention the probable reasons there offered to shew, that it might have subsisted some ages before), it may not be unacceptable to the curious in antiquity, to observe the slow progress this very commodious invention made in travelling towards the west, since it appears, by our historians <sup>b</sup>, that it did not reach our island till the seventh century; when it was brought hither from France, either by Benedict abbot of Winal, or Wilfrid archbishop of York; as <sup>c</sup> lanterns of horn were introduced by king Alfred, about the same time, viz. 680.

Having now proposed all I had to offer relating to the several uses of plates of glass, already mentioned in my essay, I beg the Society's indulgence to permit me to subjoin two others, which I have met with since that communication.

The first of these was suggested to me by my (late) worthy friend Smart Lethieullier, Esq; who, last winter at Bath, informed me, that he had in his collection an urn, of a quadrangular figure, which had been divided into two equal parts by a plate of glass, the vestiges of which were still remaining. He was of opinion, that the cells made by this partition contained the remains of some pair, eminent either for their conjugal affection, or some of the other connections of social life. This conjecture, highly probable in itself, is farther confirmed by similar examples in

antiquity. Thus we find in Mount-faucon <sup>d</sup> the figure of a square urn, wherein were contained the ashes of a man and his wife, as appears by the inscription upon it. Another urn is represented (plate lvii.), which held the ashes of a mother and her daughter. To which we may add a third (plate lv.), covered with a square flat table of stone, on which were three inscriptions, signifying, that the remains of three persons, whose relation to each other is not specified, were inclosed therein.

The other instance was transmitted to me by the abbate Venuti, in a letter from Rome, dated September 27, 1759, viz. "That, in digging up some ruins in that city a few years ago, there was found an ancient picture painted on marble, and covered with a plate of white glass, like those used in our times for that purpose, only somewhat thicker. The picture expressed a lady's head, and was of a very elegant composition." From this last circumstance, the abbate infers, "that it could not be the production of any later age;" meaning (I presume) any period between the decay of good painting among the ancients, and the revival of it among the moderns. He further assures me, that he saw this picture, which (together with its cover) was deposited in the cabinet of the marquis Capponi at Rome.

The circumstance of this piece being painted on marble, naturally leads our thoughts up to the age of the fragments of glass, which

<sup>b</sup> Simon Dunelm. Hist. Aug. Script. p. 92. Stubbs Act. Pont. Ebor. Hist. Aug. Script.

<sup>c</sup> Staveley's Hist. of Churches, p. 103.

<sup>d</sup> Antiq. Expliq. Vol. V. p. 1. Pl. 34. Ed. Par.



occasioned my dissertation, viz. to the overthrow of Herculaneum, in whose ruins four pictures (among many others) have been found painted on the same materials. There is a passage in Pliny <sup>e</sup>, which has been thought to carry up this manner of painting as high as the times of Claudius, who began to reign A. C. 41. But I am humbly of opinion, that *lapidem pingere*, in this place, does not mean painting on stone or marble, but only the staining them with artificial colours; as the remaining part of the sentence relates to the inlaying of pieces of marble of various tints, where the original veins were defective, either in variety or beauty: not that I think it at all improbable, at the same time, that this species of painting might be as ancient as the epocha mentioned above, viz. the reign of Claudius; because it actually subsisted in the time of Pliny, which must reach up to that æra; for the four paintings referred to in the beginning of this paragraph, as done in the same manner, were found in the ruins of a city, (viz. Herculaneum) in whose catastrophe that writer lost his life.

London, Feb. 3, 1761.

*The art of painting on Glass, not lost. From Mr. Walpole's anecdotes of painting in England. After giving his readers the life of Peter Oliver, Mr. Walpole proceeds thus.*

THE long life of this person, estimable for his own merit, and

that of his family, served, almost alone, to preserve the secret of painting on glass—a secret which however has never been lost, as I shall shew in a moment, by a regular series of the professors. The first interruption given to it was by the reformation, which banished the art out of churches; yet it was in some measure kept up in the escutcheons of the nobility and gentry, in the windows of their seats. Towards the end of queen Elizabeth it was omitted, even there, yet the practice did not entirely cease. The chapel of our lady, at Warwick, was ornamented anew, by Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, and his countess, and the cypher of the glass-painter's name yet remains, with the date 1574: and in some of the chapels at Oxford, the art again appears, dating itself in 1622, by the hand of no contemptible master.

I could supply even this gap of forty-eight years by many dates on Flemish glass; but nobody ever supposed that the secret was lost so early as the reign of James I. and that it has not perished since, will be evident from the following series reaching to the present hour.

The portraits in the windows of the library at All Souls, Oxford.

In the chapel at Queen's-college there are twelve windows dated 1518.

PC a cypher on the painted glass in the chapel at Warwick, 1574.

The windows at Wadham-college; the drawing pretty good, and the colours fine, by Bernard Van Linge, 1622.

<sup>e</sup> Cœpimus et lapidem pingere. Hoc Claudii principatu inventum. Neronis vero, maculas, quo non essent, in crustis inferendo unitatem variare, ut ovatus esset Numidicus, ut purpurâ distingueretur Sinnadicus, qualiter illos, nasci optarent deliciæ. Hist. Nat. Lib. xxxv. c. 1.



In the chapel at Lincoln's inn, a window with the name of Bernard, 1623. This was probably the preceding Van Linge.

In the church of St Leonard Shoreditch, two windows by Baptista Sutton, 1634.

The windows in the chapel at University-college. Hen. Giles\* pinxit, 1687.

At Christ Church, Isaac Oliver, aged 84, 1700.

Window in Merton-chapel, William Price, 1700.

Windows at Queen's, New-college, and Maudlin, by William Price, the son, now living, whose colours are fine, whose drawing good, and whose taste in ornaments and mosaic is far superior to any of his predecessors, is equal to the antique, to the good Italian masters, and only surpassed by his own singular modesty †.

\* In Mr. Thoresby's museum was "the picture of Mr. Henry Gyles (called there the famous glass-painter at York) wrought in mezzotinto by the celebrated Mr. Francis Place, when that art was known to few others. Bought with other curiosities of Mr. Gyles's executors." See Thoresby's *Ducatus Leodiensis*, page 492.

† It may not be unwelcome to the curious reader to see some anecdotes of the revival of taste for painted glass in England. Price, as I have said, was the only painter in that style for many years in England. Afterwards, one Rowell, a plumber at Reading, did some things, particularly for the late Henry earl of Pembroke; but Rowell's colours soon vanished. At last he found out a very durable and beautiful red, but he died in a year or two, and the secret with him. A man at Birmingham began the same art in 1756, or 57, and fitted up a window for lord Lyttelton, in the church of Hagley, but soon broke. A little after him, one Peckitt at York began the same business, and has made good proficiency. A few lovers of that art collected some dispersed panes from ancient buildings, particularly the late lord Cobham, who erected a Gothic temple at Stowe, and filled it with arms of the old nobility, &c. About the year 1753, one Asciotti, an Italian, who had married a Flemish woman, brought a parcel of painted glass from Flanders, and sold it for a few guineas to the honourable Mr. Bateman of Old Windsor. Upon that I sent Asciotti again to Flanders, who brought me 450 pieces, for which, including the expence of his journey, I paid him thirty-six guineas. His wife made more journeys for the same purpose, and sold her cargoes to one Palmer, a glazier in St. Martin's lane, who immediately raised the price to one, two, or five guineas for a single piece, and fitted up entire windows with them, and with mosaics of plain glass of different colours. In 1761, Paterson, an auctioneer, at Essex-house in the Strand, exhibited the two first auctions of painted glass, imported in like manner from Flanders. All this manufacture consisted in rounds of scripture-stories, stained in black and yellow, or in small figures of black and white, birds and flowers in colours, and Flemish coats of arms.



# Literary and Miscellaneous Articles.

*Causes of the changes in national manners. From the Abbé de St. Pierre.*

**T**HE manners of a nation change by the more or less wealth both of private persons and the state.

2. By great improvements in arts and trades relative to the ease and convenience of life.

3. By the increase of certain branches of trade.

4. By a greater attachment to glory than pleasure, or by a greater attachment to pleasure than glory.

5. By opinions on the supremacy of different kinds of glory.

6. Sometimes this change of manners may proceed from a genius of powerful elocution, though fanatical: fanatics have an overbearing eloquence, and among the ignorant fanaticism spreads as it were by contact.

7. Long wars, either intestine or foreign, may produce these changes of manners.

8. The manners of a nation may be influenced by those of a nation, which, by success in war, has acquired the dominion over it.

9. New manners and new usages particularly spring up from new institutions, for the recompense of such virtues and talents as are most useful to society. Men naturally

seek after distinction, and this is never more effectually obtained than in posts and employments: now, if this substantial distinction be attainable without having any greater share of useful abilities or virtues than the bulk of mankind, and money will do the business, by purchasing those posts and employments, (as they are all made a market of) it is not at all strange that in our kingdom [France] riches should be much more valued than any virtues, or the most useful talents. But should some minister, the tender father of the people, warmed with a magnanimous goodness, break through the obstructions of combined incapacity and vice, and suppress among us that execrable venality of posts and employments; if in order to fill them with worthy subjects, he should in each principal profession erect different classes of different ages; and that they who distinguish themselves by their abilities and virtues might be precisely known; if a commission of well-conducted inquiry and examination were established, soon should we see a very great change in our opinions, of what is more or less esteemable, and consequently in the nation's manners.

10. Military men, about the year 1600, were more acquainted with fatigue than in 1740: besides the weight of their defensive arms, their



their offensive were heavier ; if they ate with the same pleasure, still it was with fewer preparatives, and less daintiness,

11. When it came to be observed that the loss of a battle did not draw after it the loss of a province, if any fortified places remained, every prince fell to fortifying, that he might not be stripped of his territories all in one day, and the horse being of little use in taking towns, that corps has been retrenched, and the foot increased.

12. For courage our military men are little inferior to what they were in 1600 ; that quality has been pretty well kept in use by our continual foreign wars ; it may even be said, that there is now a greater emulation among the officers than in 1600, there being more posts, more commissions, more governments, and more pensions to bestow.

13. But as yet no commission is established for the proper distribution of these rewards, and the minister regards only the recommendations of his favourites of both sexes, or the attachment of the competitors to him ; worthless men are preferred over officers of unexceptionable merit, which is a vile discouragement, and very much damps the useful spirit of emulation ; accordingly distinction in the discharge of duty has little share of their thoughts ; to wriggle into favour with the ministers, their minions, the women, and even with the ministers clerks, is the main business.

14. As there is no European court, which has such a multitude of favours to bestow, so in ours, above all others, it is necessary to endeavour, by every fetch of adu-

lation and compliance, to please that it may be said no courtier come up to ours for external politeness ; and courtiers living more at Paris, than at Versailles, the inhabitants of Paris are seen insensibly to imbibe every part of their polite deportment.

15. But do not be mistaken, this politeness is mere outside ; for those very men who embrace, who praise a courtier in favour, and protest an inviolable devotedness to him, shall the next moment, do him an ill turn ; and indeed it is only young unexperienced country-gentlemen, who take a courtier's compliments for sterling.

16. Yet it must be owned, that however light this coin of external politeness may be, it is of no small use in conversation ; for of the necessity of mutually saying every day things disagreeable to one another, were we to declare our real thoughts, and the necessity of a few polite reciprocations of polite deceit, the latter is much preferable, with an allowance to the knowing of large deductions from the esteem expressed by such politeness.

17. Further, it is not at all strange that courtiers should be hackneyed in dissimulation and deceit, otherwise how could they live easy one with another, being always in competition for posts, employments, governments, esteem, favours, and every one conceiting himself to have more merit than any of the candidates ? Frankness would be productive of continual brawls and quarrels.

18. Our court-ladies, like low-thoughted women, delight in ornament and splendor : and they being a rule to other ladies, and likewise



the courtiers, elegance and richness of dress are become a merit in court. This futile taste Lewis V. had imbibed in his childhood, and to be the first in some striking fashion was the study of every one; but a few carried these expences to almost culpable excess, wronging the industrious tradesman; if they gratiated themselves with those whose notice they aimed at in such magnificence, they were very easy about the contempt of the honest part of mankind, the distressed and imprecations of their creditors.

19. The expence of furniture and the table runs much higher than three score years ago, and from the continual improvements in the arts ministering to ease and luxury, they will continue to increase. The bulk of the rich, in the want of distinguishing talents, stick at nothing to distinguish themselves by monstrous expences; a man of wealth is very often stupid enough to set himself above the man of virtue and abilities, with a slender fortune; living in a stately palace, amidst silk and velvet, paintings, sculptures, gold and silver, and gems, he of course must be a great deal superior to a virtuous man, who has nothing of all this finery; this is the usual judgment of the vulgar, and it is surprising, what numbers of quality are vulgar in this point.

20. At the beginning of the last century, coaches came into fashion, and for some time in all Paris they scarce amounted to a hundred, and were used only by ladies of the highest distinction. As Paris in 1658 was not properly paved, and the dirt-carts not sufficient for clearing the streets, there was

no going abroad but on horse-back and booted, and the half-boots and gilded spurs were a long time used in common visits: even they who had neither coach nor saddle-horse, visited in white half-boots. The first coach with glass windows, and a glass in the front, was brought from Brussels in the year 1660, by the prince of Condé; since which, many improvements have been made in them for ease and ornament; how these vehicles have heightened luxury and softness, besides the unhappy effects of them on the health and vigour, as diminishing the exercise of the body! it is this diminution of exercise, and the increase of feasting, which have introduced those complaints of vapours, weak nerves, vertigoes, and other kinds of indisposition so common among the rich and indolent.

21. In the civil wars every one wore a sword, especially officers and gentry; many citizens likewise, in order to pass for officers or gentlemen, or at least for persons above the commonalty, also stuck a sword by their side, and have since kept it as an ornament; and now in a profound peace wear it in visits, and even at a church, which is both inconvenient and ridiculous; for where is the great difference between carrying a blunderbuss to church, or a visiting, and to go to those places with a sword dangling at their heels? besides, the sword, at present, is become so common, as not to be the distinction of a real gentleman; these are the remains of our civil wars: the custom of wearing swords may see its period, as that of the half-boots and gilded spurs; but it would



would be proper that the gentleman should be distinguished from the commoner by some mark, as a white silk flower embroidered on his coat.

22. The year 1648 was the æra of card-playing at court. Cardinal Mazarin played deep, and with finesse, and easily drew in the king and queen to countenance this new entertainment, that every one who had any expectation at court, learned to play at cards. Soon after the humour changed, and games of chance came into vogue, to the ruin of many considerable families; this was likewise very destructive to health, for besides the various violent passions it excited, whole nights were spent at this execrable amusement; the worst of all was, that card-playing, which the court had taken from the army, soon spread from the court into the city, and from the city pervaded the country-towns. Before this there was something of improving conversation, every one was ambitious of qualifying himself for it, by reading of ancient and modern books; memory and reflection were much more exercised. On the introduction of gaming, men likewise left off tennis, mall, billiards, and other gymnastic sports, and they are become what we see them, weaker and more sickly, more ignorant, less polished, and more dissipated.

23. The women, who till then had commanded respect, accustomed men to treat them familiarly by spending the whole night with them at play; they are often under a necessity of borrowing either to play, or to pay their losses; and how very ductile and complying they are to those of

whom they must borrow, is well known.

24. This gaming is one of the greatest banes of the state; several trials have been made for suppressing games of chance, but I do not know whether to bring this about, all card-playing, all gaming, and playing of any kind, should not be totally proscribed; a continual observation of moderation being more difficult than at once absolutely to break with all kind of play.

25. The selling of posts has extinguished the greatest part of our emulation to acquire the talents requisite for them: as money makes a counsellor, a president, or master of requests, without regard to birth or ability, the worthless sons of financiers and merchants are preferred even to worthy noblemen, but who have not wherewith to purchase; hence two evils, the number of financiers increases, to the multiplication of usury and oppression; and the sons of wealthy merchants, instead of continuing the commerce of their fathers, which was a national advantage, are proud of investing themselves with the gown. Thus infamous and detrimental is the present path to the employments and dignities of the law.

26. This same venom of corruption in 1650 crept into the military employments: age, experience, services, or tried courage, were not required in a colonel: money stood instead of every thing; the ecclesiastical employments about the household were likewise sold: and this has likewise been extended to the navy and ordnance, that one day it must inevitably prove a principal cause of the nation's overthrow, unless it be our happiness



soon to have a prince who will generously annul that pestiferous sale of posts and employments.

27. Every thinking person must know, that the chief way to avoid hell and obtain Paradise, is to do no wrong, no hurt to husband, wife, servants, masters, or stranger, as displeasing to God : that the second way is, to procure them all the comforts and good things in our power, as acceptable to Him ; yet, in conformity to the usage of our forefathers, which also owe their rise to an ancient ignorance, those two essential ways above mentioned are neglected, and we have recourse to ways incomparably less efficacious ; a multitude of ceremonies, long recitations of prayers, fastings, pilgrimages, for which neither the poor nor the ignorant, nor our neighbours, or they whom we have wronged or hurt, are a whit the better.

28. Tavern-excesses, which had been carried very far, thank God, are much abated, by a sensible custom which has taken place among reputable people, of supping at each other's houses ; to ingurgitate a pail of wine, elephant-like, is no longer matter of boast ; this reformation is a little owing to the sudden deaths of many fots, who, when in the flower of their age, could relish only strong liquors.

29. The infinite variety of enjoyments and diversions in Paris, has so lamentably corrupted our youth, that most of them, whose condition will allow of indolence, soon grow out of conceit with study and application, and throw themselves into the arms of intoxicating voluptuousness. For this we may thank the deficiency of our laws, in not recompensing those who distinguish

themselves among their equals by such labours as are useful to society ; and this is the particular view with which I wrote for erecting a commission of inquiry, that when employments of the superior classes are vacant, they may be filled up by the most capable of the inferior class, or that honours or pensions may be conferred on the most deserving of each class.

30. Our men of erudition, for fourscore years past, have busied themselves more in the curious than the useful part of sciences, and our wits have exhausted themselves, only in tinsel decorations of their works, adapting them to the vitiated mode of the general taste. We are but just beginning to see, that to please is not sufficient, but that writers must likewise be of greater benefit to their readers than all preceding authors, modern or ancient. They have, indeed, given their contemporaries a transitory delight ; and I wish those of our times would see, that the substance of their contest for preference and excellency does not lie in the brilliancy of wit, or energy of diction, or fertility of invention, but in producing works of solid and lasting advantage to the state, not only increasing the happiness of the present age, but conducing likewise to that of posterity. Here our reason, as yet, is very weak.

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*On the properest objects of a traveller's attention.*

I Have frequently been amazed at the ignorance of almost all the European travellers, who have penetrated any considerable way eastward into Asia. They have all been



been influenced either by motives of commerce or piety, and their accounts are such as might reasonably be expected from men of a very narrow or very prejudiced education, the dictates of superstition, or the result of ignorance. Is it not surprising, that of such a variety of adventurers not one single philosopher should be found among the number? for as to the travels of Gimelli, the learned are long agreed that the whole is but an imposture.

There is scarce any country, how rude or uncultivated soever, where the inhabitants are not possessed of some peculiar secrets, either in nature or art, which might be transplanted with success: thus, for instance, in Siberian Tartary, the natives extract a strong spirit from milk, which is a secret probably unknown to the chymists of Europe. In the most savage parts of India they are possessed of the secret of dying vegetable substances scarlet, and of refining lead into a metal, which, for hardness and colour, is little inferior to silver, not one of which secrets but would in Europe make a man's fortune. The power of the Asiatics in producing winds, or bringing down rain, the Europeans are apt to treat as fabulous, because they have no instances of the like nature among themselves; but they would have treated the secrets of gunpowder, and the mariner's compass, in the same manner, had they been told the Chinese used such arts before the invention was common with themselves at home.

Of all the English philosophers, I most reverence Bacon, that great and hardy genius: he it is who, undaunted by the seeming difficulties that oppose, prompts human

curiosity to examine every part of nature; and even exhorts man to try whether he cannot subject the tempest, the thunder, and even earthquakes, to human control. O had a man of his daring spirit, of his genius, penetration, and learning, travelled to those countries which have been visited only by the superstitious and mercenary, what might not mankind expect? How would he enlighten the regions to which he travelled! and what variety of knowledge and useful improvement would he not bring back in exchange!

There is probably no country so barbarous that would not disclose all it knew, if it received an equivalent information; and I am apt to think, that a person who was ready to give more knowledge than he received, would be welcome wherever he came. All his care in travelling should only be to suit his intellectual banquet to the people with whom he conversed: he should not attempt to teach the unlettered Tartar astronomy, nor yet instruct the polite Chinese in the arts of subsistence; he should endeavour to improve the Barbarian in the secret of living comfortably; and the inhabitant of a more refined country in the speculative pleasures of science. How much more nobly would a philosopher thus employed, spend his time, than by sitting at home earnestly intent upon adding one star more to his catalogue, or one monster more to his collection; or still, if possible, more triflingly sedulous in the incatenation of fleas, or the sculpture of cherry-stones!

I never consider this subject, without being surprised that none of those societies so laudably established in England for the promotion



tion of arts and learning, have ever thought of sending one of their members into the most eastern parts of Asia, to make what discoveries he was able. To be convinced of the utility of such an undertaking, let them but read the relations of their own travellers. It will there be found, that they are as often deceived themselves, as they attempt to deceive others. The merchants tell us perhaps the price of different commodities, the methods of baling them up, and the properest manner for an European to preserve his health in the country. The missionary, on the other hand, informs us, with what pleasure the country to which he was sent embraced Christianity, and the numbers he converted; what methods he took to keep Lent in a region where there was no fish, or the shifts he made to celebrate the rites of his religion, in places where there was neither bread nor wine: such accounts, with the usual appendage of marriages and funerals, inscriptions, rivers, and mountains, make up the whole of an European traveller's diary; but as to all the secrets of which the inhabitants are possessed, those are universally attributed to magic; and when the traveller can give no other account of the wonders he sees performed, he very contentedly ascribes them to the devil.

It was an usual observation of Boyle, the English chymist, that if every artist would but discover what new observations occurred to him in the exercise of his trade, philosophy would thence gain innumerable improvements. It may be observed with still greater justice, that if the usual knowledge of every country, howsoever barba-

rous, was gleaned by a judicious observer, the advantages would be inestimable. Are there not, even in Europe, many useful inventions, known or practised but in one place? Their instrument, as an example, for cutting down corn in Germany, is much more handy and expeditious, in my opinion, than the sickle used in England. The cheap and expeditious manner of making vinegar, without previous fermentation, is known only in a part of France. If such discoveries, therefore, remain still to be known at home, what funds of knowledge might not be collected in countries yet unexplored, or only passed thro' by ignorant travellers in hasty caravans!

The caution with which foreigners are received in Asia, may be alleged as an objection to such a design. But how readily have several European merchants found admission into regions the most suspicious, under the character of Sanjapins, or northern pilgrims? to such not even China itself denies access.

To send out a traveller, properly qualified for these purposes, might be an object of national concern; it would in some measure repair the breaches made by ambition; and might shew that there were still some who boasted a greater name than that of patriots, who professed themselves lovers of men. The only difficulty would remain in chusing a proper person for so arduous an enterprize. He should be a man of a philosophical turn, one apt to deduce consequences of general utility from particular occurrences, neither swollen with pride, nor hardened by prejudice; neither wedded to one particular system, nor instructed only in one particular science; neither wholly



wholly a botanist, nor quite an antiquarian : his mind should be tinctured with miscellaneous knowledge, and his manners humanized by an intercourse with men. He should be, in some measure, an enthusiast to the design : fond of travelling, from a rapid imagination, and an innate love of change ; furnished with a body capable of sustaining every fatigue, and a heart not easily terrified at danger.

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*Parallel between Jesus Christ and Socrates. From Mons. Rousseau's Treatise on Education, intitled, Emilius.*

“ **I** Acknowledge (says Monsieur Rousseau, speaking in the character of a sceptic Savoyard vicar) at the same time, that the majesty which reigns in the sacred writings fills me with a solemn kind of astonishment, and that the sanctity of the Gospel speaks in a powerful and commanding language to the feelings of my heart. Cast your eye on the writings of the philosophers ; behold them in all their studied pomp, and see how trifling, how insignificant they appear, when compared with the holy records of the Gospel ! Is it possible that a book so sublime, and yet so artless and simple, can be a production merely human ? Is it possible that the person, whose history it unfolds, can be considered by any as a mere man ? Hear him speak ; behold his actions ! Is that the language of enthusiasm ? Is that the lordly tone of an ambitious ringleader ? On the contrary, what gentleness and purity in his manners ! what mildness and affecting grace in his in-

structions ! What elevation and nity in his maxims ! What wisdom in his discourses ! What fence of mind, what delicacy, precision in his answers to the demands of the ignorant, or the objections of the perverse ! What amazing empire over his passions ! did his whole conduct and conversation discover ! Where is the sage, who has so attained the perfection of wisdom and virtue, as to live, act, suffer, die, without weakness on the one hand, or ostentation on the other ? That sage was Christ. When Plato drew the ideal portrait of his *man*, covered with the reproach is due to iniquity, when he deserved the immortal prize of virtue, drew exactly the character of Jesus. The resemblance was so far striking that it was perceived by all Christian fathers ; and, indeed, is not possible to mistake it. What but such as the tyranny of prejudices and wilful blindness hinder from perceiving things in their true light, would dare to compare the son of Sophroniscus with the son of Mary ? What an immense distance is there between these two characters ! Socrates, expiring with pain or disgrace, acted his part, and sustained it to the end without much effort ; and if that easy death did not reflected a lustre upon his life, it would be a question whether Socrates, with all his wit and sagacity, was any thing more than a sophist. He was, say some, the inventor of morality : but what do such mean ? Morality was practised long before Socrates ; and he had only the merit of saying what others had done, and of displaying, in his instructions, what they exhibited in their example.



pies. Aristides had been just, before Socrates had defined what justice was. Leonidas had laid down his life for his country, before Socrates had recommended the love of our country as a moral duty. Sparta was frugal, before Socrates had praised frugality; and Greece abounded with virtuous men, before he had explained the nature of virtue. But was it from the morals and example of his countrymen that Jesus derived the lines of that pure and sublime morality, that was inculcated in his instructions, and shone forth in his example, and which he alone taught and practised with an equal degree of perfection? In the midst of people, where the most furious fanaticism reigned, the most exalted wisdom raised its voice, and the grand simplicity of the most heroic virtues cast a lustre upon the vilest and most worthless of all the nations. The death of Socrates, who breathed his last in a philosophical conversation with his friends, is the mildest death that nature or wisdom could desire; while the death of Jesus, expiring in torment, injured, inhumanly treated, mocked, cursed by an assembled people, is the most horrible one that a mortal could apprehend. Socrates, while he takes the poisoned cup, gives his blessing to the person who presents it to him with the tenderest mark of sorrow. Jesus, in the midst of his dreadful agonies, prays—for whom? for his executioners, who were foaming with rage against his person. Ah! if the life and death of Socrates carry the marks of a sage, the life and death of Jesus proclaim a God. Will any one say that the Gospel-history is all mere fiction? Believe me, my friend, it is not so that impostors go to work;

I see nothing here that has the air of fiction; and the facts relating to Socrates, of which no mortal entertains the least doubt, are not so well attested as those which are recorded in the History of Christ. All your suppositions will be attended with the same difficulty, which they only remove some steps farther off, to return again in its full force; for it is much more inconceivable and absurd to suppose that a number of persons should have laid their heads together to compose a book, than it is to grant that the subjects of it may have been taken from the real life and actions of one man. Jewish writers, with all their efforts, could never have arose to that noble and elevated tone, to that pure and sublime morality that reigns in the Gospel; and the History of Jesus is clothed with such characters of truth, with lines of credibility, that have something in them so grand, so striking, so absolutely inimitable, that the inventor of such things would be still a greater object of astonishment, than the hero of whom they are reported. After all, this same Gospel is full of things which are incredible, of things which are repugnant to reason, and which no man of sense can either conceive or admit. What then is to be done, what conduct shall we observe amidst such contradictions? Let us be modest and cautious, my child: let us respect in silence what we can neither reject nor comprehend, and humble ourselves before the Great Being, who alone knows the truth."

Such is the strange and uncomfortable situation of mind, with respect to religion, into which Mr. Rousseau, speaking in the person of



a country vicar, casts the young Emilius, after having drawn such a picture of the morality of that religion, and of the divine excellence and sanctity of its author, as is impossible for a Christian to read without finding his conviction of Christ's celestial mission fortified and confirmed, and which I am fully persuaded an honest deist cannot read without anxiety and compunction of heart.

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*Dr. Swift's defence of the church of England, as by law established.—Extracted from a posthumous tract written in 1708, but left unfinished, under the title of Remarks upon a book, intitled, The Rights of the Christian Church, &c. [by Tindal.]*

**I**T will be easy to prove, that the opinion of *imperium in imperio*, in the sense he [Tindal] chargeth it upon the clergy of England, is what no one divine of any reputation, and very few at all, did ever maintain: and that their universal sentiment in this matter is such as few protestants did ever dispute. But if the author of the *Regale*, or two or three more obscure writers, have carried any points further than scripture and reason will allow, (which is more than I know, or shall trouble myself to enquire); the clergy of England is no more answerable for those, than the laity is for all the folly and impertinence of this Treatise [*The Rights, &c.*] And, therefore, that people may not be amused, or think this man is somewhat, that he hath advanced or defended some oppressed truths, or overthrown any growing dangerous errors, I will set in as clear

a light as I can, what I conceive to be held by the established clergy, and all reasonable protestants in this matter.

Every body knoweth and allows, that in all government there is an absolute, unlimited legislative power, which is originally in the body of the people; although by custom, conquest, usurpation, or other accidents, sometimes fallen in the hands of one or a few. This in England is placed in the three estates, (otherwise called the two houses of parliament), in conjunction with the king. And whatever they please to enact or to repeal in the settled forms, whether it be ecclesiastical or civil, immediately becometh law or nullity. Their decrees may be against equity, truth, reason, and religion, but they are not against law; because law is the will of the supreme legislature, and that is themselves. And there is no manner of doubt, but the same authority, whenever it pleaseth, may abolish Christianity, and set up the Jewish, Mahometan, or Heathen religion. In short, they may do any thing within the compass of human power. And, therefore, who will dispute that the same law, which deprived the church not only of lands misapplied to superstitious uses, but even the tythes and glebes (the ancient and necessary support of parish-priests), may take away all the rest, whenever the lawgivers please, and make the priesthood as primitive, as this writer, or others of his stamp, can desire?

But as the supreme power can certainly do ten thousand things more than it ought, so there are several things which some people think it may do, although it really cannot. For it unfortunately happens,



pens, that edicts which cannot be executed, will not alter the nature of things. So if a king and parliament should please to enact, that a woman who hath been a month married, 'is *virgo intacta*, would that actually restore her to her primitive state? If the supreme power should resolve a corporal of dragoons to be a doctor of divinity, law, or physic, few, I believe, would trust their souls, fortunes, or bodies to his direction; because that power is not fit to judge or teach those qualifications which are absolutely necessary to the several professions. Put the case, that walking on the slack rope were the only talent required by act of parliament for making a man a bishop; no doubt, when a man had done his feat of activity in form, he might sit in the house of lords, put on his robes and his rochet, go down to his palace, receive and spend his rents; but it requireth very little christianity to believe this tumbler to be not one whit more a bishop than he was before; because the law of God hath otherwise decreed; which law, although a nation may refuse to receive, it cannot alter in its own nature.

And here lies the mistake of this superficial man, who is not able to distinguish between what the civil power can hinder, and what it can do. "If the parliament can annul ecclesiastical laws, they must be able to make them, since no greater power is required for one than the other." This consequence he repeateth above twenty times, and always in the wrong. He affecteth to form a few words into the shape and size of a maxim, then trieth it by his ear, and according as he likes the sound or cadence, pronounceth

it true. Cannot I stand over a man with a great pole, and hinder him from making a watch, although I am not able to make one myself? If I have strength enough to knock a man on the head, doth it follow I can raise him to life again? The parliament may condemn all the Greek and Roman authors; can it therefore create new ones in their stead? They may make laws, indeed, and call them canon and ecclesiastical laws, and oblige all men to observe them, under pain of high treason. And so may I, who love as well as any man to have in my own family the power in the last resort, take a turnip, then tie a string to it, and call it a watch, and turn away all my servants if they refuse to call it so too.

For my own part, I must confess that this opinion of the independent power of the church, or *imperium in imperio*, wherewith this writer raiseth such a dust, is what I never imagined to be of any consequence, never once heard disputed among divines, nor remember to have read, otherwise than as a scheme in one or two authors of middle rank, but with very little weight laid on it. And I dare believe there is hardly one divine in ten that ever once thought of this matter. Yet to see a large swelling volume written only to encounter this doctrine, what could one think less, than that the whole body of the clergy were perpetually tiring the press and the pulpit with nothing else?

It will be necessary to set this matter in a clear light, by enquiring whether the clergy have any power independent of the civil, and of what nature it is.

Whenever the Christian religion  
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was embraced by the civil power in any nation, there is no doubt but the magistrates and senates were fully instructed in the rudiments of it. Besides, the Christians were so numerous, and their worship so open, before the conversion of princes, that their discipline, as well as doctrine, could not be a secret: they saw plainly a subordination of ecclesiastics, bishops, priests, and deacons: that these had certain powers and employments different from the laity: that the bishops were consecrated, and set apart for that office by those of their own order: that the presbyters and deacons were differently set apart, always by the bishops: that none but the ecclesiastics presumed to pray or preach in places set apart for God's worship, or to administer the Lord's Supper: that all questions relating either to discipline or doctrine, were determined in ecclesiastical conventions. These and the like doctrines and practices, being most of them directly proved, and the rest by very fair consequences deduced from the words of our Saviour and his apostles, were certainly received as a divine law by every prince or state which admitted the Christian religion: and, consequently, what they could not justly alter afterwards, any more than the common laws of nature. And therefore, although the supreme power can hinder the clergy or church from making any new canons, or executing the old; from consecrating bishops, or refuse those that they do consecrate; or, in short, from performing any ecclesiastical office, as they may from eating, drinking, and sleeping; yet they cannot themselves perform those offices, which are as-

signed to the clergy by our Saviour and his apostles; or, if they do, it is not according to the divine institution, and consequently null and void. Our Saviour telleth us, "His kingdom is not of this world;" and therefore, to be sure, the world is not of his kingdom, nor can ever please him by interfering in the administration of it, since he hath appointed ministers of his own, and hath empowered and instructed them for that purpose; so that, I believe, the clergy, who, as he [Tindal] sayeth, "are good at distinguishing," would think it reasonable to distinguish between their power, and the liberty of exercising this power. The former they claim immediately from Christ, and the latter from the permission, connivance, or authority of the civil government; with which the clergy's power, according to the solution I have given, cannot possibly interfere.

The church of England is no creature of the civil power, either as to its polity or doctrines. The fundamentals of both were deduced from Christ and his apostles, and the instructions of the purest and earliest ages, and were received as such by those princes or states who embraced Christianity, whatever prudential additions have been made to the former by human laws, which alone can be justly altered or annulled by them.

"The parliament (says he) suspected the love of power natural to churchmen." Truly, so is the love of pudding, and most other things desirable in this life; and in that are like the laity, as in all other things that are not good. And, therefore, they are held not in esteem for what they are like in,  
but



but for their virtues. The true way to abuse them with effect, is to tell us some fault of theirs, that other men have not, or not so much as they, &c. Might not any man speak full as bad of senates, diets, and parliaments, as he can do about councils; and as bad of princes, as he doth of bishops?

But his arguments and definitions are yet more supportable than the grossness of historical remarks, which are scattered so plentifully in his book, that it would be tedious to enumerate, or to shew the fraud and ignorance of them. I beg the reader's leave to take notice of one here just in my way; and the rather, because I design for the future to let hundreds of them pass without further notice. "When, (says he), by the abolishing of the pope's power, things were brought back to their antient channel, the parliament's right in making ecclesiastical laws revived of course." What can possibly be meant by this antient channel? Why, the channel that things ran in before the pope had any power in England: that is to say, before Austin the monk converted England, before which time it seems the parliament had a right to make ecclesiastical laws. And what parliament could this be? Why, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons, met at Westminster.

I cannot here forbear reproving the folly and pedantry of some lawyers, whose opinions this poor creature blindly followeth, and rendereth yet more absurd by his comments. The knowledge of our constitution can be only attained by consulting the earliest English histories, of which those gentlemen seem utterly ignorant, further than

a quotation or an index. They would fain derive our government, as now constituted, from antiquity: and because they have seen Tacitus quoted for his *majoribus omnes*, and have read of the Goths military institution in their progresses and conquests, they presently dream of a parliament. Had their reading reached so far, they might have deduced it much more fairly from Aristotle and Polybius, who both distinctly name the composition of *rex, seniores, et populus*; and the latter, as I remember particularly, with the highest approbation. The princes in the Saxon Heptarchy did indeed call their nobles sometimes together upon weighty affairs, as most other princes of the world have done in all ages. But they made war and peace, and raised money, by their own authority: they gave or mended laws by their charters, and they raised armies by their tenure. Besides, some of those kingdoms fell in by conquest, before England was reduced under one head, and therefore could pretend to no rights but by the concessions of the conquerors.

Further, which is more material, upon the admission of Christianity, great quantities of land were acquired by the clergy, so that the great council of the nation was often entirely of churchmen, and ever a considerable part. But our present constitution is an artificial thing, not fairly to be traced, in my opinion, beyond Henry I. Since which time it hath in every age admitted several alterations; and differeth now as much, even from what it was then, as almost any two species of government described by Aristotle. And it would be much more reasonable to af-



firm, that the government of Rome continued the same under Justinian, as it was in the time of Scipio, because the senate and consuls still remained, although the power of both had been several hundred years transferred to the emperors.

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*A treatise on Good-manners and Good breeding.——From Swift's works, vol. xiv.*

**G**OOD-manners is the art of making those people easy with whom we converse.

Whoever makes the fewest persons uneasy, is the best bred in the company.

As the best law is founded upon reason, so are the best manners. And as some lawyers have introduced unreasonable things into common law; so likewise many teachers have introduced absurd things into common good-manners.

One principal point of this art is to suit our behaviour to the three several degrees of men; our superiors, our equals, and those below us.

For instance: to press either of the two former to eat or drink, is a breach of manners; but a tradesman or a farmer must be thus treated, or else it will be difficult to persuade them that they are welcome.

Pride, ill-nature, and want of sense, are the three great sources of ill-manners; without some one of these defects, no man will behave himself ill for want of experience; or of what, in the language of fools, is called knowing the world.

I defy any one to assign an incident wherein reason will not direct us what we are to say or to do in

company, if we are not misled by pride or ill-nature.

Therefore I insist that good sense is the principal foundation of good-manners; but because the former is a gift which very few among mankind are possessed of, therefore all the civilized nations of the world have agreed upon fixing some rules for common behaviour, best suited to their general customs or fancies, as a kind of artificial good sense to supply the defects of reason. Without which, the gentlemanly part of dunces would be perpetually at cuffs, as they seldom fail when they happen to be drunk, or engaged in squabbles about women or play. And, God be thanked, there hardly happeneth a duel in a year, which may not be imputed to one of those three motives. Upon which account I should be exceedingly sorry to find the legislature make any new laws against the practice of duelling; because the methods are easy, and many, for a wise man to avoid a quarrel with honour, or engage in it with innocence. And I can discover no political evil in suffering bullies, sharpers, and rakes, to rid the world of each other by a method of their own, where the law hath not been able to find an expedient.

As the common forms of good-manners were intended for regulating the conduct of those who have weak understandings; so they have been corrupted by the persons for whose use they were contrived. For these people have fallen into a needless and endless way of multiplying ceremonies, which have been extremely troublesome to those who practise them, and insupportable to every body else: inasmuch that wise men are often more uneasy at the



the over-civility of these refiners, than they could possibly be in the conversations of peasants or mechanics.

The impertinences of this ceremonial behaviour are no where better seen than at those tables where ladies preside; who value themselves upon account of their good-breeding; where a man must reckon upon passing an hour without doing any one thing he hath a mind to, unless he will be so hardy as to break through all the settled decorum of the family. She determineth what he loveth best, and how much he shall eat; and if the master of the house happeneth to be of the same disposition, he proceedeth in the same tyrannical manner to prescribe in the drinking part: at the same time you are under the necessity of answering a thousand apologies for your entertainment. And although a good deal of this humour is pretty well worn off among many people of the best fashion, yet too much of it still remaineth, especially in the country; where an honest gentleman assured me, that having been kept four days against his will at a friend's house, with all the circumstances of hiding his boots, locking up the stable, and other contrivances of the like nature, he could not remember, from the moment he came into the house, to the moment he left it, any one thing wherein his inclination was not directly contradicted; as if the whole family had entered into a combination to torment him.

But, besides all this, it would be endless to recount the many foolish and ridiculous accidents I have observed among these unfortunate proselytes to ceremony. I have seen a duchess fairly knocked down

by the precipitancy of an officious coxcomb, running to save her the trouble of opening a door. I remember, upon a birth-day at court, a great lady was rendered utterly disconsolate, by a dish of sauce let fall by a page directly upon her head-dress and brocade, while she gave a sudden turn to her elbow upon some point of ceremony with the person who sat next to her. Monsieur Buys, the Dutch envoy, whose politics and manners were much of a size, brought a son with him, about thirteen years old, to a great table at court. The boy and his father, whatever they put on their plates, they first offered round in order, to every person in the company; so that we could not get a minute's quiet during the whole dinner. At last their two plates happened to encounter, and with so much violence, that, being china, they broke in twenty pieces; and stained half the company with wet sweetmeats and cream.

There is a pedantry in manners, as in all arts and sciences; and sometimes in trades. Pedantry is properly the over-rating any kind of knowledge we pretend to. And if that kind of knowledge be a trifle in itself, the pedantry is the greater. For which reason I look upon fiddlers, dancing-masters, heralds, masters of the ceremony, &c. to be greater pedants than Lipsius, or the elder Scaliger. With these kind of pedants, the court, while I knew it, was always plentifully stocked: I mean from the gentleman-usher (at least) inclusive, downward to the gentleman-porter; who are, generally speaking, the most insignificant race of people that this island can afford, and with the smallest tincture of good-manners; which is the only trade they profess.



fefs. For being wholly illiterate, conversing chiefly with each other, they reduce the whole system of breeding within the forms and circles of their several offices: and as they are below the notice of ministers, they live and die in court under all revolutions, with great obsequiousness to those who are in any degree of credit or favour, and with rudeness and insolence to every body else. From whence I have long concluded, that good-manners are not a plant of the court growth: for if they were, those people who have understandings directly of a level for such acquirements, and who have served such long apprenticeships to nothing else, would certainly have picked them up. For as to the great officers who attend the prince's person or councils, or preside in his family, they are a transient body, who have no better a title to good-manners than their neighbours, nor will probably have recourse to gentlemen-ushers for instruction. So that I know little to be learned at court on this head, except in the material circumstance of dress; wherein the authority of the maids of honour must indeed be allowed to be almost equal to that of a favourite actress.

I remember a passage my lord Bolingbroke told me; that going to receive Prince Eugene of Savoy at his landing, in order to conduct him immediately to the queen, the prince said he was much concerned that he could not see her majesty that night; for monsieur Hoffman (who was then by) had assured his highness, that he could not be admitted into her presence with a tied-up periwig; that his equipage was not arrived; and that he had endeavoured in vain to bor-

row a long one among all his valets and pages. My lord turned the matter to a jest, and brought the prince to her majesty; for which he was highly censured by the whole tribe of gentlemen-ushers; among whom monsieur Hoffman, an old dull resident of the emperor's, had picked up this material point of ceremony; and which, I believe, was the best lesson he had learned in five-and-twenty years residence.

I make a difference between good-manners and good-breeding; although, in order to vary my expression, I am sometimes forced to confound them. By the first, I only understand the art of remembering, and applying certain settled forms of general behaviour. But good-breeding is of much larger extent; for besides an uncommon degree of literature sufficient to qualify a gentleman for reading a play, or a political pamphlet, it taketh in a great compass of knowledge; no less than that of dancing, fighting, gaming, making the circle of Italy, riding the great horse, and speaking French; not to mention some other secondary, or subaltern accomplishments, which are more easily acquired. So that the difference between good-breeding and good-manners lieth in this: that the former cannot be attained to by the best understandings without study and labour; whereas a tolerable degree of reason will instruct us in every part of good-manners without other assistance.

I can think of nothing more useful upon this subject than to point out some particulars wherein the very essentials of good-manners are concerned, the neglect or perverting

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ing of which doth very much disturb the good commerce of the world, by introducing a traffic of a mutual uneasiness in most companies.

First, a necessary part of good-manners is a punctual observance of time at our own dwellings, or those of others, or at third places; whether upon matters of civility, business, or diversion: which rule, though it be a plain dictate of common reason, yet the greatest \* minister I ever knew was the greatest trespasser against it, by which all his business doubled upon him, and placed him in a continual arrear. Upon which I often used to rally him, as deficient in point of good-manners. I have known more than one ambassador, and secretary of state, with a very moderate portion of intellectuals, execute their offices with great success and applause, by the mere force of exactness and regularity. If you duly observe time for the service of another, it doubles the obligation; if upon your own account, it would be manifest folly, as well as ingratitude, to neglect it; if both are concerned, to make your equal or inferior attend on you to his own disadvantage, is pride and injustice.

Ignorance of forms cannot properly be styled ill-manners; because forms are subject to frequent changes; and consequently being not founded upon reason, are beneath a wise man's regard. Besides, they vary in every country; and after a short period of time very frequently in the same: so that a man who travelleth, must needs be at first a stranger to them in every court through which he passeth;

and perhaps, at his return, as much a stranger in his own; and, after all, they are easier to be remembered or forgotten than faces or names.

Indeed, among the many impertinencies that superficial young men bring with them from abroad, this bigotry of forms is one of the principal, and more predominant than the rest; who look upon them not only as if they were matters capable of admitting of choice, but even as points of importance; and therefore are zealous upon all occasions to introduce and propagate the new forms and fashions they have brought back with them: so that, usually speaking, the worst-bred person in the company, is a young traveller just arrived from abroad.

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*On the use of Fables for instructing children.—From Monsieur Rousseau's Treatise on Education, intitled Emilius.*

EMILIUS shall never be set to learn any thing by heart, not even the fables of Fontaine, simple and beautiful as they are; for the words of a fable are no more the fable itself, than those of a history are the history. How is it possible men can be so blind as to call fables the moral lectures for children, without reflecting that apologue, in amusing, only deceives them; and that seduced by the charms of falsehood, the truth couched underneath it escapes their notice? Yet so it is; and the means which are thus taken to render instruction agreeable, prevents their profiting by it. Fable may instruct grown per-

\* Robert Harley, earl of Oxford, lord high treasurer to Q. Anne.



sons, but the naked truth should ever be presented to children; for if we once spread over it a veil, they will not take the trouble to draw it aside in order to look at it.

Children universally read the fables of Fontaine, and yet there is not one who understands them. It would be still worse, however, if they did understand them; for the moral is so complicated and disproportionate to their capacities, that it would rather induce them to vice than virtue. Here, again, you will say, I am at my paradoxes; be it so; let us see whether what I affirm be not true.

I advance, that a child does not comprehend the fables which he gets by rote; because, whatever pains we take to render them simple, the instruction we would deduce from them is attended with other ideas above his capacity; and because that even the poetic turn given them, in order to make them the more easily remembered, makes them, at the same time, the less easily comprehended; so that they are rendered entertaining at the expence of perspicuity. Not to mention many of these fables, that are totally unintelligible and useless to children, and which nevertheless are indiscreetly taught them, because they are found mixed with the rest, we shall confine ourselves to those which the author appears to have written expressly for children.

In the whole collection of Fontaine's fables, I know of but five or six that are eminently distinguished for puerile simplicity: of these I shall, by way of example, take the first; the moral of which is the most adapted to children, being that which they understand best,

and learn with the greatest pleasure; it is that also which the author has, for this reason, placed at the beginning of his book. On the supposition that the objects of this fable are intelligible to children, and capable of affording them instruction and amusement, it is doubtless his master-piece; I will take the freedom therefore to give it a short examination.

*Le Corbeau et le Renard.*

The Raven and the Fox.

*Maitre Corbeau, sur un arbre perché.*

Master Raven on a tree perched.

*Master!* What is the signification of the word Master itself? What is the use of it before a proper name? and what is the particular meaning of it on this occasion.

We must next tell the child, what is a raven. But what is, *sur un arbre perché*? We do not say, *on a tree perched*, but, *perched on a tree*. We must, therefore, talk to him of the transposition of words by poetical licence, and instruct him in the difference between verse and prose.

*Tenoit dans son bec un fromage.*

Held in his beak a cheese.

What kind of a cheese? Was it a Swiss, or a Dutch cheese? If a child has never seen ravens, what can you get by talking to him about them? and if he has seen them, how will he conceive they could hold whole cheeses in their beaks? Let our descriptions be ever agreeable to nature.

*Maitre Renard, par l'odeur alléché.*

Master Fox, by the smell allur'd.

*Master* again! But this may be thought a good title for a fox, who may be supposed to have taken up his degrees in the arts of his profession. We must, however, describe the



the nature of the fox, and distinguish between his natural character and that which is given him in fable. *Alché* is an obsolete word, and used only in verse: a child, being informed of this, will naturally ask, why we talk otherwise in verse than in prose? What answer will you make to such a question? Again, *Allured by the smell of a cheese!* This cheese held by a raven perched on a tree, must surely have a strong smell, to be scented by a fox lurking in a thicket, or earthed in a burrow. Is this the method you would make to exercise the genius of your pupil; to teach him not to suffer himself to be imposed on, and to discern truth from falsehood in the relation of others?

*Lui tint à-peu près ce langage.*  
Held nearly with him this discourse.

*This discourse!* Do foxes talk men? and do they speak the same language as ravens? Take care, fascinating preceptor; consider well before you reply to these questions of your pupil. It is of more consequence, perhaps, than you imagine.

*Eh! bon jour, Monsieur du Corbeau!*

Ha! good-morrow, Mr. Raven!

*Mr. So, Mr.* is a title which the child hears turned into ridicule before he knows it is a mark of respect. Again, those, who may read his passage, *Monsieur du Corbeau*, will have enough to do, before they explain to a child the meaning of the particle *du*.

*Que vous êtes charmant! que vous me semblez beau!*

How charming you are! how beautiful you seem to me!

Wretchedly expletive and redundant! a child hearing the same

thing repeated in different words, will hence learn a loose and inaccurate method of speaking. If you say this redundancy is a piece of art in the writer, and agreeable to the design of the fox, who would seem to multiply his praises by making use of different terms, this excuse is sufficient with me; but is a very bad one to be given to my pupil.

*Sans mentir, si votre ramage.*

Without lying, if your singing.

*Without lying!* So then, it is usual to lie sometimes! But what would your pupil think, if you were to tell him the fox says this only because he is actually telling the raven a lie?

*Repondoit à votre plumage.*

Be answerable to your feathers.

*Answerable!* What can that word mean? Endeavour to teach a child to compare two qualities so different as the plumage and the singing of a bird; and see how well he will understand you.

*Vous seriez le phenix des hôtes de ces bois.*

You are a phoenix among the lords of these woods.

*A Phoenix!* What is a Phoenix? Behold us already entering upon the fictions of the antient mythology. *The lords of the woods!* How figurative! The flatterer raises his language, and gives it more dignity, in order to render it the more seductive. How is a child to understand this finesse? Does he know, is it possible that he should know, the difference between an elevated and a mean style?

*A ces mots, le corbeau ne se sent pas de joie.*

At these words the raven is out of his wits with delight.

A child must have already experienced



rienced very lively and strong passions, to be able to comprehend this proverbial expression.

*Et pour montrer sa belle voix.*

And to display his fine singing.

It must not be forgotten, that, in order to understand this verse, and the whole fable, a child ought to be previously made acquainted with the fine singing of a raven.

*Il ouvre un large bec, laisse tomber sa proie.*

He opens his large beak, and lets fall his prey.

*Il ouvre, &c.* This verse is admirable; the sound and the sense go incomparably well together. Methinks I see his wide beak open, and hear the cheese rattle down the boughs: but this kind of beauty is lost on children.

*Le renard s'en saisit; et dit, Mon bon Monsieur.*

The fox snapt it up; and then said, My good Sir.

Good Sir! See already goodness made synonymous to folly: is it not indeed mere loss of time thus to instruct children?

*Apprenez que tout flatteur.*

Learn that every flatterer.

A general maxim! children know nothing of general maxims.

*Vit aux dépens de celui qui l'écoute.*

Lives at the cost of those who listen to him.

No child of ten years of age can understand the meaning of this line.

*Cette leçon vaut bien un fromage, sans doute.*

This lesson is worth a cheese, without doubt.

This line is intelligible, and the thought is good. There are, nevertheless, but few children who are capable of comparing a moral lesson in a cheese; and fewer who would not prefer the cheese to the

lesson: they must be taught, therefore, to look upon this as a piece of raillery. What a deal of subtilty is here required of children!

*Le corbeau, honteux & confus.*

The raven, ashamed and confused.

Another pleonasm: but this is inexcusable;

*Jura, mais un peu tard, qu'on ne l'y prendroit plus.*

Swore, tho' somewhat too late, he would never be so deceived again.

Swore! Where is the preceptor weak enough to explain to a child the nature of an oath?

You may think, perhaps, I have been here too circumstantial: I have been much less so, however, than would have been necessary to analyse all the complex ideas of the fable, and to resolve them into the simple and elementary ones of which they are composed. But who thinks such analysis necessary to make ourselves understood? We are none of us philosophers enough to put ourselves in the place of children. But to proceed to the moral of the fable:

I would ask, if there are any children of six years of age, whom it would be proper to teach, that mankind flatter and deceive each other through motives of self-interest? One might teach them, indeed, that there are satyrists who laugh at little boys, and privately ridicule their childish vanity: but the cheese spoils all; and they learn less to prevent its falling from their own mouths, than how to make it fall from the mouths of others. This is another paradox, and not the least important.

Trace the progress of children in learning fables, and you will find, that, when they are in a capacity to make



ake any application of them, they most always do it in a manner contrary to the intention of the fable; and that, instead of remarking the error or fault you are desirous of guarding them against, they fall in love with the vice of the party exposed. In reading the fable above cited, for instance, children laugh at and despise the silly raven; but they are fond of the fox.

In the next fable of the same collection, you think also to set them an example in the grasshopper; you are mistaken: they prefer that of the ant. None are fond of humiliation; all chuse to act the shining part: it is the choice of self-love; and is in every respect natural. But what a shocking lesson is this fable for children? A covetous child, could be the most detestable of all monsters: at least such it would be, when sensible of what was asked of him, and what it refused. The ant in the fable does more than this; she not only refuses to assist the suppliant in distress, but aggravates that refusal with raillery and reproach.

In all fables where a lion is introduced, as it is generally the most shining character, a child never fails to take upon himself the part of the lion; and when he presides at any distribution, he generally proceeds by this model, and sweeps all to his own share. But when the gnat brings the lion to the quick, it is another affair: the child is then no longer the lion, but the gnat; and learns thence in what manner he may some time or other kill those with the prick of a pin, whom he durst not attack openly.

In the fable of the lean wolf and the fat dog, instead of deducing from it the lesson of moderation

designed, he is encouraged to licentiousness. I shall never forget the circumstance of once seeing a little girl, quite distressed by being teased with this fable, in order to make her docile and tractable. It was some time before the cause of her tears came to be known; which, however, was at length discovered: the poor child was heartily tired of her chain; she felt her neck galled, and was very sorry she was not in the condition of the wolf.

Thus the moral of the first fable is, to a child, a lesson of the most servile flattery; that of the second, a lesson of inhumanity; that of the third, of injustice; that of the fourth, of satire; and that of the fifth, of independence. This last lesson is superfluous to my pupil, and not more expedient for yours; for when the precepts you instill are contradictory to each other, what good can you expect from them? But, perhaps, this defect in the moral of fables, which makes me object to them, may furnish a reason for your preserving their use. In the world, there is one kind of morality in discourse, and another in actions; both which never agree together. The first is to be found in the catechism, where we shall leave it: the other we meet with in Fontaine; in his fables, as to what regards children; and in his tales, as to what relates to their *mammas*. The same author suffices for both.

But I am willing to compromise this matter with La Fontaine: I promise you, for my own part, my dear author, to read, and admire your fables, because I am not afraid of being mistaken in their design. But, as for my pupil, you must excuse me, if I do not suffer him to read a line in your book, till you have



have convinced me that it is proper for him to get words by rote, of which he does not understand one fourth part: that the meaning which we may annex to some, cannot be false; and that, instead of profiting by the example of the dupe, he may not form himself on that of the knave.

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*Extract from the Case of Authors by Profession or Trade. By the late James Ralph, Esq.*

**W**IT and money have been always at war, and always treated one another with reciprocal contempt. Perhaps for this only reason, That the man of money could acquire every thing but ideas; and the man of wit's ideas could never acquire him money. But whatever the cause may be, such is the fact: and, as if the bulk of mankind derived some kind of gratification from the quarrel, they have each in his way contributed all they could to render it perpetual.

Thus a man may plead for money, prescribe or quack for money, preach and pray for money, marry for money, fight for money, do any thing within the law for money, provided the expedient answers, without any the least imputation.

But if he writes like one inspired from heaven, and writes for money, the man of Touch, in the right of Midas, his great ancestor, enters his caveat against him as a man of taste; declares the two provinces to be incompatible; and he who aims at praise ought to be starved; and that there ought to be so much draw-back upon character for every acquisition in coin.

And yet the art of writing is as

much an art as the art of painting, or the art of war. The pen, as a tool, is of as much importance, at least, as the pencil; and as a weapon offensive or defensive, has its power, and can do some sort of execution, as well as the sword.

We call the sciences liberal, 'tis true: but then, 'tis as true, there is not one liberal amongst them: all are carried to market; and some not only fetch a very good price in ready money, but are further rewarded with titles, dignities, employments, and revenues.

And the thing speaks for itself: a poetical canto—a demonstration worthy of Euclid—an historical section—a tract on government—a discourse on morals—persuasive to holiness, &c. till converted into money, will not furnish any one accommodation; and in a country of riches and luxury like this, where both pleasure and importance are measured by expence, money enough must be had to furnish vanities as well as necessaries. The more we abound in vanities, the more considerable we are esteemed; and where any necessary is wanting, apparently thro' necessity, all the douceurs of life arising from observance and respect, will be wanting too.

If, for illustration, we had a Shakespeare, a Milton, or a Newton now existing amongst us, who should come into what is called good company in dirty linen, for want of clean—And a Chartres, a Lascel, a Lowther, a Walters, or a Crafein, out of sordidness did the same, merely to save the charge of washing, the latter would be courted and caressed, and the former would hardly be acknowledged:—the most notorious abuse of wealth not being able to render the abuser con-



temptible, or talents the most  
lime to render poverty other-  
e.

Even the poor lord, poor hero,  
or saint, amongst us (if we had  
y of the two latter classes among  
could no more preserve them-  
ves from contempt, than the poor  
et, historian, philosopher, or di-  
e.

And this we ought in charity to  
pose is the cause, that neither  
d or the King is ever served in  
ployments the most honourable  
d venerable, even by persons of  
first families, and most unble-  
shed sanctity, for nought.

Politically speaking, however, I  
of opinion, that wealth should be  
itled to some degree of respect;  
d, on the contrary, that want  
ould be subject to some degree of  
grace. The reason this: wealth  
the object of commerce; com-  
erce is one great source of our na-  
tional efficiency; and when politi-  
and philosophical maxims clash,  
udence requires the latter should  
ve way to the former.

But then wealth may be valued  
o high, as it is said, gold may be  
ught too dear. Or, if there is  
such worth, indeed, as money's  
orth, we should be consistent in  
r decisions at least; in which case  
would follow, that, instead of  
nsuring an author for taking mo-  
y for his works, we ought to  
eem those most who get most  
oney by them. And then Pope,  
d Voltaire after his example,  
ould deserve to be considered more  
r what they made of their works,  
an for the works themselves.

The writer has three provinces.  
To write for booksellers. To write  
for the stage. To write for a fac-  
tion in the name of the commu-  
nity.

To write for a faction in the  
name of the community is the most  
flattering of all these provinces, be-  
cause the writer who fills it, is ex-  
pected to do that without doors,  
which his confederates in a supe-  
rior station find impracticable to do  
within; because he finds himself  
consulted and caressed by them on  
this account; and because of the  
assurances given him, that, in the  
division of the promised land, a lot  
shall be reserved for him.

While, therefore, these occasional  
connexions hold, while he is useful  
in collecting the materials of oppo-  
sition, and in working up the whole  
mass to a head, hope sweetens all  
his labours, all his difficulties, all  
his discouragements, and he at least  
enjoys the dream of growing ser-  
viceable to himself and his country  
together.

At last, the time of projection  
comes. The country is brought to  
groan for a change. The strongest  
faction in the c——t takes advan-  
tage of the cry, to displace the  
weaker, and to grow themselves  
stronger by slipping in a sure man  
or two of their own. All-sufficient  
patriots become insignificant mi-  
nisters. Opposition is at an end.  
The pen is no longer of any use;  
and he that held it is left, in the  
language of Shakespeare, *like an  
unregarded bulrush on the stream to  
rot itself with motion.*

Poor \* Amhurst! after having

\* Mr. —, his fellow-labourer in another excellent paper called *Common  
sense*, by marrying a woman of fortune, was put into a condition of laughing at  
the ingratitude he also experienced on the same occasion.



been the drudge of his party for the best part of twenty years together, was as much forgot in the famous compromise of 1742, as if he had never been born! And when he died, of what is called a broken heart, which happened within a few months afterwards, became indebted to the charity of his very bookseller for a grave. A grave not to be traced now, because then no otherwise to be distinguished than by the freshness of the turf, borrowed from the next common to cover it!

There is no need for me to infer. Every considerate reader, as well as every author, will do it for me.

I do not, however, desire to carry this accusation one step higher than it ought to go: nor am I at all pleased with the opportunity thrown in my way of making any such accusation at all.

There have been times, when the talents of a good writer were esteemed a sufficient qualification for almost any employment whatsoever, and when room was left or made for their admission.

I do not rank Burnet in the first class of authors, and yet it was not his divinity which made him bishop of Salisbury.

Somers, it is true, was a lawyer, orator, and statesman; and yet he was more obliged to his pen than his pleadings (with an exception to that on the abdication) for those distinctions, which gradually led him to the highest in the power of the crown to bestow on him.

Mr. Locke had tried his hand in the service of the *Excluders* for the sake of mankind, if not for his own: and though it must be allowed he was more a philosopher

than a politician, it was not in the former of those capacities that he was honoured with a seat at the board of trade.

Davenant was not eminent in his own walk of civil law, at least as a pleader; nor was he ever promoted in it: and yet, in acknowledgment of his powers as a political writer, we find the place of inspector general of the customs created purposely for his gratification; because the establishment, it seems, was even in those days, so full, that no room could be made for him elsewhere.

Prior not only found friends to applaud his abilities, but also to reward them: Sunderland was then Erle Robert he addressed his Mic to; so that we are not to wonder that he had a seat in parliament (there was then no qualification act),—that he was secretary to the embassy at Ryswick, and to that of lord Jersey in France: that, even when Lord Manchester was ambassador-resident there, in the room of lord Jersey, he was sent thither with a special commission, independent on him; and that he was a lord of trade, long before he was a minister-plenipotentiary from Great Britain to Lewis XIV.

Swift had a natural claim to all that Sir William Temple could do for him; had been personally known to King William; and was introduced to lord Godolphin by the elder Craggs, as a man worth any price or preferment, without deriving any material advantage from his surpassing genius; but having commenced advocate for lord Oxford, was rewarded with the deanery of St. Patrick's; and the time taking a new turn soon after, he preferred the free exercise of his

wi



wit to every lucrative consideration.

Addison and his advancement hardly need be mentioned, the instance is so notorious; but every body may not so readily recollect, that his party-services contributed more to it than all his laudable efforts to refine our manners, and perfect our taste.

Nor was Steel, his subordinate, absolutely forgot; as his share in the play-house patent serves to bear witness: and I believe, were we to inspect the records of the treasury, we should find proofs of his being farther considered in a more silent way.

Even the great Walpole himself, like the great Montagu, lord Halifax, whom he succeeded, did not disdain to make his approaches to power by writing as well as speaking: and several of his pieces are still extant in the collections of persons curious in these matters.

And I will not specify the many, many dignified names, in all capacities, of persons now living, who have either obtained those dignities, or added signal emoluments to them by the exercise of the pen; for fear of shocking that delicacy which renders them content with the fruits of their former labours, and desirous the labours themselves should be forgot.

But Thomas Gordon is dead—And with his, as the \* last of the lucky names on this roll, worth remembering, I shall close my list.

Gordon then, I have reason to think, was not much richer, better recommended, or better allied

when fortune first led him from Scotland to London, than many of his cotemporaries: and what degree of consideration he obtained from the public, till he had Trenchard and Collins for his supporters, is hardly worth ascertaining.—But from that happy period all went well with him; the parts and learning of the whole junto were placed to his account—As reputed author of the *Independant Whig*, a fortune not inconsiderable was left him, by a country physician; being the only retribution of the kind, perhaps, that ever any British author met with!—From *Cato's Letters*, *London Journals*, *Anti-South-Sea* pamphlets, he derived the character of a writing politician. And what completed his importance, Trenchard dying, was not fashionably ashamed to own him in his will, but left him his books, together with a handsome legacy; on which recommendation Sir Robert Walpole not only took him and his Tacitus at once into his protection, but also found means to put him on the establishment as a commissioner of the wine-licences; in the possession of which place he died.

Did all merit centre in or die with Gordon? It cannot be affirmed, or even supposed. Arnal, once his friend, though afterwards his enemy, was acknowledged to have quicker parts, and a more pliant pen.—And yet, tho' prodigally rewarded for critical services, he could never obtain a stated provision.—So that, had he lived a few years longer, he might have lived

\* Mr. Wood, so much to his honour distinguished by Mr. secretary Pitt, is a writer by accident, not by profession; and was already secured against any reverse of fortune, by the gratitude and generosity of former friends.



himself into all the wretchedness which Amhurst, his antagonist, sunk under.

What is stranger still, he had not only the minister but the M—ch too for his patron; who condescended, more than once, to express a gracious sense of his merits and services, and some impatience to have him suitably and permanently rewarded. So that we are bound to believe, that neither M—ch nor minister, tho' seemingly all-sufficient, had any longer power, separately or conjunctively, to do what they wished to do for him.—The heat of opposition had, by this time, not only increased the price of service, but so enlarged the number of claimants, that all was too little to satisfy the cravings, and demands.—*Hinc illæ lachrymæ.*—

“Authors at large (says lord Shaftsbury) are in a manner professed masters of understanding to the age.” And in *Churchill's collection of Voyages*, an Italian traveller, one Gemelli, gives all Europe to understand, that he could find nothing amongst us but our writings to distinguish us from the worst of barbarians. Instead of reproaching authors, therefore, for living by their labours, we ought to reproach ourselves for allowing them no other means to live.

By the statute of modern uniformity, luxury is the idol that all worship—there is a luxury of the mind as well as the senses.—Of those who administer to the latter, authors stand the foremost—And ought we to reproach them for the

exercise of those talents which we are so much obliged to, for enlarging the bounds of our happiness.

The times, as we have seen, were favourable to Prior, Addison, &c. (though all found occasion to complain before they were served), because the link of patronage which held the great and the learned together was then in full force; and yet they did not commence writers in virtue of any such foresight, but because it was the impulse of their genius; and all the good that befel them upon it, was as much the gift of fortune as the result of merit.

The next race of writers had their recent example for authority; and, so far, could better justify themselves for taking to the pen and the press, on a principle of discretion, than, in this country, any other set of writers ever could.

We of the present day, indeed, having nothing but phantoms before our eyes, are only the dupes of our own delusions\*.—But then, alas! we *are* writers; consequently incapable of taking up any other trade; and consequently, instead of examples, can only bequeath our advices and warnings to others.

And if advice had any power to convince, or warnings to deter, the glut of writing which has cloyed the present age should be followed, like Pharaoh's years of abundance, with a dearth as durable.

Were only the *Journals*, *Chronicles*, *Magazines*, and other periodical, as well as occasional productions (which, at present, contribute so much to the amusement and

\* This was in some measure the case when Mr. Ralph wrote. More encouragement has been given to letters in the present reign.



chit-chat of the day) to be discontinued all at once, how doubly loaded with all the horrors of vacancy would every hour limp off; and how little would the common run of society be worth!

Knowledge is the light of the world: authors have been the dispensers of it; and have been suffered to consume themselves in the operation.

Let those that now write, therefore, be the last! and those that delight in darkness have it!

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*A letter concerning the marquis Belloni's dissertation upon commerce.  
From the Journal Œconomique.*

SIR,

**I**N your journal for March 1751, you have inserted a dissertation upon trade, by the marquis Belloni, which I have read several times; as an excellent piece; the substance of all the best remarks which have been made by our modern politicians on that subject, containing advice to sovereigns touching the direction of commerce, manufactures, and the circulation of money. But ought not he first to have considered whether it is more necessary to direct all those things with so much care and concern as he proposes, or to let them take their own way under proper protection only? How many general and particular manufactures have been established and brought to perfection by liberty alone, each having been carried on in its own right! Every individual will be led by honour and advantage, and thence results a great whole, which will never be the consequence of a general direction. If, on the contrary, the

government should be too watchful and solicitous, and laws too much extended, or too minute, should happen to disturb particular manufacturers, in terrifying by penalties often injudiciously inflicted, or recompensing by prizes ill adjudged, you substitute intrigue instead of emulation. How many things are now carried on with tolerable success, merely from having hitherto escaped a pretended legislative *Police*, which instead of advancing, retards the progress of industry and improvement! Observe how trade flourished in the republics, until its prosperity was interrupted either by time, or other political causes foreign to commerce, such as wars, national debts, and oppression: the reason was, those republics have a spirit ever healthy, ever active, which is liberty: and this, far from diminishing, actually constitutes the public strength; it represses evil and maintains distributive justice, and the evil being repressed, the good appears and predominates: yes, the removal of obstacles is all that is necessary to the success of trade. It asks nothing of the public, but good judges, the discouragement of monopoly, an equal protection to all the subjects, an invariable value of coin, roads, and canals: besides these articles all other cares are vicious: and this vice is the more pernicious to a state, as it flows from an ill-conducted zeal: this zeal has partizans, officers in employment and authority, and it requires whole ages to undeceive them of their errors.

Trade is the science of individuals; but the general direction of trade cannot be a science; for it is impossible. Oftentimes, when we



dive into sciences beyond our reach, such as the general system of the universe, infinitude, the union of spirit and matter, &c. we are quit for so much loss of time; but in policy, such false presumptions carry us a great way in the fatal paths of ruin and destruction. We ought to be persuaded that, in order to attain to that knowledge which is requisite for the direction of commerce, it is not enough to know the different interests of different nations, provinces, and societies; but we must also understand the interests and connexions of individuals, together with the quality and value of each commodity. He, therefore, who is mistaken in the least article, will direct amiss, and enact preposterous laws. Who then shall pretend to this integral and universal capacity? *Non datur scientia*. Nevertheless the directors of trade arrogate this to themselves; and if this arrogance be faulty, and they consult their caprices more than their understanding, the result will be, laws that cramp commerce, and favours unjustly conferred. Sometimes the council of commerce of a nation or province sees the common interest only through the eyes of their deputies; these sometimes propose private or particular advantages to their own towns or persons, to the prejudice of other towns and the rest of their subjects; and sometimes, it is to be feared, they lay it down as a maxim to aggrandize what is great, annihilate what is little, and utterly banish equality. It is reported of Mr. Colbert, that when he convened several deputies of commerce at his house, and asked what he could do for the benefit of trade? the most

sensible and plainest spoken man among them, replied in these three words, "Let us alone." Have we ever sufficiently reflected upon the good sense of that short answer? This is no other than a kind of commentary upon it. Apply it to every thing that is done for trade, and to what chiefly destroys it in monarchies; and examine its effects: you will soon find how little fruit and success is reaped from all those cares of restraint, inspection, and regulation; the republics have made greater advances in trade, almost without laws and constraint, than other countries when countenanced by the ablest ministers; the instinct of the bee does more in this particular than the genius of the greatest politician: the capital of a republican state increases every day, by œconomy, agriculture, industry, brokerage, manufacture, and every thing that is understood by the idea of trade. There are degrees by which we ascend successively from what is simple to what is improved, and from this last to the perfection of art; these the multitude will climb of themselves, by communication, example, and emulation: they never fail to follow the different steps, and never mistake when left to their own conduct: but when people pretend to shew them the road and direct them, woe be to him who mistakes! The needful is neglected, in order to proceed to what is superfluous before the time. Without mentioning particular nations, how many errors of this kind have been committed to the destruction of mankind! How many colonies have been peopled at the expence of the continent! While some places enjoyed abundance, how

many



many others have been quite deserted ! How many arts have been admired at the expence of neglecting the gifts of nature elsewhere ; fine palaces built, and statues erected, but lands without culture, and villages without inhabitants ! These are the effects of the grand science of trade.

The marquis Belloni thinks it might be of service to trade, to set up custom-houses, and load one kind of commodity with higher duties than another ; to exclude foreign merchandize, and favour our own by encouraging the exportation of them. This practice is but too well known in Europe ; but the nation who introduces it first, hath necessarily prescribed the example to others ; each is willing to do the same injury to the right of nations which itself suffers ; foreign manufactures were prohibited, that one country might not become tributary to its neighbours ; so that, the Europeans, as they increased in the knowledge of trade, took measures for breaking all communication among themselves, and in time of profound peace suffer all the effects of an universal war. No, it is not the good of trade that advises these measures, but some private interest, which too often gets the better of public advantage. If once the multitude is allowed to take their own way, it will soon undeceive the world in this particular, to the great advantage of society, and shew that the passage of merchandize from one state to another ought to be as free as that of the air and water. All Europe ought to be no other than a general and common fair ; the person or nation which should make the best commo-

dity should find the greatest advantage. The distance and expence of carriage are sufficient reasons for any nation to prefer its own goods to those of others ; and where these obstacles cease, the stranger is preferable to our own countryman, otherwise you ruin instead of favouring subjects in their trade. The custom-house duties will always have a bad effect, for the finances of the nation ought to be raised from the consumption only ; as all duties levied upon the transportation, be they what they will, never fail to distress trade. But presumption and self-love are so predominant among men, that they prefer a small advantage acquired by sophistry, subtilty, or malice, to all that nature and humanity would afford with much more abundance and integrity ; though their understanding was undoubtedly given them not to domineer, but to regulate liberty. Yes, regulated and enlightened liberty will always do more for the trade of any people, than the most intelligent dominion : a single man sees more clearly into the interests of his own trade, and conducts it better than ten associates, whose interests are always divided, and often opposed to each other. If he goes too far, if he usurps over or injures his neighbours, they can stop and restrain him with the assistance of justice ; and this constitutes the equality, policy, and balance that are necessary to trade : whereas our legislators can only perceive so many different interests in a confused manner. Liberty will enrich the merchants, and these becoming more or less wealthy, according to their talents, will endeavour to bring their manufacto-



ries to perfection. The regulations made for manufactures ought to be as so many instructions to those who are in search of this perfection, in the same manner as the books that treat of arts and sciences. There must be all sorts of degrees of goodness in the manufactures, according to the taste and circumstances of the purchaser: imperfection and fraud discredit manufacturers, while diligence and honesty enrich and bring them into vogue. For these reasons commerce claims liberty instead of those penal laws, duties, and interdictions by which it is discouraged.

Trade itself is no other than an abstract idea lately known, as well

as circulation and credit. We seem to make new divinities, like the Greeks, in order to adore them: our fathers, who had less idolatry and philosophy, but more wisdom, were richer by their œconomy and labour, than we by our sciences of exchange, brokerage, and stock-jobbing. Perhaps our posterity, undeceived by experience, will laugh at the disease that now prevails in several nations, of endeavouring to reduce the principles of trade into a system; and will place it in that rank which we now assign to the Crusade, and which we shall soon give to the folly of the political balance of power in Europe,



## P O E T R Y.

*The HORSE and the OLIVE, or WAR and PEACE.*

By the late Archdeacon PARNELL.

*Not yet printed in his Works.*

WITH moral tale let ancient wisdom move,  
Which thus I sing to make the moderns wise :  
Strong Neptune once with sage Minerva strove,  
And rising Athens was the victor's prize.

By Neptune, Plutus, (guardian Pow'r of gain)  
By great Minerva, bright Apollo stood :  
But Jove superior bade the side obtain,  
Which best contriv'd to do the nation good.

Then Neptune striking, from the parted ground  
The warlike horse came pawing on the plain,  
And as it toss'd its mane, and pranc'd around,  
By this, he cries, I'll make the people reign.

The goddess, smiling, gently bow'd the spear,  
And rather thus they shall be bless'd, she said :  
Then upwards shooting in the vernal air,  
With loaded boughs the fruitful olive spread.

Jove saw what gift the rival powers design'd,  
And took th' impartial scales, resolv'd to show  
If greater bliss in warlike pomp we find,  
Or in the calm which peaceful times bestow.

O Neptune's part he plac'd victorious days,  
Gay trophies won, and fame extending wide ;  
But plenty, safety, science, arts, and ease,  
Minerva's scale with greater weight supply'd.

Fierce war devours whom gentle peace wou'd save ;  
Sweet peace restores what angry war destroys ;  
War made for peace, with that rewards the brave,  
While peace its pleasures from itself enjoys.

Hence vanquish'd Neptune to the sea withdrew,  
Hence wise Minerva rul'd Athenian lands ;  
Her Athens hence in arts and honours grew,  
And still her olives deck pacific hands.



From fables thus disclos'd, a monarch's mind  
 May form just rules to chuse the truly great,  
 And subjects, weary'd with distresses, find  
 Whose kind endeavours most befriend the state.

E'en Britain here may learn to place her love,  
 If cities won her kingdom's wealth have cost.  
 If Anna's thoughts the patriot souls approve,  
 Whose cares restore that wealth the wars had lost.

But if we ask, the moral to disclose,  
 Whom best Europa's patroness it calls,  
 Great Anna's title no exception knows,  
 And unapply'd in this the fable falls.

With her no Neptune or Minerva vies :  
 Whene'er she pleas'd, her troops to conquest flew :  
 Whene'er she pleases, peaceful times arise :  
 She gave the horse, and gives the olive too.

### ODE sur la Présente GUERRE.

*Extracted from a German periodical work of M. Professor Gottsched of Leipzig, of whose company the king of Prussia was so fond, and attributed by that gentleman to one of the most eminent writers of French Poetry, who, the Professor says, will be readily guessed, without his naming him.*

J'ENTENS de toutes parts éclater les Orages,  
 Les champs sont inondés de cent mille assassins,  
 Payés pour le massacre, instruits pour les ravages,  
 La foudere est dans leurs mains.

Par tout le fer poursuit, par tout le feu dévore ;  
 Ils lassant à leur suite en ces champs malheureux,  
 La faim, le désespoir, plus terribles encore  
 Que le fer & les feux.

Les Guerriers, dont la course imite les tempêtes,  
 Obéissent aux Loix, aux Princes, aux Vertus ;  
 Les lauriers immortels, dont ils parent leurs têtes  
 Sans doute leur sont dus.

C'est vous que j'interroge, Idoles de la Terre,  
 Vainqueurs des Nations, ou plutôt leurs bourreaux,  
 Tyrans ambitieux, qui d'une injuste Guerre  
 Allumez les flambeaux.

Neron osa brûler des maîtres antiques,  
 Rome l'appelle monstre, en tombant sous ses coups,  
 Et vous du Monde en feu, destructeurs frenétiques,  
 Quel nom méritez vous ?

Voyez



Voyez ces habitans dans l'horreur des allarmes,  
 En cent lieux fugitifs, errans, exterminés,  
 Quel laurier peut payer le douleur & les larmes  
 De tant d'infortunés !

Si vous êtes pressés de ce desir funeste,  
 De depoupler la Terre, en proie à vos transports,  
 Ah ! semez les poisons, faites germer la peste,  
 Et regnez sur les morts.

D'une goutte de sang vous remandez compte  
 Vos loix aux meurtriers prodiguent des tourments  
 Affassins de l'Europe, & vous n'avez pas honte  
 D'en verser des torrens !

Ah ! qui donc êtes vous ? quelle fut l'origine,  
 Des droits que vos égaux vous ont abandonnés ?  
 Nés de la même sange, est ce pour leur ruine,  
 Qu'ils vous ont couronnés ?

Ah ! s'ils n'avoient voulu que s'arracher la vie,  
 Avoient-ils donc besoin de Sceptres & de Loix ?  
 Libres, ne pouvoient-ils assouvir leur envie,  
 Sans romper sous des Rois !

Comptons les Souverains que l'Europe rassemble ;  
 Doux Chefs vertueux fixeroient son bonheur,  
 Tour à tour teints de sang de leur ruine ensemble,  
 Ils disputent l'honneur,

Humanité, Justice, est-ce pour vous qu'ils regnent ?  
 Délateurs mutuels, perfides, & jaloux,  
 J'atteste leurs Ecrits, ils s'accusent, se craignent,  
 Et se méprisent tous.

Cessent-ils de se nuire, ils manquent donc de force,  
 S'ils suspendent leurs coups, c'est pour les préparer,  
 Leur repos n'est jamais qu'une perfide amorce  
 Pour mieux se déchirer.

Qu'espèrent-ils enfin ? Maîtres d'un vaste Empire,  
 Pour un Hameau de plus, combien de sang versé ?  
 Ridicule fureur, méprisable délire !

Moins cruel qu'insensé.

Génie, activité, soif de gloire, courage,  
 Vous me vantez en vain vos illustres travaux ;  
 Ah ! l'austère équité aux yeux du Sage,  
 Les monstres des Héros,

O vous ! qui, profanant les transports de Génie,  
 Osez diviniser les fléaux des mortels ;  
 Que ne puis je étouffer de votre voix impie  
 Les accens criminels.

Quoi ! le meurtre d'un Peuple honoreroit son Maître !  
 L'homme n'a que son sang, on le traîne au trépas,  
 Vils flatteurs arrêtez, la Gloire peut elle être,  
 Où la vertu n'est pas ?



Mais peut-être mon zèle en sa chaleur amère,  
 Répand sur les objets de trop sombres couleurs,  
 La Guerre est de tout tems, & ce mal nécessaire,  
 N'est digne que de pleurs.

Non, ce fléau jamais ne fut inévitable,  
 La sagesse toujours peut prévenir les coups,  
 Quand les Rois sont armés, il en est un coupable,  
 Peut-être ils le sont tous !

Ose-t-on, si les droits ne sont pas légitimes,  
 Aux yeux de l'Univers combattre en furieux ?  
 S'ils sont douteux, le sang d'innocentes victimes,  
 Le prouvera-t-il mieux ?

Ces sauvages sanglans que votre orgueil deteste,  
 Sont de foibles rivaux de tant d'excès honteux,  
 Et je ne vois que l'art de faire un manifeste,  
 Qui vous distingue d'eux,

Ils mangent les vaincus dans leur cruelle joie,  
 L'honneur de les tuer suffit à vos fureurs,  
 Qu'importe, à qui n'est plus, de devenir la proie,  
 Des vers ou des Vainqueurs ?

Du moins si tant de sang rendoit à la Patrie,  
 Des jours plus fortunés, un tranquille destin ;  
 Mais quel en est le prix ? le Soldat est sans vie,  
 Et le Peuple sans pain !

Leurs trésors prodigués par des mains sanguinaires,  
 Les fruits de leurs sueurs livrés avec effort,  
 Que sont ils devenus ? de leurs Fils, de leurs Frères,  
 Ils achètent la mort.

Politique éclairée, active, impénétrable !  
 Art sublime & profond, autant qu'infructueux !  
 Quel bien avez vous fait ! l'homme en est plus coupable,  
 Sans être plus heureux.

Comptez sur les Traités, signés par le mensonge !  
 Ces Actes Solemnels avec art préparés.  
 Traités, rompus, refaits, oubliés comme un songe,  
 Aussi-tôt que jurés.

Ah ! comment espérer un terme favorable,  
 Si toujours aux dépens du Monde gémissant,  
 Le plus foible prétend devenir redoutable,  
 Et le fort tout puissant ?

Sis la force du moins donnoit quelque assurance ;  
 Mais l'Etat qui s'étend, a des Voisins nouveaux,  
 Le irrite sans doute : & doubler sa puissance,  
 C'est doubler ses rivaux.

Persepolis n'est plus qu'une cendre stérile,  
 Souvent à sa grandeur un Etat doit sa fin,  
 La foiblesse le garde, & Lucque est plus tranquille,  
 Que Dresde & que Berlin.



Rome foumit la Terre & se crut éternelle,  
Il lui vint des vainqueurs des Bords du Tanais,  
Et dix fois saccagée, à peine regna-t-elle,  
Sur ses propres débris.

Ainsi le sort confond le courage & l'adresse,  
Tour à tour par le fer, tout Empire est détruit.  
Les Vanqueurs, les vaincus, la force & la foiblesse :  
Tôt ou tard tout périt.

Trent siècles de sang du meurtre heréditaire,  
Qu'ont ils produit enfin, après mille combats ?  
Au bonheur les mortels ont ils dans leur carrière,  
Avancé d'un seul pas !

L'Humanité tremblante étend ses bras augustes,  
Elle remplit les airs de ses cris douloureux,  
N'est-il donc plus d'espoir ? O vous Rois ! foyez justes,  
Et le Monde est heureux.

Voilà votre devoir, & voilà votre Gloire,  
Toute autre n'est qu'une crime ; écoutez vos sujets,  
Vous ne leur devez point d'exploits ni de victoire,  
Vous leur devez la Paix.

Salomon, & Numa dans leurs Cité bornée,  
Ont égalé le nom des plus heureux Guerriers,  
La Paix a ses Héros, l'Olive fortunée  
A l'éclat des lauriers.

Un jour il s'éteindra ce préjugé feroce,  
Qui croit tous les mortels nés pour se tourmenter ?  
Leur sang sera sacré, malheur à l'ame atroce,  
Qui voudroit en douter.

Déjà par les beaux Arts l'Europe est adoucie,  
Les mœurs pourront un jour ce que n'ont pu les Loix ;  
Et les fières leçons de la Philosophie  
Feront rougir les Rois.

Arne, Venise, & Rome ont frayé cette route,  
De leur douce vertu le bonheur & le prix.  
Un jour le même myrthe embellira sans doute,  
Londres, Vienne, & Paris,

Ma redoutable voix a tonné sur le crime,  
Paix ! je n'en ai point pour chanter tes attraits,  
Peut-être les Humans de ton charme sublime,  
Peins toi par tes bienfaits

O Thérèse, ô Louis, ô vertus plus qu'humaines ;  
Mes vœux sont étendus, & j'en crois votre cœur,  
Eternisez vos nœuds, l'Europe craint des chaînes,  
Donnez lui le bonheur.



## ELEGY on the death of a Lady. By Mr. Mason.

THE midnight clock has toll'd; and hark, the bell  
Of death beats slow! heard ye the note profound?  
It pauses now: and now, with rising knell,  
Flings through the hollow gale its fallen sound.

Yes, \*\*\* is dead. Attend the strain,  
Daughters of Albion! Ye that, light as air,  
So oft have tript in her fantastic train,  
With hearts as gay, and faces half as fair.

For she was fair beyond your brightest bloom:  
(This envy owns, since now her bloom is fled)  
Fair as the forms that, wove in fancy's loom,  
Float in light vision round the poet's head.

Whene'er with soft serenity she smil'd,  
Or caught the orient blush of quick surprise,  
How sweetly mutable, how brightly wild,  
The liquid lustre darted from her eyes?

Each look, each motion wak'd a new-born grace,  
That o'er her form its transient glory cast:  
Some lovelier wonder soon usurp'd the place,  
Chas'd by a charm still lovelier than the last.

That bell again: It tells us what she is:  
On what she was no more the strain prolong:  
Luxuriant fancy pause; an hour like this  
Demands the tribute of a serious song.

Maria claims it from that sable bier,  
Where cold and wan the slumberer rests her head;  
In still small whispers to reflection's ear,  
She breathes the solemn dictates of the dead.

O catch the awful notes, and lift them loud;  
Proclaim the theme, by sage by fool rever'd;  
Hear it, ye young, ye vain, ye great, ye proud;  
'Tis nature speaks, and nature will be heard.

Yes, ye shall hear, and tremble as ye hear,  
While, high with health, your hearts exulting leap:  
Ev'n in the midst of pleasure's mad career,  
The mental Monitor shall wake and weep.

For say, than \*\*\*'s propitious star,  
What brighter planet on your births arose;



Or gave of fortune's gifts an ampler share,  
In life to lavish, or by death to lose!

Early to lose; while, borne on busy wing,  
Ye sip the nectar of each varying bloom:  
Nor fear, while basking in the beams of spring,  
The wint'ry storm that sweeps you to the tomb.

Think of her fate! revere the heavenly hand  
That led her hence, though seen, by steps so slow;  
Long at her couch death took his patient stand,  
And menac'd oft, and oft with-held the blow:

To give reflection time, with lenient art,  
Each fond delusion from her soul to steal;  
Teach her from folly peaceably to part,  
And wean her from a world she lov'd so well.

Say, are you sure his mercy shall extend  
To you so long a span? Alas, ye sigh:  
Make then, while yet ye may, your God your friend,  
And learn with equal ease to sleep or die!

Nor think the muse, whose sober voice ye hear,  
Contracts with bigot frown her sullen brow;  
Casts round religion's orbs the mists of fear,  
Or shades with horrors what with smiles should glow:

No; she should warm you with seraphic fire,  
Heirs as ye are of heav'n's eternal day;  
Would bid you boldly to that heav'n aspire,  
Nor sink and slumber in your cells of clay.

Know, ye were form'd to range yon azure field,  
In yon ætherial founts of bliss to lave;  
Force thence, secure in Faith's protecting shield,  
The sting from death, the vict'ry from the grave.

Is this the bigot's rant? Away, ye vain,  
Your hopes, your fears in doubt, in dulness sleep:  
Go soothe your souls in sickness, grief, or pain,  
With the sad solace of eternal sleep.

Yet will I praise you, triflers as ye are,  
More than those \* preachers of your fav'rite creed,  
Who proudly swell the brazen throat of war,  
Who from the phalanx bid the battle bleed;

Nor

\* In a book of French verses, entitled *Oeuvres du Philosophe de Sans Souci*, and lately reprinted at Berlin by authority, under the title of *Poésies Diverses*, may be found an epistle to Marshal Keith, written professedly against the immortality



Nor wish for more : who conquer, but to die.

Hear, folly, hear ; and triumph in the tale :

Like you they reason ; not, like you, enjoy

The breeze of bliss that fills your filken sail :

On pleasure's glittering stream ye gaily steer

Your little course to cold oblivion's shore :

They dare the storm, and, thro' th' inclement year

Stem the rough surge, and brave the torrent's roar.

Is it for glory ? that just fate denies.

Long must the warrior moulder in his shroud,  
Ere from her trump the heav'n-born accents rise,

That lift the hero from the fighting crowd.

Is it his grasp of empire to extend,

Ye curb the fury of insulting foes ?

Ambition, cease : the idle contest end :

'Tis but a kingdom thou canst win or lose.

And why must murder'd myriads lose their all,

(If life be all) why desolation low'r,

With famish'd frown, on this affrighted ball,

That thou may'st flame the meteor of an hour ?

Go, wiser ye, that flutter life away,

Crown with the mantling juice the goblet high ;

Weave the light dance with festive freedom gay,

And live your moment, since the next ye die.

Yet know, vain sceptics, know th' Almighty Mind,

Who breath'd on man a portion of his fire,

Bade his free soul, by earth nor time confin'd,

To heav'n, to immortality aspire.

Nor shall the pile of hope, his mercy rear'd,

By vain philosophy be e'er destroy'd :

Eternity, by all or wish'd or fear'd,

Shall be by all or suffer'd or enjoy'd.

Written in 1760.

mortality of the soul. By way of specimen of the whole, take the following lines.

*De l'avenir, cher Keith, jugeons par le passé ;*

*Comme avant que je fusse il n'avoit point pensé,*

*De même, après ma mort, quand toutes mes parties*

*Par la corruption seront anéanties,*

*Par un même destin il ne pensera plus ;*

*Non, rien n'est plus certain, soyons en convaincu, &c.*

It is to this Epistle that the rest of the elegy alludes.



*To a young Nobleman leaving the university. By the same.*

**E**RE yet, ingenious youth, thy steps retire  
From Cam's smooth margin, and the peaceful vale,  
Where Science call'd thee to her studious quire,  
And met thee musing in her cloysters pale;

O! let thy friend (and may he boast the name)  
Breathe from his artless reed one parting lay:  
A lay like this thy earlier virtues claim,  
And this let voluntary friendship pay.

Yet know, the time arrives, the dangerous time,  
When all those virtues, opening now so fair,  
Transplanted to the world's tempestuous clime,  
Must learn each passion's boist'rous breath to bear.

There, if ambition pestilent and pale,  
Or luxury should paint their vernal glow;  
If cold self-interest, with her chilling gale,  
Should blast th' unfolding blossoms ere they blow;

If mimic hues, by art or fashion spread,  
Their genuine simple colouring should supply,  
O! with them may these laureat honours fade;  
And with them (if it can) my friendship die!

Then do not blame, if, though thyself inspire,  
Cautious I strike the panegyric string;  
The muse full oft pursues a meteor fire,  
And, vainly vent'rous, soars on waxen wing.

Too actively awake at Friendship's voice,  
The poet's bosom pours the fervent strain,  
Till sad Reflection blames the haughty choice,  
And oft invokes Oblivion's aid in vain.

Call we the shade of Pope, from the bless'd bower  
Where thron'd he sits with many a tuneful sage;  
Ask, if he ne'er bemoans that hapless hour  
When St. John's name \* illumin'd glory's page?

Ask, if the wretch, who dar'd his mem'ry stain,  
Ask, if his country's, his religion's foe,  
Deserv'd the meed that Marlborough fail'd to gain,  
The deathless meed, he only could bestow?

\* Alluding to this couplet of Mr. Pope's.

“To Cato, Virgil paid one honest line,

“O let my country's friend illumine mine.”



The bard will tell thee, the misguided praise  
 Clouds the celestial sunshine of his breast;  
 Ev'n now, repentant of his erring lays,  
 He heaves a sigh amid the realms of rest.

If Pope through friendship fail'd, indignant view,  
 Yet pity Dryden; hark, whene'er he sings,  
 How adulation drops her courtly dew  
 On titled rhymers, and inglorious kings.

See, from the depths of his exhaustless mine,  
 His glittering stores the tuneful spendthrift throws:  
 Where fear or interest bids, behold they shine;  
 Now grace a Cromwell's, now a Charles's brows.

Born with too generous, or too mean a heart,  
 Dryden! in vain to thee those stores were lent:  
 Thy sweetest numbers but a trifling art;  
 Thy strongest diction idly eloquent.

The simplest lyre, if truth directs its lays,  
 Warbles a melody ne'er heard from thine.  
 Not to disgust with false, or venal praise,  
 Was Parnell's modest fame, and may be mine;

Go then, my friend, nor let thy candid breast  
 Condemn me, if I check the plausive string;  
 Go to the wayward world; complete the rest;  
 Be, what the purest muse would wish to sing.

Be still thyself; that open path of truth,  
 Which led thee here, let manhood firm pursue;  
 Return the sweet simplicity of youth,  
 And all thy virtue dictates, dare to do.

Still scorn, with conscious pride, the mask of art;  
 On vice's front let fearful caution lour,  
 And teach the diffident, discreeter part  
 Of knaves that plot, and fools that fawn for power.

So round thy brow, when age's honours spread,  
 When Death's cold hand unstrings thy Mason's lyre,  
 When the green turf lies lightly on his head,  
 Thy worth shall some superior bard inspire.

He to the amplest bounds of time's domain,  
 On rapture's plume shall give thy name to fly;  
 For trust, with reverence trust this \* *Sabine* strain:  
 "The muse forbids the virtuous man to die."

\* *Dignum laude virum musa vetat mori.*



INCONSTANCY, *an irregular ODE.*

VARIUM ET MUTABILE.

I.

WHAT form is that, whose loose light vest,  
 Borne on the restless gale,  
 Quick-glancing seems successively possess'd  
 Of brighter tints than paint the peacock's tail?  
 See, as it undulates in air,  
 And wantons in the solar blaze,  
 Not so refulgent do the plumes appear,  
 Which in his radiant orb that beauteous bird displays;  
 Save me! oh! save me, from her wiles,  
 For surely 'tis a deity  
 Born of the shifting wind and faithless sea,  
 Who daily multitudes beguiles,  
 On earth yclep'd Inconstancy.

2.

It is, it is; else wherefore glows  
 That changeful crescent on her brows?  
 Else wherefore see we on her hand  
 That colour-varying creature stand  
 (As 'twere upon his proper throne)  
 The air-sustain'd cameleon?  
 Else wherefore, say, that wayward mien,  
 Where transient gladness smiles awhile,  
 To teach us mourn its vanish'd smile,  
 When *Sorrow saddens o'er* the scene?  
 Else wherefore to an ice-form'd sphere  
 Trusts she, so bold, her ticklish tread?  
 More safely stands the mariner  
 On the tall galley's top-mast head,  
 When ruffling tempests rouse old Ocean from his bed.

3.

This deity's delusive art  
 Oft dips in anguish Cupid's dart:  
 Then let it strike or nymph or swain,  
 In turn you hear them both complain  
 "Of slighted vows and cold disdain."  
 Sworn enemy to mutual love,  
 It teaches youthful hearts to rove,  
 Warns them fidelity to shun,  
 Derides, as tasteless, truth to one.

}



Bids them take pattern from the roving bee,  
And mocks the constant turtle's plaintive melody.

4.

Yet deals she not her partial pains  
Alone to the love-stricken breast,  
No ——— in the gaudy court she reigns,  
And breaks the fav'rite's rest :  
For ere to-morrow Phœbus seeks the west,  
Cold compliments and alter'd looks too late,  
Should teach him how to estimate  
The fleeting favours of the envied great.

5.

Here all thy torments spend, shed all thy store  
Of ills on this detested servile race,  
Wretches who wear a project-serving face,  
They feel their just reward, and feel no more.  
But from each *biting blast* that blows,  
That *blossom guard* which humbly grows,  
In *Friendship's* soft'ring ray.  
Oh ! let me shade this *beauteous* flower,  
From the dread influence of thy power,  
By open-handed Faith, unknowing to betray.

6.

Yet what avails, Sincerity !  
Thy tongue's strict commerce with thy heart,  
Thy carriage undisguis'd and free ?  
Since Calumny's insidious art  
Can whisper in Affection's ear,  
Fallhoods injurious and severe ;  
Can Discord sow in Friendship's soil,  
And smile at her successful toil !  
Can mark with ecstasy the alter'd eye,  
And sweet speech chang'd to taunting, sharp reply.

7.

But why repine ? since nought we see  
On earth but instability :  
Health, riches, beauty, power, and all  
That sublunary bliss we call,  
Sits wav'ring like the thistle's crown,  
Of light and vegetable down,  
Whose plummy globe the gentlest gales impair,  
Unseat its winged seeds, and scatters them in air.—



From the same.

*Felices animæ quibus hæc cognoscere primis,  
Inque domos superas scandere, cura fuit.  
Credibile est illas, pariter vitiisque locisque.  
Altius humanis, exeruisse caput.*

OVID. FAST.

**W**HILE clear the night, and every thought serene,  
Let fancy wander o'er the solemn scene :  
And, wing'd by active contemplation, rise  
Amidst the radiant wonders of the skies.

Here Cassiopeia fills a lucid throne,  
There blaze the splendors of the Northern crown:  
While the slow car the cold Triones roll  
O'er the pale countries of the frozen pole,  
With faithful beams conduct the wand'ring ship  
O'er the wide desert of the pathless deep.  
Throughout the Galaxy's extended line,  
Unnumber'd orbs in gay confusion shine :  
Where ev'ry star that gilds the gloom of night,  
With the faint tremblings of a distant light,  
Perhaps illumines some system of its own  
With the strong influence of a radiant sun.

Plac'd on the verge, which Titan's realm confines,  
The slow-revolving orb of Saturn shines :  
Where the bright pow'r whose near approaching ray  
Gilds our gay climates with the blaze of day,  
On those dark regions glimmers from afar,  
With the pale lustre of a twinkling star.  
While, glowing with unmitigated day,  
The nearer planets roll their rapid way.

Let stupid atheists boast th' atomic dance,  
And call these beauteous worlds the work of chance ;  
But nobler minds, from guilt and passion free,  
Where truth unclouded darts her heav'nly ray,  
Or on the earth, or in the æthereal road,  
Survey the footsteps of a ruling God ;  
Sole Lord of nature's universal frame ;  
Thro' endless years unchangeably the same ;  
Whose presence, unconfin'd by time or place,  
Fills all the vast immensity of space.  
He saw while matter yet a chaos lay :  
The shapeless chaos own'd his potent sway.  
His single Fiat form'd th' amazing whole,  
And taught the new-born planets where to roll :



With wise direction curv'd their steady course,  
 Impress'd the central and projectile force,  
 Left in one mass their orbs confus'd should run,  
 Drawn by th' attractive virtue of the sun,  
 Or quit th' harmonious round, and wildly stray  
 Beyond the limits of his genial ray.

To thee, Endymion, I devote my song;  
 To minds like thee these subjects best belong;  
 Whose curious thoughts, with active freedom, soar,  
 And trace the wonders of creating pow'r.  
 For this, some nobler pen shall speak thy fame;  
 But let the muse indulge a gentler theme,  
 While pleas'd she tells thy more engaging part,  
 Thy social temper and diffusive heart.  
 Unless these charms their soft'ning aid bestow,  
 Science turns pride, and common wit a foe.

*On reading Miss CARTER's Poems in MS. By Lord LYTTELTON.*

SUCH were the notes, that struck the wond'ring ear  
 Of silent night, when, on the verdant banks  
 Of Siloe's hallow'd brook, celestial harps,  
 According to seraphic voices, sung  
*Glory to God on high, and on the earth*  
*Peace and good-will to men!*—Resume the lyre,  
 Chauntress divine, and ev'ry Briton call  
 Its melody to hear—so shall thy strains,  
 More pow'rful than the song of Orpheus, tame  
 The savage heart of brutal vice, and bend  
 At pure Religion's shrine the stubborn knees  
 Of bold Impiety.—Greece shall no more  
 Of Lesbian Sappho boast, whose wanton muse,  
 Like a false syren, while she charm'd, seduc'd  
 To guilt and ruin. For the sacred head  
 Of Britain's poetess, the virtues twine  
 A nobler wreath, by them from Eden's grove  
 Unfading gather'd, and direct the hand  
 Of ——— to fix it on her brows.

VERSES by Sir WALTER RALEIGH.

G OE, foul, the bodyes guesse,  
 Upon a thankless arrante,  
 Fear not to touch the beste,  
 The truth shall be thy warrante.  
 Goe, since I needs must die,  
 And give them all the lye.

Goe,



Goe, tell the court it glowse,  
 And shines like painted wood ;  
 Goe, tell the church it shoves  
 What's good, does no good.  
 If court and church replye,  
 Give court and church the lye.

Tell potentates, they live  
 Actinge, but oh ! their actions  
 Not lov'd unless they give !  
 Not strong, but by their factions.  
 If potentates replye,  
 Give potentates the lye.

Tell me not of high condition,  
 That rule affairs of state,  
 There purpose is ambition,  
 There practice only hate.  
 And if they do replye,  
 Then give them all the lye.

Tell those that brave it moste,  
 They begge more by spendinge ;  
 Who, in their greatest coste,  
 Seek nothinge but commendinge.  
 And if they make replye,  
 Then give them all the lye.

Tell zeal it lacks devotion ;  
 Tell love it is but luste ;  
 Tell time it is but motion ;  
 Tell flesh it is but duste.  
 And wish them to replye,  
 For thou must give the lye.

Tell age it daily wasteth ;  
 Tell honour how it alters ;  
 Tell beawty that it blasteth ;  
 Tell favour that she falters.  
 And as they do replye,  
 Give every one the lye.

Tell wit how much it wrangles  
 In fickle points of niceness ;  
 Tell wisdom she entangles  
 Herself in over-wisenes.  
 And if they do replye,  
 Then give them both the lye.



Tell physick of her boldness ;

Tell skill it is pretension ;

Tell charety of coldness ;

Tell law it is contention.

And if they yield replye,

Then give them still the lye.

Tell fortune of her blindness ;

Tell nature of decay ;

Tell friendship of unkindness ;

Tell justice of delay.

And if they do replye,

Then give them all the lye.

Tell arts they have no soundness,

But vary by esteeming ;

Tell skollers lack profoundness,

And stand too much on seeming.

If artes and skollers replye,

Give artes and skollers the lye.

Tell faith it's fled the cittye ;

Tell how the country errethe ;

Tell manhood shakes of pytie,

Tell virtue least preferreth.

And if they do replye,

Spare not to give the lye.

So when thou hast, as I

Commanded thee, done blabbing ;

Althoughe to give the lye

Deserves no less than stabbing ;

Yet stabb at the whose will,

No stabb the soul can kill.

*An Imitation from the Spectator. By Mr. ROBERT LLOYD.*

A Month hath roll'd its lazy hours away,  
 Since Delia's presence blest'd her longing swain :  
 How could he brook the sluggish time's delay,  
 What charm could soften such an age of pain ?

One fond reflection still his bosom cheer'd,  
 And sooth'd the torments of a lover's care,  
 'Twas that for Delia's self the bow'r he rear'd,  
 And fancy plac'd the nymph already there.

O come, dear maid, and with a gentle smile,  
 Such as lights up my lovely fair one's face,  
 Survey the product of the shepherd's toil,  
 Nor rob the villa of the villa's grace.

Whate'er



Whate'er improvements strike thy curious sight,  
 Thy taste hath form'd—let me not call it mine,  
 Since when I muse on thee, and feed delight,  
 I form no thought that is not wholly thine.  
 Th' apartments destin'd for my charmer's use  
 (For love in trifles is conspicuous shewn)  
 Can scarce an object to thy view produce,  
 But bears the dear resemblance of thine own.  
 And trust me, love, I could almost believe  
 This little spot the mansion of my fair ;  
 But that, awak'd from fancy's dreams, I grieve  
 To find its proper owner is not there.  
 Oh ! I could doat upon the rural scene,  
 Its prospect over hill and champaign wide,  
 But that it marks the tedious way between,  
 That parts thy Damon from his promis'd bride.  
 The gardens now pour forth their blossoms sweet,  
 In Nature's flow'ry mantle gaily drest ;  
 The close-trimm'd hedge, and circling border neat,  
 All ask my Delia for their dearest guest.  
 The lily pale, the purple blushing rose,  
 In this fair spot their mingled beauties join ;  
 The woodbine here its curling tendrils throws,  
 In wreaths fantastic round the mantling vine.  
 The branching arbour here for lovers made,  
 For dalliance meet, or song, or amorous tale,  
 Shall oft protect us with its cooling shade,  
 When sultry Phœbus burns the lonely vale.  
 'Tis all another paradise around,  
 And, trust me, so it would appear to me,  
 Like the first man, were I not lonely found,  
 And but half blest'd, my Delia, wanting thee.  
 For two, but two, I've form'd a lonely walk,  
 And I have call'd it by my fair one's name ;  
 How blest with thee, t'enjoy thy pleasing talk,  
 While fools and madmen bow the knee to fame !  
 The rustic path already I have try'd,  
 Oft at the sinking of the setting day ;  
 And while, my love, I thought thee by my side,  
 With careful steps have worn its edge away.  
 With thee I've held discourse, how passing sweet !  
 While fancy brought thee to my raptur'd dream,  
 With thee have prattled in my lone retreat,  
 And talk'd down suns, on love's delicious theme.



Oft as I wander thro' the rustic crowd,  
 Musing with downcast look, and folded arms,  
 They stare with wonder, when I rave aloud,  
 And dwell with rapture on thy artless charms.  
 They call me mad, and oft, with finger rude,  
 Point at me leering, as I heedless pass;  
 Yet Colin knows the cause; for love is shrewd,  
 And the young shepherd courts the farmer's lass.  
 Among the fruits that grace this little seat,  
 And all around their clust'ring foliage spread,  
 Here may'st thou cull the peach, or nest'rine sweet,  
 And pluck the strawberry from its native bed.  
 And all along the river's verdant side  
 I've planted elms, which rise in even row;  
 And fling their lofty branches far and wide,  
 Which float reflected on the lake below.  
 Since I've been absent from my lovely fair,  
 Imagination forms a thousand schemes;  
 For O! my Delia, thou art all my care,  
 And all with me is love and golden dreams.  
 O flattering promise of secure delight!  
 When will the lazy pacing hours be o'er?  
 That I may fly with rapture to thy sight,  
 And we shall meet again, to part no more.

*To a Lady before Marriage. By the late ingenious Mr. TICKEL. Not  
 published in his Works.*

O H! form'd by nature, and refin'd by art,  
 With charms to win, and sense to fix the heart!  
 By thousands sought, Clotilda, canst thou free  
 Thy crowd of captives, and descend to me?  
 Content in shades obscure to waste thy life,  
 A hidden beauty, and a country-wife.  
 O! listen while thy summers are my theme,  
 Ah! sooth thy partner in his waking dream!  
 In some small hamlet on the lonely plain,  
 Where Thames, thro' meadows, rolls his mazy train;  
 Or where high Windfor, thick with greens array'd,  
 Waves his old oaks, and spread his ample shade,  
 Fancy has figur'd out our calm retreat;  
 Already round the visionary seat  
 Our limes begin to shoot, our flowers to spring,  
 The brooks to murmur, and the birds to sing,  
 Where dost thou lie, thou thinly-peopled green?  
 Thou nameless lawn, and village yet unseen?

Where



Where sons, contented with their native ground,  
Ne'er travell'd further than ten furlongs round ;  
And the tann'd peasant, and his ruddy bride,  
Were born together, and together died.  
Where early larks best tell the morning light,  
And only Philomel disturbs the night,  
'Midst gardens here my humble pile shall rise,  
With sweets surrounded of ten thousand dies ;  
All savage where th' embroider'd gardens end ;  
The haunt of echoes shall my woods ascend ;  
And oh ! if Heav'n th' ambitious thought approve,  
A rill shall warble cross the gloomy grove,  
A little rill, o'er pebbly beds convey'd,  
Gush down the steep, and glitter thro' the glade.  
What cheering scents those bord'ring banks exhale !  
How loud that heifer lows from yonder vale !  
That thrush, how shrill ! his note so clear, so high,  
He drowns each feather'd minstrel of the sky.  
Here let me trace, beneath the purpled morn,  
The deep-mouth'd beagle, and the sprightly horn ;  
Or lure the trout with well-dissembled flies,  
Or fetch the flutt'ring partridge from the skies,  
Nor shall thy hand disdain to crop the vine,  
The downy peach, or flavour'd nectarine ;  
Or rob the bee-hive of its golden hoard,  
And bear th' unbought luxuriance to thy board.  
Sometimes my books by day shall kill the hours,  
While from thy needle rise the silken flow'rs,  
And thou by turns, to ease my feeble sight,  
Resume the volume, and deceive the night.  
Oh ! when I mark thy twinkling eyes oppress'd,  
Soft whisp'ring, let me warn my love to rest ;  
Then watch thee, charm'd, while sleep locks every sense,  
And to sweet Heav'n commend thy innocence.  
Thus reign'd our fathers o'er the rural fold,  
Wise, hale, and honest, in the days of old ;  
Till courts arose, where substance pays for show,  
And specious joys are bought with real woe.  
See Flavia's pendants, large, well spread, and right,  
The ear that wears them hears a fool each night :  
Mark how th' embroider'd col'nel sneaks away,  
To shun the with'ring dame that made him gay ;  
That knave, to gain a title, lost his fame ;  
That rais'd his credit by a daughter's shame ;  
This coxcomb's ribband cost him half his land,  
And oaks, unnumber'd, bought that fool a wand.  
Fond man, as all his sorrows were too few,  
Acquires strange wants that nature never knew.



By midnight-lamps he emulates the day,  
 And sleeps, perverse, the cheerful suns away;  
 From goblets, high emboss'd, his wine must glide,  
 Round his clos'd sight the gorgeous curtain slide;  
 Fruits, ere their time, to grace his pomp must rise,  
 And three untasted courses glut his eyes.  
 For this are nature's gentle calls withstood,  
 The voice of conscience, and the bonds of blood;  
 This wisdom thy reward for ev'ry pain,  
 And this gay glory all thy mighty gain?  
 Fair phantoms woo'd and scorn'd from age to age,  
 Since bards began to laugh, or priests to rage.  
 And yet, just curse on man's aspiring kind,  
 Prone to ambition, to example blind,  
 Our children's children shall our steps pursue,  
 And the same errors be for ever new.  
 Mean while, in hope a guiltless country swain,  
 My reed with warblings cheers th' imagin'd plain.  
 Hail humble shades, where truth and silence dwell!  
 Thou noisy town, and faithless court, farewell!  
 Farewell ambition, once my darling flame!  
 The thirst of lucre, and the charm of fame!  
 In life's bye-road, that winds thro' paths unknown,  
 My days, tho' number'd, shall be all my own.  
 Here shall they end, (O might they twice begin!)  
 And all be white the fates intend to spin.

A PRAYER *for* INDIFFERENCE. *By Mrs. G—.*

*Found in Richmond Gardens.*

OF T I've implor'd the gods in vain,  
 And pray'd till I've been weary;  
 For once I'll strive my wish to gain  
 Of Oberon, the fairy.

Sweet airy being, wanton sprite,  
 Who liv'st in woods unseen,  
 And oft by Cynthia's silver light,  
 Tripp'd gaily o'er the green;

If e'er thy pitying heart was mov'd,  
 (As antient stories tell)

And for th' Athenian maid, who lov'd,  
 Thou sought'st a wond'rous spell;

Oh! deign once more t' exert thy pow'r;  
 Haply some herb or tree,

Sov'reign as juice from western flow'r,  
 Conceals a balm for me.



I ask no kind return in love,  
No tempting charm to please ;  
Far from that heart such gifts remove,  
Which fights for peace and ease.  
Nor ease, nor peace, that heart can know,  
That, like the needle true,  
Turns at the touch of joy or woe,  
But, turning, trembles too.  
For as distress the soul can wound,  
'Tis plain in each degree ;  
Bliss goes but to a certain bound,  
Beyond 'tis agony.  
Then take this treacherous sense of mine,  
Which dooms me still to *smart* ;  
Which pleasure can to pain refine,  
To pain new pangs impart !  
Oh ! haste to shed the sov'reign balm,  
My shatter'd nerves new string ;  
And for my guest, serenely calm,  
The nymph, Indifference, bring !  
At her approach, see hope, see fear,  
See expectation fly ;  
With disappointment, in the rear,  
That blasts the purpos'd joy.  
The tears which pity taught to flow,  
My eyes shall then disown ;  
The heart which throb'd for other's woe  
Shall then scarce feel its own.  
The wounds which now each moment bleed,  
Each moment then shall close ;  
And peaceful days shall still succeed  
To nights of sweet repose.  
Oh, fairy elf ! but grant me this,  
This one kind comfort send ;  
And so may never-fading bliss  
Thy flowery paths attend !  
So may the glow-worm's glimmering light  
Thy tiny footsteps lead,  
To some new region of delight,  
Unknown to mortal tread.



## GENIUS, ENVY, and TIME.

*Addressed to WILLIAM HOGARTH, Esq; by Mr. LLOYD.*

**I**N all professionary skill,  
 There never was, or ever will  
 Be excellent, or exhibition,  
 But fools are up in opposition :  
 Each letter'd, grave, pedantic dunce,  
 Wakes from his lethargy at once,  
 Shrugs, shakes his head, and rubs his eyes,  
 And, being dull, looks wondrous wise,  
 With solemn phiz, and critic scowl,  
 The wisdom of his brother owl.  
 These observations, rather stale,  
 May borrow spirit from a tale.

GENIUS, a buffling lad of parts,  
 Who all things did by fits and starts,  
 Nothing above him or below him,  
 Would make a riot or a poem,  
 From excentricity of thought  
 Not always do the thing he ought :  
 But, was it once his own election,  
 Would bring all matters to perfection :  
 Would act, design, engrave, write, paint,  
 But *neither* from the least constraint ;  
 Who hated all pedantic schools,  
 And scorn'd the gloss of knowing fools,  
 That hold perfection all in all,  
 Yet treat it as *mechanical*,  
 And give the same sufficient rule  
 To make a poem as a stool.—  
 From the first spring-time of his youth  
 Was downright worshipper of truth ;  
 And, with a free and liberal spirit,  
 His courtship paid to Lady MERIT.

ENVY, a squint-ey'd, mere old maid,  
 Well known among the scribbling trade ;  
 A hag, so very, very thin,  
 Her bones peep'd thro' her bladder-skin ;  
 Who could not for her soul abide  
 That folks should praise, where she must chide,  
 Follow'd the youth where e'er he went,  
 To mar each good and brave intent ;  
 Would lies, and plots, and mischief hatch,  
 To ruin *him*, and spoil the match.

Honour



Honour she held at bold defiance,  
 Talk'd much of *faction*, gang, alliance,  
 As if the real sons of taste  
 Had clubb'd to lay a *desert* waste.

In short, where-ever GENIUS came  
 You'd find this antiquated dame;  
 Whate'er he did, where-e'er he went,  
 She follow'd only to torment;  
 Call'd MERIT by a thousand names,  
 Which decency of truth disclaims;  
 While all her bus'ness, toil, and care,  
 Was to depreciate, lie, compare,  
 To pull the modish maiden down,  
 And blast her fame to all the town.

The youth, inflam'd with conscious pride,  
 To prince POSTERITY apply'd,  
 Who gave his answer thus in rhyme,  
 By his chief minister, old TIME.

‘ Repine not at what pedants say,  
 ‘ We'll bring thee forward on thy way;  
 ‘ If wither'd ENVY strives to hurt  
 ‘ With lies, with impudence and dirt,  
 ‘ You only pay a common tax,  
 ‘ Which fool, and knave, and dunce exacts.  
 ‘ Be this thy comfort, this thy joy,  
 ‘ Thy strength is in its prime, my boy,  
 ‘ And ev'ry year thy vigour grows,  
 ‘ Impairs the credit of thy foes.  
 ‘ ENVY shall sink, and be no more  
 ‘ Than what her Naiads were before;  
 ‘ Mere excremental maggots, bred  
 ‘ In poet's topsy-turvy head,  
 ‘ Born, like a momentary fly,  
 ‘ To flutter, buzz about, and die.

‘ Yet, GENIUS, mark what I presage,  
 ‘ Who look thro' ev'ry distant age:  
 ‘ MERIT shall bless thee with her charms,  
 ‘ FAME lift thy offspring in her arms,  
 ‘ And stamp eternity of grace  
 ‘ On all thy numerous, various race.  
 ‘ Roubiliac, Wilton, names as high  
 ‘ As Phidias of antiquity,  
 ‘ Shall strength, expression, manner, give,  
 ‘ And make e'en marble breathe and live;  
 ‘ While SIGISMUNDA's deep distress,  
 ‘ Which looks the soul of wretchedness,

‘ When



- When I with flow and soft'ning pen
- Have gone o'er all the tints again,
- Shall urge a bold and proper claim
- To level half the ancient fame :
- While future ages, yet unknown,
- With critic air shall proudly own
- Thy Hogarth, first of ev'ry clime,
- For humour keen or strong sublime ;
- And hail him, from his fire and spirit,
- The child of GENIUS and of MERIT.²

Lib. IV. Ode 3. HORACE.

- (1) *QUEM* tu, Melpomene, semel  
*Nascentem placido lumine videris,*  
*Illum non labor Isthmius*  
 (3) *Clarabit pugilem ; non equus impiger*  
*Curru ducet Achaïco*  
 (2) *Victorem ; neque res bellica Deliis*  
*Ornatum foliis ducem,*  
*Ostendet capitolio.*  
 (4) *Sed quæ Tibur aquæ fertile perfluunt,*  
*Et spissæ nemorum comæ,*  
*Fingent Æolio carmine nobilem.*  
*Romæ principis urbium*  
*Dignatur soboles inter amabiles*  
 (5) *Vatum ponere me choros,*  
*Et jam dente minus mordeor invido.*  
*O ! testudinis aureæ*  
 (6) *Dulcem quæ strepitum, Pieri, temperas !*  
 (7) *O ! mutis quoque piscibus*  
*Donatura cygni, si libeat, sonum !*  
 (7) *Totum hoc muneris tui est,*  
*Quod monstror digito prætereuntium,*  
*Romanæ fidicen Lyra :*  
 (7) *Quod spiro, et placeo, si placeo, tuum est.*

IMITATED.

- (1) **T**HE youth, whose birth the sisters twain  
 Who o'er the sock and buskin reign,  
 View with propitious eye ;  
 Will at their altars always serve,  
 Will never from their dictates swerve,  
 Their slave will live and die.



Bless'd in his lot, for other things,  
The pride of wealth, the pow'r of kings,

He offers up no pray'rs ;

(2) Heroes unenvying can see,  
Not Prussia's king desires to be,  
Or any king—but *theirs*.

(3) The rapid steed he'll ne'er bestride,  
With lords for wagers proud to ride,

Newmarket plains adorning ;

At Arthur's he takes no delight,  
To pass at dice the sleepless night,  
And be undone by morning.

In senates he seeks not to sit,  
And hear, amaz'd, persuasive Pitt  
Govern the high debate ;

In Westminster's long sounding hall  
He ne'er expects a *serjeant's call*,  
Nor hopes to rival Pratt.

Though ministers can places give  
To those who in their creed believe,  
No such he puts his trust in ;

Content, in tatters though he goes,  
Content to want a pair of shoes,  
So he but wear the buskin.

Him, if his fire to *mercator* binds,  
He gives th' indentures to the winds,  
Disdaining to sell *camlet* ;

(4) Away he hies to Drury-lane,  
Calls his old father *Royal Dane*,  
And thinks himself prince Hamlet.

(5) Where Garrick with judicious art  
Charms ev'ry ear, wins ev'ry heart,  
And *acts* like one inspir'd ;

There the fond youth puts in his claim,  
Aspires to reach his mighty fame,  
And be, like him, admir'd.

Like him, whose skill upon the stage  
(6) Can make the dullest scenes engage,  
And thousands come to hear 'em :

(6) He e'en to ———s could spirit give,  
Nine tedious nights could make them live ;  
Without him who could bear 'em ?



Full many a youth and many a maid,  
 (7) Whose name in play-house-bills display'd,  
       Shine proudly through the town;  
 (7) Their tragic rage, their comic ease,  
 Derive from him; and *if* they please,  
 (7) They please from him alone.

R. B.

BEAUTY *and* FASHION. A REPARTEE.

*Mille habet ornatus, mille decentur habet.* TIE.

SAYS *Beauty* to *Fashion*, as they sat at the toilette,  
 “ If I give you a charm, you surely will spoil it;  
 When you take it in hand, there's such murth'ring and mangling,  
 'Tis so metamorphos'd by your fiddling and fangling,  
 That I scarce know my own, when I meet it again,  
 Such changelings you make both of women and men.

To confirm what I say, look at Phryne, or Phillis,  
 I'm sure that I give 'em good roses and lilies:  
 Now what have you done?—Let the world be the judge:  
 Why, you daub 'em all over with cold cream and rouge,  
 That, like *Thïsbe* in *Ovid*, one cannot come at 'em,  
 Unless thro' a mud-wall of paint and pomatum.

And as to your dress, one would think you quite mad,  
 From the head to the heel it is all masquerade;  
 With your flounces and furbelows, sacks, trollopees,  
 Now sweeping the ground, and now up to your knees,  
 Your pinking, and crimping, and cheveux de frize,  
 And all the fantastical cuts of the mode,  
 You look like a bedlamite, ragged and proud!

Then of late you're so fickle, that few people mind you;  
 For my part, I never can tell where to find you:  
 Now dress'd in a cap, now naked in none,  
 Now loose in a mob, now close in a Joan;  
 Without handkerchief now, and now buried in ruff,  
 Now plain as a quaker, now all of a puff:  
 Now a shape in neat stays, now a flattern in jumps,  
 Now high in French heels, now low in your pumps:  
 Now monstrous in hoop, now trapish, and walking  
 With your petticoats clung to your heels, like a malkin;  
 Like the cock on the tower, that shews you the weather,  
 You are hardly the same for two days together.”

Thus *Beauty* begun, and *Miss Fashion* reply'd,  
 “ Who does most for the sex?—Let it fairly be try'd,  
 And they that look round 'em will presently see,  
 They're much less beholden to you than to me:  
 I grant it, indeed, mighty favours you boast,  
 But how scanty your favours, how scarce is a toast?

A shape,



A shape, a complexion, you confer now and then,  
 But to one that you give, you refuse it to ten;  
 In one you succeed, in another you fail,  
 Here your rose is too red, there your lily's too pale;  
 Or some feature or other is always amiss:  
 And pray, let me know, when you finish'd a piece,  
 But what I was oblig'd to correct, or touch over,  
 Or you never would have either husband or lover?  
 For I hope, my fair lady, you do not forget,  
 Though you find the thread, that 'tis I make the net;  
 And say what you please, it must be allow'd,  
 That a woman is nothing, unless a-la-mode;  
 Neglected she lives, and no beauty avails,  
 For what is a ship without rigging or sails?  
 Like the diamonds when rough, are the charms you bestow;  
 But mine is the setting and polishing too.  
 Your nymphs, with their shapes, their complexions, and features,  
 What are they without me, but poor awkward creatures?  
 The rout, the assembly, the playhouse will tell,  
 'Tis I form the beau, and I finish the belle:  
 'Tis by me that these beauties must all be supply'd,  
 Which time has withdrawn, or which you have deny'd:  
 Impartial to all, did not I lend my aid,  
 Both Venus and Cupid might throw up their trade,  
 And even your ladyship die an old maid."

### *The* P U P P E T - S H O W.

*from the posthumous Volumes of the Writings of the late Dr. SWIFT,  
 and his Friends, lately published.*

**T**HE life of man to represent,  
 And turn it all to ridicule,  
 Wit did a *puppet-show* invent,  
 Where the chief actor is a fool.  
 The gods of old were logs of wood,  
 And worship was to *puppets* paid;  
 In antic dress the idol stood,  
 And priests and people bow'd the head.  
 No wonder then, if art began  
 The simple votaries to frame,  
 To shape in *timber* foolish man,  
 And consecrate the *block* to fame,  
 From hence poetic fancy learn'd  
 That trees might rise from human forms,  
 The body to a trunk be turn'd,  
 And branches issue from the arms.



Thus Dædalus, and Ovid too,  
 That man's a blockhead have confest;  
 Powel and Stretch\* the hint pursue:  
 Life is a farce, the world a jest.  
 The same great truth South-sea hath prov'd  
 On that fam'd theatre, the *alley*,  
 Where thousands, by directors mov'd,  
 Are now sad monuments of folly.  
 What Momus was of old to Jove,  
 The same a *harlequin* is now;  
 The former was *buffoon* above,  
 The latter is a *punch* below.  
 This fleeting scene is but a stage,  
 Where various images appear,  
 In different parts of youth and age,  
 Alike the prince and peasant share.  
 Some draw our eyes by being great,  
 False pomp conceals mere wood within,  
 And legislators rang'd in state  
 Are oft but wisdom in machine.  
 A stork may chance to wear a crown,  
 And timber as a lord take place;  
 A statue may put on a frown,  
 And cheat us with a thinking face.  
 Others are blindly led away,  
 And made to act for ends unknown;  
 By the mere spring of wires they play,  
 And speak in language not their own.  
 Too oft, alas! a scolding wife  
 Usurps a jolly fellow's throne;  
 And many drink the cup of life,  
 Mix'd and embitter'd by a Joan.  
 In short, whatever men pursue  
 Of pleasure, folly, war, or love;  
 This mimic race brings all to view,  
 Alike they dress, they talk, they move.  
 Go on, great Stretch, with artful hand,  
 Mortals to please and to deride;  
 And when death breaks thy vital band,  
 Thou shalt put on a *puppet's* pride.  
 Thou shalt in puny wood be shown,  
 Thy image shall preserve thy fame;  
 Ages to come thy worth shall own,  
 Point at thy limbs, and tell thy name.

\* Two puppet-show men.



Tell Tom he draws a *farce* in vain,  
 Before he looks in nature's glass;  
*Puns* cannot form a witty scene,  
 Nor *pedantry* for humour pass.

To make men act as senseless wood,  
 And chatter in a mystic strain,  
 Is a mere force on flesh and blood,  
 And shews some error in the brain.

He that would thus refine on thee,  
 And turn thy stage into a school,  
 The jest of *punch* will ever be,  
 And stand confess'd the greater fool.

### PROLOGUE *upon* PROLOGUES.

*Written by Mr. GARRICK.*

**A**N old trite proverb let me quote!  
 As is your cloth, so cut your coat.—  
 To suit our *author* and his *farce*,  
*Short* let me be! for wit is scarce.  
 Nor would I shew it, had I any,  
 The reasons why are strong and many.  
 Should I have wit, the piece have none,  
 A flash in pan with empty gun,  
 The piece is sure to be undone.  
 A tavern with a gaudy sign,  
 Whose bush is better than the wine,  
 May cheat you once.—Will that device,  
*Neat as Imported*, cheat you twice?

'Tis wrong to raise your expectations:  
 Poets be dull in dedications!

Dullness in these to wit prefer—  
 But *there* indeed you seldom err.

In prologues, prefaces, be flat!  
 A silver button spoils your hat.

A thread-bare coat might jokes escape,  
 Did not the blockheads lace the cape.

A case in point to this before ye,  
 Allow me, pray, to tell a story!

To turn the penny, once, a wit  
 Upon a curious fancy hit;

Hung out a board, on which he boasted,

*Dinner for THREE-PENCE! Boil'd and roasted!*

The hungry read, and in they trip,

With eager eye and smacking lip:

“Here, bring this boil'd and roasted, pray!”

—Enter POTATOES—dress'd *each way*.



All star'd and rose, the house forsook,  
 And damn'd the dinner—kick'd the cook;  
 My landlord found (poor *Patrick Kelly*)  
 There was no joking with the belly.

These facts laid down, then thus I reason:  
 —Wit in a prologue's out of season—  
 Yet still will you for jokes sit watching,  
 Like *Cock-Lane* folks for *Fanny's* scratching?  
 And here my simile's so fit,  
 For *Prologues* are but *Ghosts* of wit,  
 Which mean to shew their art and skill,  
 And scratch you to their *Author's* will.

In short, for reasons great and small,  
 'Tis better to have none at all:  
*Prologues* and *Ghosts*—a paltry trade,  
 So let them both at once be *laid*!  
 Say but the word—give your commands—  
 We'll tie our Prologue-monger's hands:  
 Confine these culprits (*holding up his hands*) bind 'em tight,  
 Nor *Girls* can *scratch*, nor *Fools* can write.

Mr. FOOTER'S *Address to the Public.*

*After a Prosecution against him for a Libel.*

HUSH! let me search before I speak aloud—  
 Is no informer skulking in the crowd?  
 With art laconic noting all that's said,  
 Malice at heart, indictments in his head,  
 Prepar'd to levy all the legal war,  
 And rouse the clamorous legions of the bar!  
 Is there none such?—not one?—then; *entre nous*,  
 I will a tale unfold, tho' strange, yet true;  
 The application must be made by you.

At *Athens* once, fair queen of arms and arts,  
 There dwelt a citizen of moderate parts;  
 Precise his manner, and demure his looks,  
 His mind unletter'd, though he dealt in books;  
 Amorous, tho' old: tho' dull, lov'd repartee;  
 And penn'd a paragraph most daintily:  
 He aim'd at purity in all he said,  
 And never once omitted *eth* nor *ed*;  
 In *bath*, and *doth*, was rarely known to fail,  
 Himself the hero of each little tale.

With



With wits and lords this man was much delighted,  
And once (it has been said) was near being knighted.

One *Aristophanes* (a wicked wit,  
Who never heeded grace in what he writ)  
Had mark'd the manner of this *Grecian* sage,  
And thinking him a subject for the stage,  
Had from the lumber cull'd, with curious care,  
His voice, his looks, his gesture, gait, and air,  
His affectation, consequence, and mien,  
And boldly launch'd him on the comic scene;  
Loud peals of plaudits through the circle ran,  
All felt the satire, for all knew the man.

Then *Peter*—*Petros* was his classic name,  
Fearing the loss of dignity and fame,  
To a grave lawyer in a hurry flies,  
Opens his purse, and begs his best advice.  
The fee secur'd, the lawyer strokes his band,  
“ The case you put I fully understand;  
“ The thing is plain from *Coco's* reports,  
“ For rules of poetry an't rules of courts:  
“ A libel this—I'll make the mummer know it.”  
A *Grecian* constable took up the poet;  
Restrain'd the sallies of his laughing muse,  
Call'd harmless humour scandalous abuse:  
The bard appeal'd from this severe decree:  
Th' indulgent public set the pris'ner free;  
Greece was to him, what *Dublin* is to me.

PROLOGUE to *Florizel and Perdita*, (a dramatic Pastoral,  
altered by Mr. Garrick, from Shakespear's *Winter's Tale*); written  
and spoken by Mr. Garrick.

TO various things the stage has been compar'd,  
As apt ideas strike each humorous Bard:  
This night, for want of better simile,  
Let this our *Theatre a Tavern* be:  
The Poets Vintners, and the Waiters we.  
So (as the cant and custom of the trade is)  
You're welcome *Gem'men*, kindly welcome Ladies.  
To draw in customers, our bills are spread,

[*Shewing a Play Bill.*]

You cannot miss the sign, 'tis Shakespear's Head.  
From this same head, this fountain-head divine,  
For different palates springs a different wine!  
In which no tricks to strengthen or to thin 'em——  
Neat as imported—no French brandy in 'em——



Hence for the choicest spirits flows *Champaign*;  
 Whose sparkling atoms shoot thro' every vein,  
 Then mount in magic vapours to th' enraptur'd brain!  
 Hence flow for martial minds potations strong;  
 And sweet love potions, for the fair and young.  
 For you, my hearts of oak, for your regale,

[To the upper Gallery.]

There's good old *English Stingo*, mild and stale.  
 For high, luxurious souls with luscious smack,  
 There's Sir *John Falstaffe*, in a butt of sack:  
 And if the stronger liquors more invite ye;  
*Bardolph* is gin, and *Pistol* aqua-vitæ.  
 But should you call for *Falstaffe*, where to find him,  
 \* He's gone, nor left one cup of sack behind him,  
 Sunk in his elbow-chair, no more to roam;  
 No more, with merry wags, to *Eastcheap* come;  
 He's gone—to jest, and laugh, and give his sack at home,  
 As for the learned Critics, grave and deep,  
 Who catch at words, and catching fall asleep;  
 Who in the storms of passion—hum—and haw!  
 For such our master will no liquor draw——  
 So blindly thoughtful, and so darkly read,  
 They take *Tom D'Urfey's* for the *Shakespear's* Head.

A vintner once acquir'd both praise and gain,  
 And sold much *Perry* for the best *Champaign*.  
 Some rakes this precious stuff did so allure,  
 They drank whole nights, what's that—when wine is pure?  
 'Come, fill a bumper, *Jack*.—I will, my Lord——  
 'Here's cream—Damn'd fine.—Immense, upon my word!  
 'Sir *William*, what say you?—The best, believe me.  
 'In this—Eh *Jack*—the Devil can't deceive me.'  
 Thus the wise Critic too mistakes his wine,  
 Cries out, with lifted eyes, 'Tis great, divine!  
 Then jogs his neighbour, as the wonders strike him;  
 This *Shakespear*! *Shakespear*!—Oh! there's nothing like him,  
 In this night's various, and enchanted cup,  
 Some little *Perry's* mixt for filling up.  
 The five long acts, from which our three are taken,  
 Stretch'd out to † sixteen years, lay by, forsaken.  
 Left then this precious liquor run to waste,  
 'Tis now confin'd and bottled for your taste.  
 'Tis my chief wish, my joy, my only plan,  
 To lose no drop of that immortal man!

\* Mr. Quin had then left the stage.

† The action of the *Winter's Tale*, as written by *Shakespear*, comprehends sixteen years.



## ODE for the NEW YEAR 1762.

*Written by William Whitehead, Esq; Poet Laureat.**Strophe.*

GOD of slaughter, quit the scene,  
 Lay the crested helmet by;  
 Love commands, and Beauty's queen  
 Rules the pow'r who rules the sky.  
 Janus, with well-omen'd grace,  
 Mounts the year's revolving car,  
 And forward turns his smiling face,  
 And longs to close the gates of war.  
 Enough of glory Albion knows—  
 Come, ye pow'rs of sweet repose,  
 On downy pinions move!  
 Let the war-worn legions own  
 Your gentler sway, and from the throne  
 Receive the laws of love!

*Antistrophe.*

Yet if justice still requires  
 Roman arts, and Roman souls,  
 Britain breathes her wonted fires,  
 And her wonted thunder rolls.  
 Added to our fairer isle  
 Gallia mourns her bulwark gone,  
 Conquest pays the price of toil;  
 Either India is our own!  
 Ye sons of Freedom, grasp the sword,  
 Pour, ye rich, th' imprison'd hoard,  
 And teach it how to shine.  
 Each selfish and contracted aim  
 To glory's more exalted claim  
 Let luxury resign.

*Epode.*

You too, ye British dames, may share,  
 If not the toils and dangers of the war,  
 At least its glory. From the Baltic shore,  
 From Runic virtue's native home,  
 Fraught with the tales of antient lore,  
 Behold a fair instructress come!



When the fierce \* female tyrant of the north  
 Claim'd every realm her conquering arms could gain,  
 When Discord, red with slaughter, issuing forth,  
 Saw Albert struggling with the victor's chain!  
 The storm beat high, and shook the coast,  
 Th' exhausted treasures of the land  
 Could scarce supply th' embattled host,  
 Or pay th' insulting foes demand.  
 What then could beauty do? † She gave  
 Her treasur'd tribute to the brave,  
 To her own softness join'd the manly heart,  
 Sustain'd the soldier's drooping arms,  
 Confided in her genuine charms,  
 And yielded every ornament of art.  
 —We want them not. Yet, O ye fair,  
 Should Gallia, obstinately vain,  
 To her own ruin urge despair,  
 And brave th' acknowledg'd master of the main;  
 Should she through ling'ring years protract her fall,  
 Through seas of blood to her destruction wade,  
 Say, could ye feel the generous call,  
 And own the fair example here pourtray'd?  
 Doubtless ye could. The royal dame  
 Would plead her dear adopted country's cause,  
 And each indignant breast unite its flame  
 To save the land of liberty and laws.

ODE for his MAJESTY's *Birth-Day*,

June 4th, 1762.

By William Whitehead, *Esq; Poet Laureat*,*Strophe.*

“GO, Flora, (said the impatient queen,  
 Who shares great Jove's eternal reign),  
 Go breathe on yonder thorn;  
 Wake into bloom th' emerging rose,  
 And let the fairest flower that blows  
 The fairest month adorn.

\* Margaret de Waldemar, commonly called the Semiramis of the North.

† In the year 1395 the ladies of Mecklenburg, to support their Duke Albert's pretensions to the crown of Sweden, and to redeem him when he was taken prisoner, gave up all their jewels to the public; for which they afterwards received great emoluments and privileges, particularly the right of succession in fiefs, which had before been appropriated to males only.



Sacred to Me that month shall rise,  
 Whatever \* contests shake the skies  
     To give that month a name:  
 Her April buds let Venus boast,  
 Let Maia range her painted host;  
     But June is Juno's claim.

*Antistrophe.*

And, Goddesses, know, in after times  
 (I name not days, I name not climes)  
     From Nature's noblest throes  
 A human flow'r shall glad the earth,  
 And the same month disclose his birth,  
     Which bears the blushing rose.  
 Nations shall bless his mild command,  
 And fragrance fill th' exulting land  
     Where-e'er I fix his throne."  
 Britannia listen'd as she spoke,  
 And from her lips prophetic broke,  
     The flower shall be my own!

*Epode.*

O goddesses of connubial love,  
 Thou sister and thou wife of Jove,  
 To thee the suppliant voice we raise!  
 We name not months, we name not days,  
 For, where thy smiles propitious shine,  
 The whole prolific year is thine.  
     Accordant to the trembling strings,  
     Hark, the general chorus swells!  
 From every heart it springs,  
     On every tongue it dwells.  
 Goddesses of connubial love,  
 Sister Thou, and wife of Jove,  
 Bid the genial powers that glide  
 On æther's all-pervading tide,  
     Or from the fount of life that stream,  
     Mingling with the solar beam,  
     Bid them here, at Virtue's shrine,  
     In chastest bands of union join.  
 Till many a GEORGE, and many a CHARLOTTE prove  
 How much to Thee we owe, queen of connubial love!

\* Alluding to the contention between the goddesses in Ovid's *Fæsti*, about naming the month of June.



*Extracted from Mr. W. Whitehead's CHARGE to the POETS.*

**T**IME was when poets play'd thorough the game,  
Swore, drank, and bluster'd, and blasphem'd for fame.  
The first in brothels with their punk and Muse;  
Your toast, ye bards: 'Parnassus and the stews!'—  
Thank Heav'n, the times are chang'd; no Poet now  
Need roar for Bacchus, or to Venus bow.

'Tis our own fault if Fielding's lash *we* feel,  
Or, like French wits, begin with the Bastile.

Ev'n in those days some few escap'd the fate,  
By better judgment, or a longer date,  
And rode, like buoys, triumphant o'er the tide.  
Poor Otway, in an ale-house dos'd, and dy'd!  
While happier Southern, though with sports of yore,  
Like Plato's hov'ring spirits, crufted o'er,  
Liv'd every mortal vapour to remove,  
And to our admiration join'd our love.

Light lie his funeral turf!—For you, who join  
His decent manners to his art divine,  
Would ye (whilst round you tofs the Proud and Vain,  
Convuls'd with feeling, or with giving pain)  
Indulge the Muse in innocence and ease,  
And tread the flow'ry path of life in peace?  
Avoid all authors.—“What! th' illustrious Few,  
Who, shunning Fame, have taught her to pursue  
Fair Virtue's heralds?”—Yes, I say again,  
Avoid all authors, till you've read the men.  
Full many a peevish, envious, slandering elf,  
Is, in his works, Benevolence itself.  
For all mankind, unknown, his bosom heaves,  
He only injures those with whom he lives.  
Read then the Man: Does truth his actions guide,  
Exempt from petulance, exempt from pride?  
To social duties does his heart attend,  
As son, as father, husband, brother, friend?  
Do those who know him love him? if they do,  
You've *my* permission, you may love him too.

But chief avoid the boist'rous roaring sparks,  
The sons of fire!—you'll know them by their marks,  
Fond to be heard, they always court a crowd,  
And, though 'tis borrow'd nonsense, talk it loud.  
One epithet supplies their constant chime,  
*Damn'd* bad, *damn'd* good, *damn'd* low, and *damn'd* sublime!

But



But most in quick short repartee they shine  
 Of local humour, or from plays purloin  
 Each quaint stale scrap which every subject hits,  
 Till fools almost imagine they are wits.  
 Hear them on Shakespear! there they foam, they rage!  
 Yet taste not half the beauties of HIS page,  
 Nor see that Art, as well as Nature, strove,  
 To place him foremost in th' Aonian grove.  
 For there, there only, where the sisters meet,  
HIS Genius triumphs, and the work's complete.  
 Or would you sift more near these sons of fire,  
 'Tis *Garrick*, and not Shakespear, they admire;  
 Without his breath, inspiring every thought,  
 They ne'er perhaps had known what Shakespear wrote.  
 Without his eager his becoming zeal  
 To teach them, though they scarce know why, to feel,  
 A crude unmeaning mass had Johnson been,  
 And a dead letter Shakespear's noblest scene.

. . . . .  
 I'm no enthusiast, yet with joy can trace  
 Some gleams of sun-shine for the tuneful race.  
 If *Monarchs* listen when the Muses woo,  
 Attention wakes, and nations listen too.  
 The Bard grows rapturous, who was dumb before,  
 And every fresh-plum'd eagle learns to soar!  
 Friend of the finer arts, when Egypt saw  
 Her second Ptolemy give science law,  
 Each genius waken'd from his dead repose,  
 The column swell'd, the pile majestic rose,  
 Exact proportion borrow'd strength from ease,  
 And use was taught by elegance to please,  
 Along the breathing walls, as fancy flow'd,  
 The sculpture soften'd, and the picture glow'd,  
 Heroes reviv'd in animated stone,  
 The groves grew vocal, and the \* Pleiads shone!  
 Old Nilus rais'd his head, and, wond'ring, cry'd,  
 "Long live the king! my patron! and my pride!  
 Secure of endless praise, behold, I bear  
 My grateful suffrage to my sovereign's ear.  
 Though war shall rage, though time shall level all,  
 Yon colours sicken, and yon columns fall,  
 Though art's dear treasures feed the wasting flame,  
 And the proud volume sinks, an empty name;

\* The seven poets, patronised by Ptolemy Philadelphus, are usually called by the name of that constellation,

Though



Though Plenty may desert this copious vale,  
 My streams be scatter'd, or my fountains fail,  
 Yet Ptolemy has liv'd ; the world has known  
 A king of arts, a patron on a throne.  
 Ev'n utmost Britain shall his name adore,  
 " And Nile be sung when Nile shall be no more."

One rule remains. Nor shun nor court the great:  
 Your truest centre is that middle state,  
 From whence with ease th' observing eye may go  
 To all which soars above, or sinks below.  
 'Tis yours all manners to have try'd, or known,  
 T' adopt all virtues, yet retain your own ;  
 To stem the tide, where thoughtless crowds are hurl'd,  
 The firm spectators of a bustling world !

Thus arm'd, proceed : The breezes court your wing :  
 Go range all Helicon, taste every spring ;  
 From varying nature cull th' innoxious spoil,  
 And, whilst amusement soothes the generous toil,  
 Let puzzled critics, with suspicious spite,  
 Descant on what you can or cannot write ;  
 True to yourselves, not anxious for renown,  
 Nor court the world's applause, nor dread its frown.  
 Guard your own breasts, and be the bulwark there,  
 To know no envy, and no malice fear.  
 At last you'll find, thus stoic-like prepar'd,  
 That verse and virtue are their own reward.

*The Descent to the Vault in Clerkenwell ; from the GHOST. A Poem.*  
*By Mr. Churchill.*

**D**ARK was the night ; it was that hour  
 When terror reigns in fullest pow'r,  
 When, as the learn'd of old have said,  
 The yawning grave gives up her dead,  
 When *Murder*, *Rapine* by her side,  
 Stalks o'er the earth with *Giant* stride ;  
 Our *Quixotes* (for that *Knight* of old  
 Was not in truth by half so bold,  
 Though *Reason* at the same time cries,  
 Our *Quixotes* are not half so wise,  
 Since they with other follies boast  
 An expedition 'gainst a *Ghost*)  
 Through the dull deep surrounding gloom  
 In close array tow'rd *Fanny's* tomb  
 Adventur'd forth—*Caution* before  
 With heedful step the lantern bore,

Pointing



Pointing at graves, and in the rear,  
*Trembling*, and *talking loud*, went *Fear*.  
 The church-yard teem'd—th' unsettled ground,  
 As in an *ague*, shook around;  
 While in some *dreary vault* confin'd,  
 Or riding in the *hollow wind*,  
*Horror*, which turns the heart to stone,  
 In dreadful sounds was heard to groan.  
 All staring, wild, and out of breath,  
 At length they reach'd the place of death.

A *vault* it was, long time applied  
 To hold the last remains of *pride*:  
 No *beggar* there, of humble race,  
 And humble fortunes, finds a place;  
 To rest in *pomp*, as well as ease,  
 The only way's to pay the *fees*.  
*Fools*, *Rogues*, and *Whores*, if *rich* and *great*,  
 Proud e'en in death, *here rot* in *state*.  
 No thieves disrobe the *well-drest* dead,  
 No plumbers steal the *sacred* lead,  
 Quiet and safe the bodies lie,  
 No *Sextons* sell, no *Surgeons* buy.

*Thrice* each the pond'rous key apply'd,  
 And *thrice* to turn it vainly try'd,  
 Till taught by *Prudence* to unite,  
 And straining with collected might,  
 The stubborn wards resist no more,  
 But open flies the *growling* door.

*Three* paces back they fell amaz'd,  
 Like *statues* stood, like *madmen* gaz'd.  
 The frightened blood forsakes the face,  
 And seeks the heart with quicker pace;  
 The throbbing heart its fears declares,  
 And upright stand the bristled hairs;  
 The head in wild distraction swims;  
 Cold sweats bedew the trembling limbs;  
*Nature*, whilst fears her bosom chill,  
 Suspends her pow'rs, and *life* stands still.

*Thus* had they stood till *now*, but *Shams*,  
 (An useful, though neglected dame,  
 By Heav'n design'd the friend of man,  
 Though we degrade her all we can,  
 And strive, as our first proof of wit,  
 Her name and nature to forget)  
 Came to their aid in happy hour,  
 And with a wand of mighty pow'r  
 Struck on their hearts: vain *fears* subside,  
 And baffled leave the field to *Pride*.



*Shall they* (forbid it *Fame*) shall they  
 The dictates of vile fear obey?  
 Shall they, the idols of the town,  
 To *bugbears* fancy-form'd bow down?  
 Shall they, who greatest zeal exprest,  
 And undertook for all the rest,  
 Whose matchless courage all admire,  
 Inglorious from the task retire?  
 How would the *wicked ones* rejoice,  
 And *Infidels* exalt their voice!  
 "Perish the thought! though to our eyes  
 "In all its terrors *Hell* should rise,  
 "Though thousand ghosts, in dread array,  
 "With glaring eye-balls, cross our way,  
 "Though *Caution* trembling stands aloof,  
 "Still will we on, and dare the proof."  
 They said, and, without farther halt,  
 Dauntless march'd onward to the *vault*.

What mortal men, who e'er drew breath,  
 Shall break into the house of *Death*  
 With foot *unhallow'd*, and from thence  
 The myst'ries of that state dispense,  
 Unless they with due rites prepare  
 Their weaker sense, such fights to bear,  
 And gain permission from the *state*,  
 On earth their journal to relate?  
*Poets* themselves, without a crime,  
 Cannot attempt it e'en in *rhyme*,  
 But always, on such grand occasion,  
 Prepare a *solemn invocation*,  
 A *posy* for grim *Pluto* weave,  
 And in smooth numbers ask his leave.  
 But why this caution, why prepare  
 Rites needless now? for *thrice* in air  
 The *spirit* of the *night* hath sneez'd,  
 And *thrice* hath clapp'd his wings well pleas'd,  
 Descend then, *Truth*, and guard my side,  
 My *Muse*, my *Patrones*, and *Guide*!  
 Let others at invention aim,  
 And seek by falsities for fame;  
 Our story wants not, at this time,  
*Flounces* and *furbelows* in rhyme:  
 Relate plain fact; be brief and bold;  
 And let the *Poets*, fam'd of *old*,  
 Seek, whilst our artless tale we tell,  
 In vain to find a PARALLEL:

*Silent all three went in, about  
 All three turn'd silent, and came out.*



*The COUNTRY of FAMINE. From the PROPHECY of FAMINE.  
A Poem. By the same.*

**F**AR as the eye could reach, no tree was seen,  
Earth clad in ruffet, scorn'd the lively green.  
The plague of locusts they secure defy,  
For in three hours a grasshopper must die.  
No living thing whate'er its food, feasts there,  
But the cameleon, who can feast on air.  
No birds, except as birds of passage, flew,  
No bee was known to hum, no dove to coo.  
No streams as amber smooth, as amber clear,  
Were seen to glide, or heard to warble here.  
Rebellion's spring, which through the country ran,  
Furnish'd, with bitter draughts, the steady clan.  
No flow'rs embalm'd the air, but one white rose,  
Which, on the tenth of June, by instinct blows,  
By instinct blows at morn, and, when the shades  
Of drizzly eve prevail, by instinct fades.

*The CAVE of FAMINE. From the same Poem.*

**O**NE, and but one poor solitary cave,  
Too sparing of her favours, nature gave;  
That one alone (hard tax on Scottish pride)  
Shelter at once for man and beast supplied.  
There snares *without* entangling briars spread,  
And thistles arm'd against th' invader's head,  
Stood in close ranks all entrance to oppose,  
Thistles now held more precious than the rose.  
All creatures, which on nature's earliest plan  
Were form'd to loath and to be loath'd by man,  
Which ow'd their birth to nastiness and spite,  
Deadly to touch, and hateful to the sight,  
Creatures, which, when admitted in the ark,  
Their saviour shunn'd, and rankl'd in the dark,  
Found place *within*; marking her noisome road  
With poison's trail, *here* crawl'd the bloated toad;  
*There* webs were spread of more than common size,  
And half-starv'd spiders prey'd on half-starv'd flies;  
In quest of food, efts strove in vain to crawl:  
Slugs, pinch'd with hunger, smear'd the slimy wall;  
The cave around with hissing serpents rung,  
On the damp roof unhealthy vapour hung,  
And FAMINE, by her children always known  
*As proud as poor, here fix'd her native throne.*



## ODE to Duke HUMPHRY.

*Imitated from HORACE, Lib. I. Ode 25. Parcius junctas, &c.*

## I.

WHERE are the crowds we saw before?  
 No flatt'ers now besiege your door,  
 None to your smiles aspire;  
 Your porter, once so brisk in place,  
 So busy, bustling, like your grace,  
 May with your grace retire.

## II.

The promise-fed deluded throng,  
 Who bow'd so low, who bow'd so long,  
 And at your levees waited—  
 Commons and peers alike are gone,  
 Your very bishops too are flown,  
 To G——E, to be translated.

## III.

When age comes on, and business fails,  
 The cast-off harlot weeps and rails,  
 Yet still would fain be cooing;  
 To bring new lovers to her arms,  
 Ogles, coquets, repairs her charms,  
 Old women will be doing.

## IV.

So you still smirk, and nod the head,  
 But all in vain——your charms are fled,  
 The tongue of flattery ceases:  
 In vain you strive to raise a flame,  
 Though past the pow'r, you love the game——  
 With age desire increases.——

## V.

All to St. Ja——'s now repair,  
 Where virtue with her modest air  
 Each raptur'd bosom fires——  
 She never jilts, she ne'er betrays,  
 But always means the thing she says,  
 And love and joy inspires.——

## VI.

With native charms in blooming youth,  
 With spirit, gentleness, and truth,  
 All strive to woo and win her:  
 While, to your batter'd person cold,  
 They scorn the arts of one so old,  
 So impotent a sinner.

VIII. You



## VII.

Yon op'ning rose, secure from blight,  
 Will charm the sense, attract the sight,  
 And throw its sweets about——  
 While sapless wood but makes a blaze,  
 Which boys attend with loud huzzas,  
 And then in smoke goes out.

*Portrait of JOHN, Earl Granville. By the Honourable H. W.*

**C**ommanding beauty, smooth'd by chearful grace,  
 Sat on the open features of his face :  
 Bold was his language, rapid, glowing, strong,  
 And science flow'd spontaneous from his tongue.  
 A genius seizing systems, flighting rules,  
 And void of gall, with boundless scorn of fools,  
 Ambition dealt her flambeau to his hand,  
 And Bacchus sprinkled fuel on the brand.  
 His wish——to counsel monarchs, or controul ;  
 His means——th' impetuous ardour of his soul :  
 For, while his views outstript a mortal span,  
 Nor prudence drew, nor craft pursu'd the plan.  
 Swift fell the scaffold of his airy pride,  
 But, slightly built, diffus'd no ruin wide.  
 Unhurt, undaunted, undisturb'd, he fell,  
 Could laugh the same, and the same stories tell :  
 And more a sage than he, who bade await  
 His revels, till his conquests were complete,  
 Our jovial statesman, either sail unfurl'd,  
 And drank his bottle, tho' he miss'd the world !

*STANZAS to the Right Hon. C. T——, Esq. By a Friend.*

**B**EHOLD that ship in all her pride,  
 Her bosom swelling to the tide,  
 Each curious eye delighting :  
 With colours flying, sails unfurl'd,  
 From head to stern she'll match the world  
 For sailing, or for fighting.

Alas, dear Charles, she cheats the sight :  
 Though all appears so fair and tight,  
 For sea so trim and ready ;  
 Each breeze will toss her to and fro,  
 Nor must she dare to face the foe,  
 Till ballast makes her steady.



EPITAPH *for Mrs. Meyrick, the Wife of Dr. Richard Meyrick,  
who died in Child-birth, November, 1741.*

*Written by Dr. TEMPLEMAN.*

**B**eneath this humble stone now rests inshrined,  
Alas, what once inclos'd the purest mind!  
Yet whilst she leaves us for her kindred skies,  
See from th' expiring flame a phoenix rise!  
By the same hand, severely kind, was giv'n  
To us a cherub, and a saint to heav'n.

Adieu, blest'd shade; alas, too early fled!  
Who knew thee living, but laments thee dead?  
A soul so calm, so free from ev'ry stain,  
So try'd by torture, and unmov'd by pain!  
Without a groan with agonies she strove,  
Heav'n wond'ring snatch'd her to the joys above.



## An Account of Books for 1762.

*Emilius and Sophia: or, A new System of Education. Translated from the French of J. J. Rousseau, Citizen of Geneva.*

THE fault most generally observed in discourses upon education, is a tendency to common place. Nothing, in fact, can be more trite, than the greatest part of the observations, which have been retailed upon that subject from Quintilian down to Monsieur Rollin. This is however the fault, into which the ingenious author of *Emilius* is, of all others, in the least danger of falling. To know what the received notions are upon any subject, is to know with certainty what those of Rousseau are not. In his treatise on the inequality amongst mankind, he has shewn his man in a natural state; in his *Emilius* he undertakes to educate him. In the prosecution of this design he begins early, and carefully attends his pupil from his cradle to his marriage-bed. He forms him to morals, to science, to knowledge of men, and to natural labour, and at length gives him a wife, whom he has previously educated for him according to ideas a little different from that model which he had formed in his *Eloise*.

In this System of Education there are some very considerable parts that are impracticable, others that are chimerical; and not a few highly blameable, and dangerous both to piety and morals. It is easy to discern how it has happened,

that this book should be censured as well at Geneva as in Paris. However, with those faults in the design, with the whimsies into which his paradoxical genius continually hurries him, there are a thousand noble hints relative to his subject, grounded on a profound knowledge of the human mind, and the order of its operations. There are many others, which, though they have little relation to the subject, are admirable on their own account; and even, in his wildest sallies, we now and then discover strokes of the most solid sense, and instructions of the most useful nature. Indeed he very seldom thinks himself bound to adhere to any settled order or design, but is borne away by every object started by his vivid imagination, and hurries continually from system to system, in the career of an animated, glowing, exuberant style, which paints every thing with great minuteness, yet with infinite spirit.

There is, it must be acknowledged, one considerable defect in his judgment, which infects both his matter and his style. He never knows where to stop. He seldom can discover that precise point in which excellence consists, where to exceed is almost as bad as to fall short, and which every step you go beyond, you grow worse and worse. He is therefore frequently tiresome and disgusting by pushing his notions to excess; and by repeating the same thing in a thousand different ways. Poverty can hardly be more vicious than such an abundance. To give the



reader some idea of this most extraordinary performance, we shall select three passages; the first relative to the first instructions in childhood; the second after a greater progress has been made; and the last containing something concerning the education of women.

“ Almost every method has been tried but one, and that the only one which can succeed, natural liberty duly regulated. No one ought to undertake the education of a child who cannot conduct him at pleasure, merely by the maxims of possibility and impossibility. The sphere of both being equally unknown to infancy, it may be extended or contracted as we please. A child may be equally excited or restrained, by the single plea of necessity, without murmuring; he may be rendered pliant and docile by the force of circumstances only, without ever giving occasion to sow the seeds of vice in his heart: for the passions will never be irritated so long as they must be exerted without effect. Give your pupil no kind of verbal instructions; he should receive none but from experience: inflict on him no kind of punishment, for he knows not what it is to be in fault; require him never to ask pardon, for he cannot offend you. As he is insensible of all moral obligations, he cannot do any thing morally evil, or that is deserving of punishment or reprimand.

I foresee the reader will be already frightened, if he judges of such a child by his own; in this, however, he is mistaken. The constant restraint in which you keep your pupils, irritates their vivacity; the more they are restrained under your eye, the more turbulent they are when they escape from it; they must indemnify themselves, when

they can, for that severe confinement you impose on them. Two scholars, broke loose from a school in town, will do more mischief in a country village, than all the boys in the parish. Shut up one of these young gentlemen with the son of a peasant of the same age; and the first will have broke or turned all the moveables in the room topsyturvy, before the latter should have stirred from his seat. What can be the reason of this, if the one be not in a hurry to abuse his momentary liberty, while the other, accustomed to freedom, is not in any haste to make use of it? And yet the children of peasants, being frequently humoured and thwarted, are very far from being in that order in which I could wish to see yours.

Let us lay it down as an incontestible maxim, that the first emotions of nature are always right: there is no original perversity in the human heart. I will venture to say, there is not a single vice to be found there, that one could not say how and which way it entered. The only passion natural to man is the love of himself, or self-love taken in an extensive sense. This passion, considered in itself, as a relative to us, is good and useful, and, as it has no necessary relation to any one else, it is in that respect naturally indifferent: it becomes good or evil, therefore, from our application of it, and the several relations we give it. Till the guide of self-love, then, which is reason, appears, a child should do nothing, merely because he is seen or heard, nothing from causes merely relative to others, but only those things which nature requires and instigates; and then he will never do wrong.

I don't mean that he will never do any mischief, that he will never hurt



hurt himself, or perhaps break in pieces a valuable utensil that may happen to be unluckily placed within his reach. He may do a great deal of harm without doing ill; because the evil of the action depends on his intention to do an injury, and he will be always free from such intention. Should he not, and should he once acquire an evil intention, he is already spoiled; he is vicious almost beyond remedy.

An action may be evil in the eyes of avarice, that is not so in those of reason. In leaving children at full liberty to play about as they please, it is proper to remove every thing out of their way that may render their agility or wantonness offensive; thus nothing that is brittle and costly should be left within their reach. Let the furniture of their apartment be coarse and solid: let them have no looking-glasses, no china, nor other objects of luxury. As to my Emilius, whom I educate in the country, his chamber shall have nothing in it, whereby it may be distinguished from that of the meanest peasant. To what purpose should it be carefully ornamented, when he is to stay in it so short a time? But I forget; he will himself decorate it after his own fancy: we shall see presently in what manner.

If, notwithstanding your precaution, your child should commit some disorder, or break some piece of furniture, don't go to punish or rate him for your own negligence; don't let him hear from you a single word of reproach; let him not ever perceive you are displeased, but act exactly in the same manner as if it had been broke by accident: in a word, you may think you have effected a great point, if you can prevail on yourself to say nothing about the matter.

May I venture here to lay down the greatest, most important, and most useful rule of education? It is this, not to gain time, but to lose it. The generality of readers will be so good as to excuse my paradoxes; there is an absolute necessity for them, when we make reflections: and, say what you will, I had rather be remarkable for hunting after a paradox, than for being misled by prejudice. The most critical interval of human life is that between the hour of our birth and twelve years of age. This is the time wherein vice and error take root, without our being possessed of any instrument to destroy them: and when the implement is found, they are so deeply grounded, that they are no longer to be eradicated. If children took a leap from their mother's breast, and at once arrived at the age of reason, the methods of education now usually taken with them would be very proper; but, according to the progress of nature, they require those which are very different. We should not tamper with the mind, till it has acquired all its faculties: for it is impossible it should perceive the light we hold out to it while it is blind; or that it should pursue, over an immense plain of ideas, that route which reason hath so slightly traced, as to be perceptible only to the sharpest sight.

The first part of education, therefore, ought to be purely negative. It consists neither in teaching virtue nor truth; but in guarding the heart from vice and the mind from error. If you could be content to do nothing yourself, and could prevent any thing being done by others; if you could bring up your pupil healthy and robust to the age



of twelve years, without his being able to distinguish his right hand from his left; the eyes of his understanding would be open to reason at your first lesson: void both of habit and prejudice, his passions would not operate against your endeavours; and he would become under proper instructions the wisest of men. It is thus, by attempting nothing in the beginning, you might produce a prodigy of education.

Take the road directly opposite to that which is in use, and you will almost always do right. As we think it not enough children should be children, but it is expected they should be masters of arts; so fathers and preceptors think they can never have too many checks, corrections, reprimands, menaces, promises, instructions, fair speeches, and fine arguments. You will act wiser than all this, by being reasonable yourself, and never arguing with your child, particularly in striving to reconcile him to what he dislikes: for to use him to reason only upon disagreeable subjects, is the way to disgust him, and bring argument early into discredit with a mind incapable of understanding it. Exercise his corporeal organs, senses, and faculties, as much as you please, but keep his intellectual ones inactive as long as possible. Be cautious of all the sentiments he acquires previous to the judgment, which should enable him to scrutinize them. Prevent or restrain all foreign impressions; and, in order to hinder the rise of evil, be not in too great a hurry to instil good: for it is only such when the mind is enlightened by reason. Look upon every delay as an advantage; it is gaining a great deal to advance without losing any thing; let the infancy of children therefore have time to ripen. In short, whatever

instruction is necessary for them, take care not to give it them to-day, if it may be deferred without danger till to-morrow.

Another consideration which confirms the utility of this method is the peculiar genius of the child, which ought to be known before it can be judged what moral regimen is best adapted to it. Every mind hath its peculiar turn, according to which it ought to be educated; and it is of very material consequence to our endeavours, that it be educated according to that turn, and not to any other. The prudent governor will watch a long time the workings of nature, will observe his pupil well before he speaks the first word to him: leave then his natural character at liberty to unfold itself; lay it under no restraint whatever, that it may be the better laid open to view. Do you think the time lost in which a child is thus left at liberty? Quite the contrary; it will be thus best employed: for is it not thus you yourself learn to husband time still more precious? If you set about any thing before you know in what manner to act, you proceed at random; liable to mistake, you are frequently obliged to undo what is done; and find yourselves farther from the end designed, than if you had been less precipitate to begin the work. Act not the miser, who loses much because he is unwilling to lose a little; but sacrifice in infancy that time which you will regain with usury in a more advanced age. A prudent physician does not go blundering to prescribe, at first sight of the sick; he inquires first into the temperament and circumstances of the patient, and then adapts his prescription to them: he begins late to administer his remedies,



medies, and hence effects a cure; while the precipitate physician infallibly kills.

But where, will it be said, must we place an infant thus to be educated as an insensible being, as a mere automaton? Shall we take him to the world in the moon, or to some desert island? Shall we separate him from the rest of his species; will he not, if in the world, have before him continually the prospect and example of the passions of others? Will he never meet in company with children of his own age? Will he not see his parents, his neighbours, his nurse, his governess, his servant, and at last his governor himself, who after all will be no angel? This objection is reasonable and solid. But have I told you the natural education of a child was an easy undertaking? Is it my fault, ye men of society! that you have made every thing which is right so difficult to be put in execution? I perceive the difficulties, I acknowledge them; and perhaps they are insurmountable. It is, however, certain, that, by endeavouring to obviate them, we may succeed to a certain degree. I only take upon me to point out the end we should aim at. I do not affirm it is possible to reach it; but I affirm that he who approaches the nearest this end, hath succeeded the best.

One thing, however, is to be remembered; and that is, before any one undertakes to form a man, it is proper he should be formed such himself; it is proper he should find in himself the model he proposes to imitate. While a child is as yet without knowledge, there is time to prepare every thing that approaches him, and to introduce to his first observations those objects which are proper for him to

see. Render yourself respectable to all: begin by making yourself beloved, so shall every one be desirous to please you. You will never be master over your pupil, if you are not master of all those about him: nor will your authority be of any service, if it be not founded on virtuous esteem. It will be to no purpose to empty your purse, or give your money away by handfuls; I never knew money make any one beloved. It is doubtless wrong to be covetous and niggardly, and to content ourselves with lamenting the miserable objects we might relieve; but you may in vain open your coffers; if you do not also open your heart, the hearts of others will remain still shut against you. It is your time, your care, your affections, it is yourself you must give; for otherwise do what you will, it will always be remarked that your money is not you. There are instances of concern and benevolence which have a greater effect, and are really more useful than all pecuniary gifts. How many of the unfortunate, and of the sick, have more need of consolation than alms! How many are there of the oppressed whom protection would serve more than money! Reconcile those who are at variance, prevent lawsuits; bring children to a sense of their duty, and parents to that of indulgence; promote happy marriages; oppose oppression; spare not the credit and interest of your pupil's family, in favour of the poor and helpless, to whom justice is refused, or whom wealth overpowers. Declare yourself boldly the protector of the unhappy. Be just, humane, and beneficent. Do not only give alms, but perform the deeds of charity. Acts of mercy and compassion relieve more evils

than



than money. Love others, and they will love you; serve them, and they will serve you; be a father to them, and they will be your children.

Here presents itself, also, another reason for educating Emilius in the country, at a distance from the mob of servants, who, excepting their masters, are the vilest of mankind; at a distance from the detestable manners of the town, which are varnished over so speciously as to become seductive and contagious to children; whereas the vices of the peasants, gross and without disguise, are more apt to disgust than seduce such as are not interested in their imitation.

Besides this, a tutor would, in such a situation, be more completely master over the objects that might be presented to his pupil; his reputation, his discourse, his example, would carry with them an authority, that would not accompany them in town. By rendering himself generally useful in his neighbourhood, every one would be eager to oblige him, to merit in return his esteem, and to appear before his pupil such as he himself in fact would wish; and tho' they should not be corrected of their vices, they would abstain from giving the public scandal by them; which is all that is required for our present purpose.

Forbear to charge your own faults on others: children are less corrupted by the ill examples they see, than by the wrong precepts you teach them. Always moralizing, sententious, and pedantic, for one idea that you give them, thinking it a good one, you instil at the same time twenty others that are good for nothing; full of what passes in your own head, you see not the effect it produces in those of your

pupils. Amidst that profusion of words, with which you confound and weary them out in your sermons, do you think there are none whose meaning they take wrong? Do you think they do not make their own comments on your diffuse explications, and that they do not find means to patch up a little system of their own, to oppose to yours as occasion offers?

Listen but to one of these young gentlemen who have been thus lectured; let him talk, ask questions, and run on at pleasure; you will be surprised to find what a strange turn your fine reasonings have taken in his mind: he confounds all you have said, perverts every thing: he will tire out your patience, and almost distract you by unforeseen and unthought-of objections. Thus will he reduce you to silence; or oblige you to impose silence on him; and what can he think of the silence of a man who loves talking so much? If once he gains this advantage, and is sensible of it, adieu to education; all is at an end at once: he will no longer seek opportunities to instruct himself, but the means of refuting you.

Ye zealous tutors, be plain, therefore, discreet, and reserved; be never in haste to act, unless it be to prevent the actions of others. Again, I repeat it, defer your good instructions, if possible, for fear of inculcating bad ones. This earth was constituted by nature to be the first paradise of men: beware of acting the part of the tempter, in corrupting innocence by the knowledge of good and evil. As you cannot prevent children from instructing themselves by external examples, confine your solicitude to the imprinting those examples on  
their



their minds in the form best adapted to their circumstances.

Violent passions produce a great effect on a child who is witness of them, because their marks are striking, and command attention. Anger, in particular, is so boisterous in its expressions, that it is impossible not to perceive it when near at hand. You will ask, perhaps, if this does not afford a fine opportunity for a pedagogue to make an excellent discourse? No. No excellent discourse at all; not a word should be said on the occasion. Let the child only be a witness to the scene; he will be too much surprised at the sight not to ask you the meaning of it. Your answer is very simple, and naturally arises from the very objects that strike his senses. He sees an inflamed countenance, sparkling eyes, menacing gestures; he hears violent exclamations: all signs that the body is out of order. Tell him therefore, seriously, and without appearance of affectation, the poor man is taken suddenly ill; that he is seized with a fit of an ague. You may hence take occasion to give him, in few words, a general notion of diseases and their effects: for these depend immediately on nature, and form one of those chains, by which he should perceive himself bound to the immoveable weight of necessity." Vol. i. p. 132.

"To the activity of the body, making constant efforts to display its abilities, succeeds that of the mind, as constantly seeking after information. Children, when very young, seem endowed only with a capacity and inclination for motion; they afterwards become inquisitive and curious, and this curiosity, well directed, becomes, at the age they

have now attained, their chief spring of action. Let us be always careful to distinguish those propensities which are implanted by nature, from those which are ingrafted by the dictates of prejudice and opinion. A thirst after knowledge may proceed merely from the vanity of desiring to be thought learned; it may also arise from that curiosity, which naturally excites us to inquire after every thing, in which we may be either directly or indirectly interested. Our innate desire of happiness, and the impossibility of our fully gratifying that desire, are the cause of our constant researches after new expeditions, to contribute to that end.

This is the first principle or motive of curiosity; a principle which is natural to the heart of man, but which displays itself only in obedience to our passions, and in proportion to our acquirements of knowledge. Let us suppose a philosopher cast ashore on a desert island, together with his books and instruments, and that he was under an absolute certainty of spending in that solitude the remainder of his days. He would never trouble himself farther about the system of the universe, the laws of attraction, or the fluxionary calculus. It is probable he would never after look in a book, during his whole life: but he certainly would not fail to explore the island, however extensive, even to its remotest corners. Let us, therefore, in our early studies, reject those sciences for which man has not a natural turn, and confine ourselves to those which instinct directs us to pursue.

This earth is the island on which mankind are cast, and the most striking object of their observation is



is the sun. As soon as our ideas begin to extend beyond ourselves, our attention will therefore naturally be ingrossed between two such interesting subjects. Hence, the philosopher of almost every savage nation is confined solely to the imaginary divisions of the earth, and the divinity of the sun. “What an excursion! cries the reader. We were but just now employed about objects that immediately surround us, and we are now traversing the globe, and soaring to the distant extremities of the universe.” This excursion, however, is the simple effect of the progress of our faculties, and of the bent of our understanding. During our infant-state of weakness and incapacity, all our thoughts, influenced by self-preservation, are confined within ourselves. On the contrary, in a more advanced age, as our abilities increase, the desire of improving our existence carries us out of ourselves, and our ideas extend to the utmost limits. As the intellectual world, however, is as yet unknown to us, our thoughts cannot extend farther than we can see; but our comprehension dilates itself with the bounds of space.

Let us convert our sensations into ideas; but let us not fly at once from sensible to intellectual objects. It is only by a due and rational attention to the former we can attain the latter. In the first operations of the understanding, let our senses then always be our guide, the world our only book, and facts our sole precepts. Children, when taught to read, learn that only; they never think; they gain no information; all their learning consists in words.

Direct the attention of your pupil to the phenomena of nature, and you will soon awaken his curiosity; but to keep that curiosity alive, you must be in no haste to satisfy it. Put questions to him adapted to his capacity, and leave him to resolve them. Let him take nothing on trust from his preceptor, but on his own comprehension and conviction; he should not learn, but invent, the sciences. If ever you substitute authority in the place of argument, he will reason no longer; he will be ever afterwards bandied like a shuttlecock between the opinions of others.

You intend, we’ll suppose, to teach your child geography, and for that purpose provide for him maps, spheres, and globes. What an apparatus! wherefore all these mere representations of things? why do you not rather begin by shewing him the object itself, that he may, at least, know what it is you are talking about?

Walk out with him, some fine evening, to a convenient spot, from whence an extensive horizon may give you a full view of the setting sun; and then take particular notice of such objects as mark the place of its going down. Return the next morning, with a professed design only of taking the fresh air, to the same place, before the sun rises. There you will find the fiery rays, it scatters among the clouds, as harbingers of its approach. The illumination increases, the east seems all in flames, and you expect the glorious orb long before it discovers itself above the horizon; you think you see it every moment; it at length appears. Its rays dart like lightning o’er the face of nature,



ture, and darkness vanishes at the sight. Man glories in his habitation, and sees it embellished with new beauty. The lawn is refreshed by the coolness of the night, and the light of the morn displays its increasing verdure: the dew-be-spangled flowers that enamel its surface glitter in the sun-beams, and, like rubies and emeralds, dart their colours on the eye. The chearful birds unite in choirs, and hail in concert the parent of life: not one is silent, at this enchanting moment none are mute; though in feeble notes, more slow and soft than those they chant all day, as if from peaceful slumbers scarce awoke, they join in languid harmony. The assemblage of so many pleasing objects imprints a glowing sensation that seems to penetrate the soul. Who can withstand the rapture of this short interval of enchantment? It is impossible so grand, so beautiful, so delightful a scene can be ever beheld with indifference. Full of that enthusiastic rapture, with which a preceptor is inspired on such an occasion, he endeavours perhaps to communicate it to his pupil; he expects to excite the same emotions in the child, by attracting its attention to those sensations which he experiences within himself. Ridiculous expectation! it is the heart only that contemplates the beauties of nature: to be seen, they should be always felt: a child, indeed, may perceive the several objects, but their connection to him is invisible; he is insensible to the harmony of the spheres. He requires an experience, which he hath not yet attained, and sentiments to which he is as yet a stranger, to be susceptible of that complex impression which is

the general result of all these sensations. If he has not travelled over deserts; if his feet have never been parched by burning sands; if he never hath felt the scorching sun-beams reflected from the surrounding rocks, how can he taste the fresh air of a fine morning? How should he be enraptured with the fragrance of the flowers, the refreshing verdure of the grass, the dew-drops sparkling in the sun, or the soft carpet of the downy moss? How should the warbling of birds inspire him with glowing raptures, who is a stranger to the soft accents of love and delight? How can he behold with transport the dawn of so lovely a day, whose imagination cannot paint to itself the joys it is capable of bestowing? In a word, what tender sensations can be excited by the charms of nature, in him who is ignorant by whose hand she is so beautifully adorned? Talk not to children in a language they do not comprehend; make use of no pompous descriptions, no flowers of speech, no tropes and figures, no poetry; taste and sentiment are at present quite out of the question: simplicity, gravity, and precision, are all that are yet required: the time will come, but too soon, when we must assume a different style.

A pupil educated agreeable to these maxims, and accustomed to receive no assistance till he has discovered his own inabilities, will examine every new object with a long and silent attention. He will be thoughtful without asking questions. Content yourself, therefore, with presenting proper objects opportunely to his notice; and when you see they have sufficiently excited his curiosity, drop some leading



leading laconic questions, which may put him into the way of discovering the truth.

On the present occasion; having for some time contemplated the rising sun, and made your pupil observe the hills and other neighbouring objects on that side, permitting him the while to talk about them without interruption, stand silent a few moments, and affect a profound meditation. You may then address him thus: “ I am “ thinking that, when the sun set “ last night, it went down yonder “ beyond us: whereas, this morn- “ ing, you see, he is risen on the “ opposite side of the plain, here, “ before us. What can be the “ meaning of this?” Say nothing more; and, if he asks you any thing about it, divert his attention, for the present, by talking of something else. Leave him to reflect on it himself, and be assured he will think of your observation.

To accustom a child to give attention to objects, and to make sensible truths appear striking to his imagination, it is necessary to keep him some time in suspense before they are explained or discovered to him. If he should not sufficiently comprehend the nature of the present question by the means proposed, it may be rendered still more obvious, by diversifying the terms of it. If he cannot comprehend in what manner the sun proceeds from its setting to its rising, he knows at least how it proceeds from its rising to its setting; he hath ocular demonstration of this. Explain the first question, then, by the second; and if your pupil be not extremely dull indeed, the analogy is too obvious to escape him.

Such is our first lecture in cosmography.” Vol. ii. p. 8.

“ I have already observed, that the duties of their sex are more easily known than practised. The first thing they should learn, is to be in love with their duty from a principle of interest; which is the only means to render it easy. Every station and every age has its peculiar duties. We are easily acquainted with them, provided we do but love them. Respect your condition as a woman, and whatever station Providence thinks fit to allot you, you will always be a woman of virtue. The essential point is to be what nature formed us; we are always too propense to be what the world would wish us.

Researches into abstract and speculative truths, the principles and axioms of sciences, in short, whatever tends to generalize our ideas, is not the proper province of women; their studies should be relative to points of practice; it belongs to them to apply those principles which men have discovered; and it is their part to make observations, which direct men to the establishment of general principles. All the ideas of women, which have not an immediate tendency to points of duty, should be directed to the study of men, and to the attainment of those agreeable accomplishments which have taste for their object; for as to works of genius, they are beyond their capacity: neither have they sufficient precision or power of attention to succeed in sciences which require accuracy: and as to physical knowledge, it belongs to those only who are most active, most inquisitive; who comprehend the greatest variety of objects; in short, it belongs to those who have the strongest powers, and who exercise them most, to judge of the relations between



tween sensible beings and the laws of nature. A woman who is naturally weak, and does not carry her ideas to any great extent, knows how to judge and make a proper estimate of these movements which she sets to work, in order to aid her weakness; and these movements are the passions of men. The mechanism she employs is much more powerful than ours; for all her lovers move the human heart. She must have the skill to incline us to do every thing which her sex will not enable her to do of herself, and which is necessary or agreeable to her; therefore she ought to study the mind of man thoroughly, not the mind of man in general, abstractedly, but the disposition of the men about her, the disposition of those men to whom she is subject, either by the laws of her country, or by the force of opinions. She should learn to penetrate into their real sentiments from their conversations, their actions, their looks and gestures. She should have also the art, by her own conversation, actions, looks, and gestures, to communicate those sentiments which are agreeable to them, without seeming to intend it. Men will argue more philosophically about the human heart; but women will read the heart of man better than they. It belongs to women, if I may be allowed the expression, to form an experimental morality, and to reduce the study of man to a system. Women have most wit, men have most genius; women observe, men reason; from the concurrence of both we derive the clearest light and the most perfect knowledge, which the human mind is, of itself, capable of attaining: in one word, from hence we acquire the most in-

timate acquaintance both with ourselves and others, of which our nature is capable; and it is thus that art has a constant tendency to perfect those endowments which nature has bestowed.

The world is the book of women; if they do not read well, it is their own fault, or some passion blinds them. Nevertheless, a true mistress of a family is not less a recluse in her own house, than a nun in her convent. Therefore, before a young virgin is married, we ought to act with regard to her, as they do, or at least ought to do, towards those who are to be confined in nunneries; that is, we should shew them the pleasures they are to quit, before we suffer them to renounce them, lest the false idea of pleasures to which they are strangers, should mislead their minds, and interrupt the felicity of their retirement. In France, young ladies live in nunneries, and wives go abroad in the world. Among the ancients it was just the reverse; the maidens, as I have observed, were indulged with entertainments and public festivals; but wives lived retired. This custom was more rational, and had a better tendency to preserve morals. A kind of coquetry is allowed to young girls who are unmarried: their grand concern is to amuse themselves. But wives have other employment at home, and they are no longer in pursuit of husbands; but such a reformation would not be for their interest, and unhappily they lead the fashion. Mothers, however, make companions of your daughters! cultivate in them a just understanding and an honest heart, and then hide nothing from them which a chaste eye may view with-

our



out offence. Balls, entertainments, public fights, even theatres ; every thing which, seen improperly, delights indiscreet youth, may without danger be presented to the eye of prudence. The more they are conversant with these tumultuous pleasures, the sooner they will be disgusted with them.

But I hear the clamour arising against me ! What girl is capable of resisting such dangerous examples ? They have no sooner seen the world, than their heads are turned with every object ; not one of them will resolve to quit it. Perhaps this may be the case ; but before you have shewn them this deceitful picture, have you prepared them to view it without emotion ? Have you acquainted them beforehand with the objects it represents ? Have you described them such as they really are ? Have you armed them against the illusions of vanity ? Have you inculcated into their tender minds a relish for true pleasures, which are not to be found in these tumultuous scenes ? What measures, what precautions have you used to preserve them from that false taste which misleads them ? So far from having opposed any principles against the prevalence of public prejudices, you have rather nourished them. You have previously made them enamoured with those frivolous amusements they meet with. You make them more in love with them, by affording them an opportunity of devoting themselves to them. Young girls, at their first entrance into the world, have seldom any other governess than their mother, who is often more silly than they, and who cannot shew them objects in any other light, than such in which they be-

hold them themselves. Her example, more efficacious than reason itself, justifies them in their own eyes ; and the authority of a mother is an unanswerable plea for a daughter. When I propose that a mother should introduce her daughter to the world, it is upon the supposition that she will represent it to her such as it is.

The evil begins still earlier. Convents are, in fact, schools of coquetry ; not of that honest coquetry of which I have just spoken, but of that which produces all the extravagances in women, and makes them the most ridiculous of all coquettes. When they quit the convents, to enter all at once into mixed assemblies, young girls find themselves where they could wish. They have been educated for such society, and is it to be wondered that they are fond of it ? I am cautious of advancing what I am going to say, for fear I should mistake a prejudice for an observation ; but it seems to me that, generally speaking, in Protestant countries, women have stronger attachments to their families, make more amiable wives and more tender mothers, than in Catholic countries ; and if this be the case, there is no doubt but that the difference in part arises from the education at convents.

To love a tranquil and domestic life we ought to be well acquainted with it : we should have experienced the sweets of it from our infancy. It is in the house of our parents that we must contract a relish for our own family ; and every woman, who has not been educated by her mother, will not chuse to bring up her own children. Unhappily private education is banished from great cities. Society is become



become so general and so inter-mixed, that there is no asylum left for retirement, and we even live in public at our own houses. In consequence of associating with all the world, we have no longer any family, and we scarce know our relations; we see them as strangers; and the simplicity of domestic manners is lost, together with that agreeable familiarity which constitutes its principal charm. Thus we imbibe with our very milk a relish for the pleasures of the age, and of the maxims which prevail in the world.

Parents impose an outward restraint on their daughters, in hopes to meet with dupes who will marry them from their appearance. But examine these young girls attentively for a moment. Under an affected air of constraint, they do but ill disguise the eager desires which prey upon them; and you may already read in their eyes their violent inclination to imitate their mothers. But they do not covet a husband: they only long for the licence of matrimony. What occasion can they have for a husband, when they may have so many lovers! But they stand in need of a husband as a cover to their intrigues\*. Modesty is in their looks, but licentiousness in their hearts: that affected modesty is a symptom of it. They affect it only to get rid of it the sooner. Ladies of Paris and London, pardon me, I intreat you. Miracles are not excepted in any place, but for my own part I am not acquainted with any; and if there be a single

individual among you who has a mind thoroughly virtuous, then I am a stranger to the manners of the times." Vol. iv. p. 73.

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*The doctrine of grace; or, The office and operations of the Holy Spirit vindicated from the insults of infidelity and the abuses of fanaticism: With some thoughts (humbly offered to the consideration of the established clergy) regarding the right method of defending religion against the attacks of either party. In three books. By William bishop of Gloucester.*

WEAK friendship, in almost every circumstance, proves as noxious as false friendship; and false friendship is without doubt the most dangerous kind of enmity. This observation has never been more fully verified, than in the weak and the pretended friends of religion, fanatics and hypocrites. Their reasoning exposes it to the scorn of infidels, as absurd; their conduct raises a prejudice against it, either as a false pretence, or an insufficient director of life. It is impossible for a man of real, that is, rational religion, to employ his time and abilities better than in discrediting jointly, as well those who openly attack that sacred bulwark, as those whose conduct and opinions expose it to such attacks. This is the professed intention of the work before us, on one of the most fundamental, the most valuable, and the most abused points in the Christian system. The learn-

\* The way of a man in his youth was one of the four things which the wise Solomon could not comprehend: the fifth was the impudence of an adulteress, "quæ comedit, & tergens os suum, dicit, Non sum operata malum." PROV. xxx. 20.



ed and right reverend author first labours to set in a just light the true office and operations of the Holy Spirit, and the true scripture-idea of inspiration. This point established, he sets up to scorn and ridicule the false and pretended schemes of methodists and other fanatics.

This work, like all others of the same author, is full of uncommon researches, conducted by a remarkable spirit of sagacity and penetration; an extreme subtilty and refinement appears in all his reasonings, which are sometimes very satisfactory, as being drawn from a profound erudition, and a perfect knowledge of the ideas of the times and countries where the sacred books were written, of the occasion of writing them, and of the connection between the Old and the New Testament. Where his reasonings carry less conviction, they are, nevertheless, and from the same cause, always agreeable and entertaining. This order is not so exact as to prevent his discussing several points, which are but slightly connected with his principal subject. His style is original and animated, but abrupt and unequal. Few books abound with more lively sallies of wit and humour, for which the author has uncommon abilities, and which he sometimes finds it difficult to restrain, suffering them now and then to degenerate into too great a degree of carelessness and freedom. We subjoin, as a specimen of his manner in the serious and the ludicrous, the fifth chapter of his first book.

“ We may observe that the ministry of the first preachers of the gospel consisted of these two parts : 1. The temporary and occasional instructions of those Christians whom

they had brought to the knowledge of, and faith in, Jesus, the Messiah ; 2. and the care of composing a WRITTEN RULE for the direction of the church throughout all ages. Now, it being granted, because, by the history of *the Acts of the Apostles*, it may be proved, that they were divinely inspired in the discharge of the temporary part ; it must be very strong evidence, indeed, which can induce an unprejudiced man to suspect, that they were left to themselves in the execution of the other. Their preaching could only profit their contemporaries : for instructions conveyed to future ages by tradition are soon lost and forgotten ; or, what is worse, polluted and corrupted with fables. It is reasonable therefore to think, that the church was provided with a WRITTEN RULE. The good providence of God hath indeed made this provision. And the Scriptures of the New Testament have been received by all the faithful, as divine oracles, as the inspired dictates of the Holy Spirit, till superstition extending the notion of inspiration to an extravagant height, over-cautious believers joined with libertines, (who had taken advantage of that folly), to deny or bring in question all inspiration whatsoever. For extremes beget each other ; and when thus begotten, they are suffered, in order to preserve the balance of the *moral System*, as frequently to support as to destroy one another ; that, while they subsist, each may defeat the mischiefs which the other threatens ; and when they fall, both of them may fall together.

I shall therefore take upon me to expose the extravagance of either folly ; and then endeavour to settle the



the TRUE NOTION of SCRIPTURE  
INSPIRATION.

1. We have seen how fully gifted the Apostles were for the business of their Mission. They worked Miracles, they spake with Tongues, they explained Mysteries, they interpreted Prophecies, they discerned the true from the false pretences to the Spirit: And all this for the temporary and occasional discharge of their Ministry. Is it possible, then, to suppose them to be deserted by this divine enlightener when they sat down to the other part of their work; to frame a rule for the lasting service of the Church? Can we believe that that Spirit, which so bountifully assisted them in their assemblies, had withdrawn himself when they retired to their private oratories; or that when their *speech* was *with all power*, their *writings* should convey no more than the fallible dictates of human knowledge? To suppose the endowments of the Spirit to be so capriciously bestowed, would make it look more like a mockery than a gift. And to believe all this would be a harder task than what (the Deist tells us) our credibility imposes on us. No candid man therefore will be backward to conclude, that what the Apostles had for the temporary use of their Ministry, they had at least in as large a measure for the perpetual service of the Church.

2. St. Paul, where he recommends the study of the Scriptures of the Old Testament to Timothy, expressly declares them to be inspired, in that general proposition, *All Scripture is given by inspiration of God* \*. Now if, in the Mosaic Dispensation, the written Rule was *given by inspiration of God*, where the church was conducted in every

step, at first by Oracular responses, and afterwards by a long series and continued succession of Prophets; and all this under an *extraordinary* administration of Providence, such as might well seem to supersede the necessity of a scriptural inspiration; how confidently may we conclude, that the same divine Goodness would give the **INFALLIBLE GUIDE** of an inspired Scripture to the Christian Church, where the miraculous influence of the Holy Spirit is supposed to have ceased with the Apostolic ages, and where the administration of Providence is only *ordinary* †. Nor can it be said, that what St. Paul predicates of *Scripture* must be confined to the law, (whose very name indeed implies inspiration), and what is prefatory to it; since the largeness of his terms, *all Scripture*, extends to the whole Canon of the Old Testament, as then received by the two Churches. And this general expression was the more expedient, as the *historic* writings did not either by their nature, like the *prophetic*, or by their name, like the *legal*, necessarily imply their coming immediately from God. The Canonical books of the **OLD Testament**, therefore, being inspired, Reason directs us to expect the same quality in the **NEW**. And, as in the *Old*, amongst several occasional writings, there was the fundamental record, or the **GREAT CHARTER** of the pentateuch; and in the Volumes of the Prophets, the Oracular Predictions of the future fortunes of the Church, to the **FIRST** coming of the Messiah; so, in the *New*, there is, besides the occasional Epistles, the authentic Record or **GREAT CHARTER** of the Gospel covenant; and in the Revelations of St. John, the same di-

\* 2 Tim. iii. 16.



vine predictions continued to the SECOND coming of the Saviour of the World.

3. The reason of the thing likewise supports us in concluding for this inspiration. An universal Rule of human conduct implies as unlimited an obedience: the nature of such a Rule requiring it to be received entire; and to be observed in every article. But when once it is supposed to come to us, tho' from Heaven, yet not immediately, but thro' the canal of an uninspired instrument, liable to error both in the receiving and in the dispensing of it, men would be perpetually tempted to own just as much as, and no more than they liked to believe, or were disposed to practise; and to reject the rest as a mere human imposition. Nay the very reasons which the writers against this inspiration give us, why it is not afforded, seem to shew the necessity why it should: such as the imperfect knowledge that the Apostles had of the genius of Christianity; their disputes and differences with one another; their mistakes in matters of easy prevention, tho' of little consequence, &c. for if the Composers of a *Rule of Faith* for the universal Church were thus naturally defective in historic and religious knowledge, what security could we have for their not misleading us in things of moment, unless prevented by the guard and guidance of the Holy Spirit, while they engaged themselves in this important task?

I am enough sensible of the weakness and folly of that kind of rea-

soning which concludes from *right* to *fact*; and assumes, that because a thing is imagined to be expedient, useful, or necessary, in God's moral government, that therefore he hath indeed made provision for it. Thus the Papal Doctors, in their arguments for the *standing Power of Miracles*, and the appointment of an *infallible Guide*, having endeavoured to shew that the first is necessary for those *without*, and the second for those *within*, would draw us to conclude with them, that the *true Church* hath, in fact, the exercise and use of MIRACLES and INFALLIBILITY.

But the cases are widely different. It is by no means agreed, that the Church, after the Apostolic ages, was in the possession of so large a portion of the Holy Spirit as to enable either this pretended HEAD, or its MEMBERS, to exert the powers in question: Whereas it is confessed by all, that at the time these Scriptures were written, the Composers of them were divinely inspired for the occasional work of the Ministry. And the only question in dispute is, Whether that Spirit which aided them in defending the Gospel before the tribunals of Kings and Magistrates\*,—in working miracles before the multitude of Unbelievers—and in prophesying and explaining Mysteries to the assemblies of the faithful, whether this Spirit, I say, did accompany, or desert them, when they retired within themselves, to compose a RULE OF FAITH for the perpetual service of the Church?

4. But lastly, we have the clear

\* And when they bring you unto the Synagogues, and unto the Magistrates and Powers, take ye no thought how or what thing ye shall answer, or what ye shall say; for the Holy Ghost shall teach you in the same hour what ye ought to say. Luke xii. 11, 12.



testimony of Scripture for this inspiration. And tho' the *bearing witness to itself* \* might be reasonably objected in an argument addressed to Unbelievers, yet being here enforced against such of the Faithful who doubt or hesitate concerning the inspiration of the New Testament, it hath all the propriety we can desire.

I venture therefore to say, that St. Paul, in the general proposition quoted above, which affirms that *all Scripture is given by inspiration of God* †, necessarily includes the Scriptures in question; that it predicates of *all Scripture*, taking in the *new* as well as the *old*; as well that which was to be written, as that which was already collected into a Canon. For the term, *Scripture*, as the context leads to understand it, is general, and means a religious Rule, perfect in its direction, for the conduct of human life, in belief and practice: it being under this idea that he recommends the *Scriptures* to Timothy. The assertion therefore is universal, and amounts to this, “That *divine inspiration* is an essential quality of every *Scripture*, which constitutes the LAW or RULE of a Religion coming from GOD.”

On the whole then, we conclude, that *all the Scriptures of the New Testament were given by inspiration of God*. And thus the prophetic promise of our blessed Master, that the *Comforter should abide with us for ever*, was eminently fulfilled. For tho', according to the promise, his ordinary influence occasionally assists the Faithful of all ages, yet his constant abode and supreme illu-

mination is in the sacred Scriptures of the New Testament.”

After shewing the rules for the trial of spirits, he applies them to a famous modern pretender to extraordinary gifts of the Spirit.

“This the Reader should have in mind, when we bring him to apply these marks to the features of modern Fanaticism; especially as they are seen in the famed Leader of the METHODISTS, Mr. JOHN WESLEY; and not *seen* neither, as Sancho Pancha *saw* his mistress, *by hearsay*, (which indeed has been too much the custom, in the representations of this transcendent man), but as he appears in person in his own JOURNALS: For by those indelible marks alone, there traced out, and by his own pen, I purpose to TRY, in him, chiefly, THE SPIRITS of all modern Pretenders to supernatural Powers.

#### CHAP. IV. Book II.

AND that I may not be suspected of combating a phantom, it will be proper first of all to shew that this extraordinary man hath, in fact, laid claim to almost every Apostolic gift and grace; and in as full and ample a measure as they were possessed of old.

But as a good Actor will first prepare his Scene, he hath carried us back, by the magic of his dramatic powers, into all the wonders of the primitive Times; where we meet the Devil unchained and let loose, to exert his last efforts against the *new* Religion: As, on the other hand, to oppose to his infernal rage, we see, with the same evidence, an abundant effusion of the Holy Spirit

† If I bear witness of myself, my witness is not true. John v. 31.

\* Πᾶσα γραφὴ θεοπνεύτου, &c.



poured out upon this *rising* Church: And now, every thing being well prepared, Both these Powers stand ready to act their parts, by the time our Apostle thinks fit to appear upon the Stage.

His JOURNALS are full of the Alarms which he gave the Devil, and of the mortifications which the Devil gave him.—“The Devil, he says, “knew his kingdom shook, “and therefore stirred up his servants to ring bells, and make all the noise they could\*.” “The Devil’s children fought valiantly for their Master, that his kingdom should not be destroyed: And many stones fell on my right hand and on my left †.” “Some or other of the *Children of Belial* laboured to disturb us several nights before ‡.” Nay, so accustomed was he to these conflicts with the *Evil One*, that it was even matter of surprise to him, to find the enemy, once upon a time, reserved and *still*; till he reflected that it was because *his goods were in peace*. “I preached—as yet I have found only one person amongst them, who knew the love of God, before my brother came. No wonder the Devil was so still: for *his goods were in peace*.§” Another instance which he gives us, of this peaceable convention between his Congregation and the Devil, is in one of his northern excursions. “Wed. 29. I preached at Durham to a QUIET, STUPID Congregation ||.” But this never lasted long wherever he came;

for he had always the skill of curing this spiritual lethargy by a frenzy.

When the Devil had set the mob on work, he then, like other Politicians, retired to better Company; such as the two Mr. Wesleys and the Saints. But, as this sad and solemn meeting was not to his taste, he tried to *buffet* them into a better humour. “I was a little surprised at some who were *buffeted* of Satan in an unusual manner by such a *spirit of laughter*—I knew the same thing ten or eleven years ago. Part of Sunday my Brother and I then used to spend in walking in the meadows, and singing Psalms. But one day, just as we were beginning to sing, he burst out into a *loud laughter*. I began to be very angry, and presently after to laugh as loud as he.—We were ready to tear ourselves in pieces, but we were forced to go home without singing another line †.” From the Head these *buffetings* (which, not to overload the Devil, I will, for once, venture to call *hysterical*) descended, and were plentifully bestowed, upon the Members. “One evening (says he) such a *Spirit of laughter* was amongst us, that many were much offended. But the attention of all was soon fixed upon poor L——— a S——; one so violently and variously torn of the EVIL ONE did I never see before. Sometimes she *laughed*, then broke out into cursing and blaspheming, &c. ‡‡.” On this

\* Journ. from Nov. 1, 1739, to Sept. 3, 1741, p. 37.

† Do. p. 31.

§ Journ. from Nov. 25, 1746, to July 20, 1750, p. 29.

|| Journ. from July 23, 1750, to Oct. 28, 1754, p. 16.

Nov. 1, 1739, to Sept. 3, 1741, p. 37.

‡‡ Ibid. p. 38.

† Do. p. 82.

‡ Journ. from



occasion, he relates a fact, which though He seems not to have turned to a proper use, the sober and attentive Reader may—"Our Outward trials indeed were now removed, and peace was in all our borders. But so much the more did inward trials abound, and if one member suffered, all the members suffered with it. So strange a sympathy did I never observe before: whatever considerable temptation fell on any one, unaccountably spreading itself to the rest. So that exceeding few were able to escape it\*." In these various struggles, the Devil was at length tired out; and Mr. Wesley forces him into close quarters; to betake himself to the bodies of friend or foe indifferently, just as he could find opportunity or entertainment. And now comes on the shining part of our Apostle's exploits, the driving him out, in the face of the whole Congregation, by EXORCISMS and spiritual ejections.

But if Evil thus abounded, Grace did much more abound in this memorable Æra, when Mr. John Wesley first went out upon his Mission. The Spirit overcame all resistance, broke down all the strongholds of Sin, and what Mr. Wesley was much more set against, of INSENSIBILITY.—"So many living Witnesses (says he) hath God given, that his hand is still stretched out to heal, and that signs and wonders are even now wrought by his holy Child Je-

*sus* †." For, out of the mouths of babes and sucklings, is once again, as of old, perfected praise; the young men saw visions, and the old men dreamed dreams."

"All these wonders were not worked for nothing. The Spirit of the Lord was gone out, and it did not stop till it had manifested itself, in the last effort of its power. THE NEW BIRTH: But it went not out, as of old, in the still, small voice, but in storms and tempests, in cries and ecstasies, in tumults and confusion; and when nature was exhausted, then grace had done its work. But he tells us, his correspondents hearing of this strange affair inquired of him how can these things be? They cautioned him not to regard visions or dreams, or to fancy people had remission of sins because of their cries or tears, &c. To this, he tells us, he answered, "You deny that God does now work these effects; at least that he works them in this manner. I affirm both. I have seen very many persons changed in a moment from the spirit of fear, horror, despair, to the spirit of love, joy, and peace.—What I have to say touching visions or dreams is this: I knew several persons in whom this great change was wrought in a dream, or during a strong representation to the eye of their mind, of Christ either on the cross or in glory ‡."

But here unhappily, as is usual in these matters, the symptoms of Grace and of Perdition were so interwoven

\* Journ. from Nov. 1, 1739, to Sept. 3, 1741, p. 37.  
Aug. 12, 1738, to Nov. 1, 1739.

† Journ. from

‡ Ibid. p. 48, 49.



and confounded with one another, that our Apostle himself is sometimes at a loss to distinguish the hand; and to determine with certainty, who had the largest share in the WORK, GOD or the DEVIL; in-  
 somuch that a Manichean might have greatly availed himself of this untoward circumstance. Mr. J. Wesley had been grieved, and the Spirit of God had been grieved likewise, at the scandal given by some of his own flock, who “blasphemed the  
 “work, and imputed it either to  
 “Nature or the force of Imagina-  
 “tion and Animal Spirits, or even  
 “to the delusion of the Devil \*.”

—————“Many (says he) were  
 “deeply convinced; but none  
 “were delivered from that pain-  
 “ful conviction. *The children came*  
 “*to the BIRTH, but there was not*  
 “*strength to BRING FORTH.* I fear  
 “we have grieved the Spirit of the  
 “jealous God by questioning his  
 “work †.” Yet these pangs of the  
 NEW BIRTH becoming, on certain  
 occasions, more violent, and more  
 general than ordinary, and even  
 found to be taking and infecti-  
 ous,—the Apostle himself was flag-  
 gered, and seemed ready to recant.  
 “These symptoms I can no more  
 “impute to any natural cause than  
 “to the Spirit of God. I make  
 “no doubt it was SATAN tearing  
 “them as they were coming to  
 “Christ. And hence proceeded  
 “those grievous cries, whereby he  
 “might design both to discredit  
 “the work of God, and to affright  
 “fearful people from hearing that  
 “word whereby their souls might  
 “be saved ‡.” But since these  
 symptoms were universal and in-

separable from the *new birth*, I ra-  
 ther think, and I will venture to  
 say, as it is only raising the Cata-  
 chresis one step higher, that the  
 Devil was here only in the office  
 of *Man-Midwife* to the *new birth*.  
 And Mr. Wesley himself, on second  
 thoughts, seems not much averse to  
 this conceit, as appears from the  
 following relation.—“I visited (says  
 “he) a poor old woman a mile or  
 “two from the town. Her trials  
 “had been uncommon; inexpress-  
 “sible agonies of mind joined with  
 “all sorts of bodily pain, not (it  
 “seemed) from any natural cause,  
 “but the *direct operation of Satan*;  
 “Her joys were now as uncom-  
 “mon; she had little time to sleep,  
 “having for several months last  
 “past seen; as it were, the *uncloud-*  
 “*ed face of God*, and praised him  
 “day and night §.”

The exterior affluences in his mi-  
 nistry were no less signal than the *in-*  
*terior*. (P. 103.) Many were “feat-  
 “ed on a large Wall adjoining,  
 “which being built of loose stones,  
 “in the middle of the Sermon all  
 “fell down at once. I never saw,  
 “heard, nor read of such a thing  
 “before. The whole wall and  
 “the persons sitting upon it sunk  
 “down together, none of them  
 “screaming out, and very few al-  
 “tering their posture. And not  
 “one was hurt at all; but they ap-  
 “peared sitting at the bottom, just  
 “as they sat at the top. Nor was  
 “there any interruption either of  
 “my speaking, or of the attention  
 “of the hearers ||.” The next  
 rises in due gradation. An unruly  
*mob* became of a sudden as harm-  
 less as the *stones*. Tho’, had they

\* Ibid. p. 59.  
 1741, to October 27, 1743.  
 1751, p. 60.

† Ib. p. 68.

‡ Journ. from September 3,

§ Journ. from July 20, 1749, to October 30,

|| Journ. from Nov. 23, 1746, to July 20, 1750, p. 23.



met, and opposed the ministry, together, one does not know what might have happened.——“The mob had just broke open the door, when we came into the lower room; and exactly while they burst in at one door, we walked out at the other. *Nor did one man take any notice of us*, tho’ we were within five yards of each other\*.” Without doubt they were struck *blind*; tho’, in imitation of the modest silence of the Evangelist, who relates the like adventure of the blessed Jesus, he forbears the express mention of that miracle.——The next and more powerful operation was on his female friends; and these he as fairly struck *dumb*.——“The whole multitude were silent, while I was speaking. Not a whisper was heard. But the moment I had done, the *Chain fell off their tongues*. I was really surpris’d. Surely never was such a cackling made on the banks of Cayster, or the common of Sedgmoor†.” And to chain up the tongues of five hundred cackling gossips he held, and with great reason, an exploit worth recording. Indeed he appears to have taken the most effectual method with them, that is, to *out-clamour* them: For thus he measures out his own Stentoronic voice.——“Observing that several sat on the side of the opposite hill, I afterwards desired one to measure the ground; and we found it was seven score yards from the place where I had stood. Yet the people there heard perfectly well. I did not think any

human voice could have reached so far‡.” And as, on proper occasions, every courteous Knight-errant has condescended to let his horse into a share of the adventure, so our spiritual martialist, unwilling to break so good a custom, has divided (as St. Martin did his cloak with the Beggar) the next exploit of price with his Beast, “My horse was exceeding lame—we could not discern what it was that was amiss, and yet he could scarce set his foot on the ground,—My head ached more than it had done for some months (what I here aver is the naked fact; let every man account for it as he sees good). I then thought, Cannot God heal either man or beast, by any means, or *without any*! Immediately my weariness and head-ache ceased, and my Horse’s lameness in the same instant. Nor did he halt any more either that day or the next. *A very odd accident this also §.*”

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*Remarks on the Beauties of Poetry.*  
By Daniel Webb, Esq. Doddsley.

THE title of this ingenious piece promises rather too much. Every one will, from the title, be tempted to expect a system of observations on the various sources of pleasure, which combine to form this delightful art. But the author’s plan is of a more contrasted nature. In his first dialogue he confines himself wholly to the versification. In his second his design is

\* Ibid. p. 57.  
Oct. 28, 1754, p. 10.

† Ibid. p. 96.

‡ Journ. from July 20, 1753, to Oct. 27, 1743, to Nov. 17, 1746.



a little more extended, but is still far short of the compass of the subject; and contains only discussions on some of the beauties of diction and sentiment. So far as the author goes, his work has great merit, and is by no means inferior to the *beauties of painting*, which has been so well received by the public. In this work we see the same critical discernment and elegance of taste; the same smooth, ornamented, pleasing style. The author has the same fault also in this as in his former work; that of writing dialogue without even an attempt of diversity of character, and with very little of the dramatic spirit. For a specimen of his first dialogue take the following:

“ The sole aim of versification is harmony. To understand this properly, we must divide it into two kinds. The first consists in a general flow of verse, most pleasing to the ear, but independent on the sense: the second, in bringing the sound or measure of the verse to correspond with, and accompany the idea. The former may be called a verbal harmony: the latter a sentimental. If we consider the flow of verse merely as music, it will then be allowed, \* that variety is no less necessary than sweetness; and that a continued repetition of the same movements, must be as tiresome in poetry, as it would be in music. On examining Mr.

Pope's verses, we shall find that in eighteen out of twenty, the pauses rest on the fourth and last; or the fifth and last syllable; and that, almost without exception, the period is divided into two equal lines, and, as it were, link'd by the rhyme into a couplet.

For example——

All are but parts of one stupendous whole,

Whose body nature is, || and God the soul;

That chang'd thro' all, || and yet in all the same;

Great in the Earth, || as in the Æthereal frame;

Warms in the sun, || refreshes in the breeze,

Glow's in the stars, || and blossoms in the trees;

Lives thro' all life, || extends thro' all extent,

Spreads undivided, || operates unspent.

Essay on Man.

Every ear must feel the ill effect of the † monotony in these lines; the cause of it is obvious; this verse consists of ten syllables, or five feet: when the pause falls on the fourth syllable, we shall find, that we pronounce the six last in the same time that we do the four first: so that the couplet is not only divided into two equal lines, but each line, with respect to time, is divided into two equal parts——

\* Και εστι λεξις κρατιση πασαν, η τις αν εχοι πλειστας αναπαυλας τε & μεταβολας αρμονιας——ρυθμοι τε αλλοτε αλλοι, & τασεις φωνης αι καλεμεναι προσωδιαι κλεπτεσαι τη ποιικιλια του κορον.

Dion. Hal. de Struēt. Orat.

† Διαναπαυειν τε & ταυτοτητα φημι δειν, μεταβολας ευχαιρης εισφερουσα. Και γαρ η μεταβολη παντος εργου χρημα ηδυν.

Dion. Hal. de Struēt. Orat. Sect. 2.



As,  
 Warms in the sun, || refreshes in the  
 breeze,

Glow in the stars, || and blossoms  
 in the trees.

Or else the pause falls on the fifth  
 syllable, and then the line is divid-  
 ed with a mechanic exactness.

As,  
 Spreads undivided, || operates un-  
 spent.

*Hor.* Mr. Pope, in a letter to  
 Mr. Walsh, speaking of the Eng-  
 lish verse, says, 'there is natural-  
 ly a pause at the fourth, fifth, or  
 sixth syllable. It is upon these  
 the ear rests, and upon the judi-  
 cious change and management of  
 which depends the variety of ver-  
 sification.' Of this he gives the  
 following examples :

At the fifth,  
 Where'er thy navy || spreads her  
 canvass wings.

At the fourth,  
 Homage to thee, || and peace to all  
 she brings.

At the sixth,  
 Like tracks of leverets, || in the  
 morning snow.

*Eng.* In this place, Mr. Pope  
 takes no notice of the second pause,  
 which always rests on the last word  
 of each line, and is strongly mark-  
 ed by the rhyme.— But it is on  
 the balance between the two pauses,  
 that the monotony of the verse  
 depends. Now, this balance is go-  
 verned by the equal division of the  
 line in point of time. Thus, if you  
 repeat the two first examples given,  
 you will find no difference, as to the  
 time, whether the pause falls on  
 the fourth or fifth syllable ; and  
 this, I think, will extend even to  
 the last example ; or, if there  
 should be any difference, it is so  
 trifling, that it will generally escape

the ear. But this is not so in blank  
 verse : for the lines being made  
 often to run one into the other, the  
 second pause is sunk ; the balance,  
 from the equal division of each  
 line is removed ; and by changing  
 the pauses at pleasure, an opening  
 is given to an unlimited variety.

Observe the effects in the first  
 lines of the *Paradise Lost*.

Of man's first disobedience, || and  
 the fruit

Of that forbidden tree, || whose  
 mortal taste

Brought death into the world, || and  
 all our wo,

With loss of Eden, || till one greater  
 Man

Restore us, || and regain the blissful  
 seat,

Sing, heavenly muse.

In these, and the lines which  
 immediately follow, the pauses are  
 shifted thro' all the ten syllables.

*Hor.* But this variety is not in-  
 separable from the nature of blank  
 verse. In Addison's *Cato*, there is,  
 I think, the very same monotony  
 which you have condemned in Mr.  
 Pope : Thus,

The dawn is overcast, || the morn-  
 ing low'rs,

And heavily in clouds || brings on  
 the day ;

The great, th' important day ||,  
 Big with the fate || of Cato and of  
 Rome.

Again,  
 Who knows not this ? || but what  
 can Cato do

Against a world, || a base degene-  
 rate world,

That courts the yoke, || and bows  
 the neck to Cæsar ?

Pent up in Utica, || he vainly forms  
 A poor epitome || of Roman great-  
 ness.



*Asp.* This is the very echo of the couplet measure.

*Eug.* Nothing could be more to my purpose; it confirms all that I have advanced; and proves further, that the monotony of the couplet does not proceed, as has been imagined, from the repetition of the rhymes, but from a sameness in the movement of the verse. No doubt, the use of rhymes was the first cause of confining poetic harmony to such narrow limits\*. Mr. Addison, accustomed to the secure monotony of the couplet, had neither the genius to bear him thro', nor courage to attempt the unbounded variety of the Miltonic measures. Birds of a weak flight move always in a line; but the eagle, wonderful in his soarings, shews in his very stoops the power of his wing. A poet of a superior spirit, must have resources in the variety of his numbers. The flight of Satan, in *Paradise Lost*, is not to be pent up in a couplet.

Then from pole to pole  
He views in breadth; and without  
longer pause,  
Down right into the world's first  
region throws  
His flight precipitant; and winds  
with ease  
Through the pure marble air his  
oblique way,  
Amongst innumerable stars.

*Hor.* In comparing, as you have done, the gradations in poetic harmony to the flight of birds, by the soarings and stoops of the eagle, I presume, you mean something equivalent to those enforcements and lowering of sounds,

which gives such a pleasant variety, and have so powerful an effect in music.

*Eug.* Of this we have a fine example in the following passage: in which you'll observe, that the Poet sets out with almost a prosaic weakness of verse; thence rising gradually like the swell of an organ, he soars into the highest dignity of sound.

Th' infernal Serpent: he it was,  
whose guile,

Stirr'd up with envy and revenge,  
deceiv'd

The mother of mankind, what time  
his pride

Had cast him out from heav'n, with  
all his host

Of rebel angels, by whose aid as-  
piring

To set himself in glory above his  
peers,

He trusted to have equall'd the  
Most High,

If he oppos'd; and with ambitious  
aim

Against the throne and monarchy  
of God

Rais'd impious war in heav'n and  
battle proud

With vain attempt. Him the Al-  
mighty power

Hurl'd headlong flaming from th'  
ethereal sky,

With hideous ruin and combustion,  
down

To bottomless Perdition, there to  
dwell

In adamant chains, and penal  
fire,

Who durst defy th' Omnipotent to  
arms.

*Par. Lost.*

\* Αλλα και περ ηδως και μεγαλωρεπως πολλα συνθεντες οι ανδρες ετοι, περι της μεταβολας και την ποικιλιαν ε πανυ ευτυχουν.



It is obvious, from what I have said of it, that the couplet is not formed for such gradations as these. On the contrary, from the sameness in its flow, every sentiment, of what nature soever, comes equally recommended to the ear, and of course to our attention." (P. 5—16.)

His remarks in the second dialogue are more general and miscellaneous.

"*Eug.* The distinctive property of Genius is to surprise, either by original Beauty, or Greatness in the idea. These are the master springs; but there are others which are subordinate; for a superior genius will so dress the most common thought, or familiar image, as to give it some unexpected advantage, by which it becomes apparently, if not really, original: the result is the same; we are surprised; every such effect implies a degree of novelty, and, consequently, of invention.

*Hor.* Is not surprise rather the effect of wit than of genius?

*Eug.* To determine this, we must state the difference between them. This seems to me to depend on the degrees of our penetration, and the nature of our feelings. The man of wit has a limited view into the relations of ideas; and from those which he does see, his feelings direct him to chuse the most singular, not the most beautiful. He works upon us by surprise merely; but the man of genius surprises by an excess of beauty.

*Hor.* It should seem to follow from hence, that the genius may be a wit when he pleases: yet we have seen such who have made the attempt without success.

*Eug.* Very rarely, when they give into the practice of being playful: thus, who has more wit than Shakespear? If others have failed, it must have been from the influence of a better habit; accustomed to unite ideas by their beauties, they overlook the little points of similitude in those which are the most opposed; or of difference, in those which are the most united: hence as Cunning is but a short-sighted Wisdom, Wit may be called the short-sight of Genius.

*Hor.* You make a greater difference between them than will be allowed by many.

*Eug.* I use them in that sense, in which they are understood, when we say, that Ovid had wit, and Virgil genius: that this is the most exact and received sense of these words, will appear from hence, that, were I to assert, that Virgil had more wit than Ovid, I should be laughed at: yet this would be the consequence of understanding Wit in too \* enlarged a sense, or of making it equivalent to Genius.

*A.* I have been often ill satisfied with myself, for not readily entering into such thoughts, as I have known were generally esteemed witty. You have, I thank you, Eugenio, lessened the number of my mortifications. I must own, I have

\* In the Essay on Criticism, it is said——

True wit is nature to advantage dress'd.

But immediately after this, the Poet adds——

For works may have more wit than does 'em good.

Now, let us substitute the definition in the place of the thing, and it will stand thus, A work may have more of *Nature dress'd to advantage* than will do it good. This is impossible; and it is evident, that the confusion arises from the Poet's having annexed two different ideas to the same word.



always preferred Humour to Wit ; perhaps it was, that I more easily understood it. I should call upon you for a better explanation of this matter, were I not more intent on another. You remember, that, discoursing, the other day, on a passage in the *Inquiry into the Beauties of Painting*, in which the superiority of Poetry is rather hinted at than explained, you promised me that you would enlarge this part of the subject, and—

*Eug.* I understand you, Aspasia ; and should be glad, in this, as in every thing else, to prevent your wishes.

I observed just now, that the distinctive property of Genius is to surprise, either by original Beauty, or Greatness, in the idea.

The principal beauties in Poetry, spring from the source or elegance of its images : of these we will first examine such as are peculiar to Poetry ; after which we will pass to those which are in common to Poetry and Painting. Of the former class, are all images founded on comparisons, either direct or implied. The merit of these consists in a striking similitude between two objects, which, to common observation, have no apparent or necessary connexion ; hence we may judge of the merit of a comparison, by the degree of our surprise, which arises from a combined admiration of its justness, its novelty and beauty. A comparison is direct in the following instance—

On her left breast  
A mole cinque-spotted, like the  
crimson drops  
I' th' bottom of a cowslip—

*Cymbeline.*

An implied comparison, or, in the language of the Critics, a metaphor, consists in conveying an idea entirely by the substitution of an image : this will be best understood by an example—

Angelo, in *Measure for Measure*, observing, that his guilty passion for Isabella was inflamed by his knowledge of her innocence, is shocked at the wickedness of his nature ; which he aggravates by the force of a metaphor.

Can it be,

That modesty may more betray our  
sense

Than woman's lightness ! “ having  
waste ground enough,

“ Shall we desire to raise the Sanc-  
tuary,

“ And pitch our evils there ? Oh  
fie, fie, fie ! ”

Sometimes a Poet has the happiness to blend these two kinds of beauty in the same image : he sets out with illustrating his object by a direct comparison ; and continues to support it by a metaphor. This is a high degree of beauty ; for it can only happen, when the comparison is so exquisitely just, that the qualities essential to the borrowed object, are, with the utmost propriety, transferred to the original one. Thus Bellarius, describing to his pupils the ruins of his fortunes at court,

Cymbeline lov'd me.  
And when a soldier was the theme,  
my name  
Was not far off : then was I as a  
tree,

Whose boughs did bend with fruit.  
But in one night,

A storm, or robbery, call it what  
you will,

Shook



Shook down my mellow hangings,  
 nay, my leaves;  
 And left me bare to weather.

*Cymbeline.*

Of this species of beauty, the following is, perhaps, a still more elegant example—

———She never told her love,  
 But let concealment, like a worm  
 i' th' bud,

Feed on her damask cheek.

*Twelfth Night.*

Shakespear's images are not mere addresses to the fancy; they do not play about the surface of an object; they carry us into its essence.—As where the mother of Hamlet endeavours to excuse his extravagance—

———This is mere madness;  
 And thus a while the fit will work  
 on him:

Anon, as patient as the female dove,  
 Ere that her golden couplets are  
 disclos'd,

His silence will sit drooping.

Had the Poet commanded at one view the whole circle of Nature, he could not have selected such another contrast to madness. It is the most perfect image of a patient, innocent, and modest silence, that ever sprung from human invention. It is by the frequency and degree of these beauties, principally, that an original Genius is distinguished. Metaphors are to him, what the Eagle was to Jupiter, or the Doves to Venus, symbols of Divinity; the sure indications of Majesty and Beauty.

*Hor.* It has been a matter of wonder to many, that an imagination, at times, so wild and ungovernable as that of Shakespear, should, in the finer imitations of nature, be distinguished by an unequalled elegance and propriety.

*Eug.* If we consider the nature and progress of the imagination, we need not wonder, that superior spirits should be the most subject to these excesses. The extremities of poetic boldness, like those of personal courage, will often have a tincture of extravagance. But this will not be the case in men of subordinate talents; trusting more to imitation than their own feelings, they move in one even tenor; with them, judgment is but an observance of rules; a security to their weakness.

And often, to their comfort shall  
 they find

The sharded Beetle in a safer hold  
 Than is the full-wing'd Eagle.—

*Cymb.*

The last species of beauty in comparative imagery, which I shall speak of here, consists in reducing a metaphor to a point. When a picture is given us in a single word, to make out which in our own imagination, we must go through a succession of ideas, then are we surprised in the most agreeable manner, and the beauty, of course, is consummate. You shall have, Aspasia, an example of this from your favourite author, Fletcher. Amintor, in order to conceal the cause of his grief, had put on a show of mirth; Melantius, his friend, who wanted to extort the secret from him, was not to be so imposed on.

———You may shape, Amintor,  
 Causes to cozen the whole world  
 withal,

And yourself too; but 'tis not like  
 a friend,

To hide your soul from me; 'tis  
 not your nature

To be thus idle; I have seen you  
 stand,

As



As you were *blasted*, midst of all  
your mirth. *Maid's Tragedy.*

It is by the force or elegance  
of its allusions and images, that a  
poetic diction is distinguished from  
simple versification. The Muses,  
according to Johnson, have their  
anvil, and a verse may be labour-  
ed into precision and harmony:  
but the fallies of the imagination  
are prompt and decisive; they  
spring at once into being, and are  
beauties at their first conception.  
Thus, in the language of a Poet,  
the sun is the *eye* of heaven: the  
heaven itself—a *starry pavement*; a  
canopy *fretted* with *golden fire*.

Does the mind exult in its fullest  
freedom?

It is—as *broad*, as *general* as the  
*causing* air.

What are the repeated calamities  
of life?

The *slings* and *arrows* of outrage-  
ous fortune?

The properties of sleep?

The *birth* of *each day's life*; *fore*  
*labours both*;

*Balm* of *hurt* minds.

Are our tender years exposed to the  
infection of vice?—the canker *galls*  
the *infants* of the *spring*. Is the  
night invoked to countenance deeds  
of horror and cruelty?

Come, thick night!

And *poll* thee in the dunest smoke  
of hell.

*Hor.* How miserably naked of  
these beauties are the works of our  
ordinary songsters? Their meta-  
phors are like scatter'd trees in a  
desert, starved and solitary: in  
Shakespear, they are vigorous,  
luxuriant, thickly spread over eve-  
ry part of his poetry.

*Eug.* This comparison will hold,  
with respect to images in general:  
as to these, which we have been

just describing, they seem to me  
to bear some resemblance to those  
drawings of the capital Painters,  
in which, though the parts are ra-  
ther *hinted* than made out, yet the  
ideas are complete; they both give  
a delightful exercise to our minds,  
in continuing and enlarging the  
design. (p. 65.—p. 79.)

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*Anecdotes of Painting in England;*  
*with some account of the principal*  
*Artists; and incidental Notes on*  
*other Arts; collected by the late*  
*Mr. George Vertue; and now di-*  
*gested and published from his origi-*  
*nal MSS. by Mr. Horace Walpole.*  
*In two Vol. Quarto.*

A NECDOTES of Painting  
in England, is a title, which  
perhaps, of all others, is the most  
apt to excite one's curiosity, not that  
there is any thing very promising  
in the subject. The reverse is rather  
true; but we are impatient to find  
out, what it is that can occupy two  
quarto volumes upon an art, which  
has hitherto made so little progress  
in England. The reader will be  
surprised to find so very entertaining  
a work arise from such unpromising  
materials. The first of the authors,  
Mr. Vertue, has been deficient in no  
pains to collect, and the other, Mr.  
Walpole, is deficient in no talent to  
enliven every thing, which could  
possibly tend to the illustration of  
this agreeable art, so far as it was  
cultivated, either by natives or fo-  
reigners, in this kingdom. This  
knowledge is not contemptible.  
Whatever concerns the arts, is of  
value to those who love them; that  
is, to every liberal and ingenuous  
mind. This subject takes up the  
work from the earliest times, to  
which



which it can be traced in our records, that is, from the reign of Henry III. and carries it down to the end of the reign of Charles I. and throughout abounds with curious stories not only of the painters, but of several of the eminent persons, who have been the subject of their pencil. It contains also several strokes of criticism, which shew how far this author is capable of having gone, had he chosen a subject which would have given a greater scope to his critical abilities. His style is lively, peculiar, and marked; very sententious and pointed; more correct, and rather less charged with witticisms than that of *the Royal and Noble Authors*. With regard to Mr. Vertue, his merits in his profession are already sufficiently known to all connoisseurs. His merits, as a compiler, are as great as could be displayed in that sort of employment. Even in that employment virtues may be displayed and talents exercised. What Mr. Walpole says of him in that respect, forms a very beautiful eulogy.

“One satisfaction the reader will have in the integrity of Mr. Vertue, it exceeded his industry, which is saying much. No man living, so bigotted to a vocation, was ever so incapable of falsehood. He did not deal even in hypothesis, scarce in conjecture. He visited, and revisited every picture, every monument, that was an object of his researches; and being so little a slave to his own imagination, he was cautious of trusting to that of others. In his memorandums he always put a quere against whatever was told him of suspicious aspect; and never gave credit to it till he received the fullest satisfaction. Thus whatever trifles the reader finds, he will have

the comfort of knowing that the greatest part at least are of most genuine authority.” Preface, p. 8.

Any analysis of a work of this kind would be impracticable. What follows in the preface is a specimen of the manner of this spirited writer.

“If the observation of a dearth of great names in this list should excite emulation and tend to produce abler masters, Mr. Vertue, I believe, and I should be glad to have the continuation of the work do greater honour to our country. It would be difficult perhaps to assign a physical reason, why a nation that produced Shakespear, should owe its glory in another walk of genius to Holbein and Vandyck. It cannot be imputed to want of protection: Who countenanced the arts more than Charles the First? That Prince, who is censured for his want of taste in pensioning Quarles, is celebrated by the same pen for employing Bernini—but want of protection is the apology for want of genius: Milton and Fontaine did not write in the bask of court-favour. A poet or a painter may want an equipage or a villa, by wanting protection: They can always afford to buy ink and paper, colours and pencils. Mr. Hogarth has received no honours, but universal admiration.

But whatever has been the complaint formerly, we have ground to hope that a new æra is receiving its date. Genius is countenanced, and emulation will follow: nor is it a bad indication of the flourishing state of a country, that it daily makes improvements in arts and sciences. They may be attended by luxury, but they certainly are produced by wealth and happiness.

The



The conveniences, the decorations of life are not studied in Siberia, or under a Nero. If severe morality would at any time expect to establish a thorough reformation, I fear it must chuse inhospitable climates, and abolish all latitude from the laws. A corporation of merchants would never have kept their oaths to Lycurgus of observing his statutes till he returned. A good government, that indulges its subjects in the exercise of their own thoughts, will see a thousand inventions springing up, refinements will follow, and much pleasure and satisfaction will be produced at least before that excess arrives, which is so justly said to be the forerunner of ruin. But all this is in the common course of things, which tend to perfection, and then degenerate. He would be a very absurd legislator, who should pretend to set bounds to his country's welfare, lest it should perish by knowing no bounds. Poverty will stint itself; riches will be left to their own discretion; they depend upon trade, and to circumscribe trade is to annihilate it. It is not rigid nor Roman to say it, but a people had better be unhappy by their own fault, than by that of their government. A *Censor morum* is not a much greater blessing than an *Arbiter elegantiarum*. The world, I believe, is not at all agreed that the austerities of the Presbyterians were preferable to the licentiousness under Charles II. I pretend to defend the one no more than the other; but I am sure that in the body politic, symptoms that prognosticate ill, may indicate well. All I meant to say was, that the disposition to improvements in this country is the consequence of its vigour. The establishment of a

society for the encouragement of arts will produce great benefits before they are perverted to mischiefs. The bounties bestowed by that society, for facilitating the necessaries of life to the poor, for encouraging the use of our own drugs and materials, or for naturalizing those of other countries, are bestowed on noble principles, and with patriot views. That society does not neglect even the elegancies of life: arts that are innocent in themselves, and beneficial to the country, either by adding value to our productions, or by drawing riches as they invite strangers to visit us, are worthy the attention of good citizens; and in all those lights that society acts upon a national and extensive plan.

The art, that is chiefly the subject of these pages, is one of the least likely to be perverted; Painting has seldom been employed to any bad purpose. Pictures are but the scenery of devotion. I question if Raphaël himself could ever have made one convert, though he had exhausted all the expression of his eloquent pencil on a series of popish doctrines and miracles. Pictures cannot adapt themselves to the meanest capacities, as unhappily the tongue can. Nonsense may make an apprentice a catholic or a methodist; but the apprentice would see that a very bad picture of St. Francis was not like truth; and a very good picture would be above his feeling. Pictures may serve as helps to religion; but are only an appendix to idolatry; for the people must be taught to believe in false gods and in the power of saints, before they will learn to worship their images. I do not doubt but if some of the first reformers had been



at liberty to say exactly what they thought, and no more than they thought, they would have permitted one of the most ingenious arts implanted in the heart of man by the Supreme Being to be employed towards his praise. But Calvin by his tenure, as head of a sect, was obliged to go all lengths. The vulgar will not list but for total contradictions; they are not struck by seeing religion shaded only a little darker or a little lighter. It was at Constantinople alone where the very shopkeepers had subtilty enough to fight for a letter more or less in a Greek adjective\* that expressed an abstract idea. Happily at this time there is so total an extinction of all party animosity both in religion and politics, that men are at liberty to propose whatever may be useful to their country, without its being imputed to them as a crime, and to invent what they mean should give pleasure, without danger of displeasing by the very attempt."

His reflections on the history of Architecture in England are extremely curious.

"Vertue and several other curious persons have taken great pains to enlighten the obscure ages of that science; they find no names of architects, nay little more than what they might have known without inquiring; that our ancestors had buildings. - Indeed Tom Hearne, Brown Willis, and such illustrators, did sometimes go upon more positive ground; they did now and then stumble upon an arch, a tower, nay a whole church, so dark, so ugly, so

uncouth, that they were sure it could not have been built since any idea of grace had been transported into the island. Yet with this incontestable security on their side, they had still room for doubting; Danes, Saxons, Normans, were all ignorant enough to have claims to peculiar ugliness in their fashions. It was difficult to ascertain the periods when one ungracious form jostled out another; and this perplexity at last led them into such refinement, that the term *Gothic Architecture*, inflicted as a reproach on our ancient buildings in general by our ancestors who revived the Grecian taste, is now considered but as a species of modern elegance, by those who wish to distinguish the Saxon style from it. This Saxon style begins to be defined by flat and round arches, by some undulating zigzags on certain old fabrics, and by a very few other characteristics, all evidences of barbarous and ignorant times. I do not mean to say simply that the round arch is a proof of ignorance; but being so natural, it is simply, when unaccompanied by any graceful ornaments, a mark of a rude age—if attended by misshapen and heavy decorations, a certain mark of it. The pointed arch, that peculiar of Gothic architecture, was certainly intended as an improvement on the circular, and the men who had not the happiness of lighting on the simplicity and proportion of the Greek orders, were however so lucky as to strike out a thousand graces and effects, which rendered their buildings magnificent,

\* In the decline of the empire there were two sects who proceeded to the greatest violences against each other, in the dispute whether the nature of the second person was *ὁμοούσιος*, co-essentials; or *ὁμοιούσιος*, similis essentiæ.



yet genteel, vast, yet light, \* venerable and picturesque. It is difficult for the noblest Grecian Temple to convey half so many impressions to the mind, as a cathedral does of the best Gothic taste—a proof of skill in the architects, and of address in the priests who erected them. The latter exhausted their knowledge of the passions in composing edifices, whose pomp, mechanism, vaults, tombs, painted windows, gloom and perspectives infused such sensations of romantic devotion; and they were happy in finding artists capable of executing such machinery. One must have taste to be sensible of the beauties of Grecian architecture; one only wants passions to feel Gothic. In St. Peter's one is convinced that it was built by great princes—In Westminster-abbey, one thinks not of the builder; the religion of the place makes the first impression—and though stripped of its altars and shrines, it is nearer converting one to Popery than all the regular pageantry of Roman domes. Gothic churches infuse superstition; Grecian, admiration. The papal see amassed its wealth by Gothic cathedrals, and displays it in Grecian temples,

I certainly do not mean by this little contrast to make any comparison between the rational beauties of regular architecture, and the unrestrained licentiousness of that which is called Gothic. Yet I am clear that the persons who executed the latter, had much more knowledge of their art, more taste, more genius, and more propriety than we chuse to imagine. There is a magic

hardiness in the execution of some of their works, which would not have sustained themselves if dictated by mere caprice. There is a tradition that Sir Christopher Wren went once a year to survey the roof of the chapel of King's college, and said that if any man would shew him where to place the first stone, he would engage to build such another. That there is great grace in several places, even in their clusters of slender pillars, and in the application of their ornaments, though the principals of the latter are so confined that they may almost all be reduced to the trefoil, extended and varied, I shall not appeal to the edifices themselves—It is sufficient to observe, that Inigo Jones, Sir Christopher Wren, and Kent, who certainly understood beauty, blundered † into the heaviest and clumsiest compositions whenever they aimed at imitations of the Gothic.—Is an art despicable in which a great master cannot shine?

Considering how scrupulously our architects confine themselves to antique precedent, perhaps some deviations into Gothic may a little relieve them from that servile imitation. I mean that they should study both tastes, not blend them: that they should dare to invent in the one, since they will hazard nothing in the other. When they have built a pediment and portico, the Sibyl's circular temple, and tacked the wings to a house by a colonnade, they seem *au bout de leur Latin*. If half a dozen mansions were all that remained of old Rome, instead of half a dozen temples, I

\* For instance, the facade of the cathedral of Rheims.

† In Lincoln's Inn chapel, the steeple of the church at Warwick, the King's bench in Westminster-hall, &c,



do not doubt but our churches would resemble the private houses of Roman citizens. Our buildings must be as Vitruvian, as writings in the days of Erasmus were obliged to be Ciceronian. Yet confined as our architects are to few models, they are far from having made all the use they might of those they possess. There are variations enough to be struck out to furnish new scenes of singular beauty. The application of loggias, arcades, terraces and flights of steps, at different stages of a building, particularly in such situations as Whitehall to the river, would have a magnificent effect. It is true, our climate, and the expence of building in England, are great restrictions on imagination; but when one talks of the extent of which architecture is capable, one must suppose that pomp and beauty are the principal objects; one speaks of palaces and public buildings, not of shops and small houses.—But I must restrain this dissertation, and come to the historic part, which will lie in a small compass.

Felibien took great pains to ascertain the revival of architecture, after the destruction of the true taste

by the inundation of the northern nations; but his discoveries were by no means answerable to his labour. Of French builders he did find a few names, and here and there an Italian or German. Of English he owns he did not meet with the least trace; while at the same time the founders of antient buildings were every where recorded: so careful have the monks (the only historians of those times) been to celebrate bigotry and pass over the arts. But I own I take it for granted that these seeming omissions are to be attributed to their want of perspicuity rather than to neglect. As all the other arts \* were confined to cloisters, so undoubtedly was architecture too; and when we read that such a bishop or such an abbot built such and such an edifice, I am persuaded that they often gave the plans as well as furnished the necessary funds; but as those chroniclers scarce ever specify when this was or was not the case, we must not at this distance of time pretend to conjecture what prelates were or were not capable of directing their own foundations."

\* The arts flourished so much in convents to the last, that one Gyfford, a visitor employed by Thomas Cromwell to make a report of the state of those societies previous to their suppression, pleads in behalf of the house of Wolstrop, "That there was not one religious person there, but that he could and did use, either embrothering, writing books with very fair hand, making their own garments, carving, painting, or grafting." Strype's Memor. vol. i. p. 255.









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*State of Europe in the beginning of this year. Ill state of the British alliance. Condition of the northern powers. War reaches to the southern. Family compact. Some articles from it. Observations upon them. Consequences of this treaty to Europe. War declared against Spain. State of Spain and Great Britain at the beginning of the war between them. Advantages and disadvantages on each side* — — — Page [1]

### C H A P. II.

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### C H A P. III.

*Death of the Empress Elizabeth of Russia. Her character. State of the power of Russia on her decease. Her nephew, Peter III. succeeds. Entire change of system. Peace with Prussia. Peace between Prussia and Sweden. Russian conquests restored. The Czar enters into an alliance with the king of Prussia. War with Denmark threatened. Its cause. Extorted loan from Hamburg. Campaign between Prussians and Austrians opens. Prussians obtain advantages in Saxony and Silesia. Sudden revolution in Russia* — — — — — [11]



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*Effect of the revolution in Russia on the king of Prussia's affairs. Situation of the new empress. She adopts a neutrality. Russian conquests restored. Russians quit the Prussian camp. King of Prussia draws marshal Daun from Bückersdorff. Schweidnitz besieged. Marshal Laudohn attacks the prince of Bevern. Is repulsed. Disposition of the French and allied armies. Broglie removed. Battle of Graebenstein. French defeated. Lord Granby drives the French from Hombourg. Prince Xavier of Saxony defeated. Gottingen evacuated. French army called from the Lower Rhine* [21

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